WHAT NATURE DOES NOT TEACH

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WHAT NATURE
DOES NOT TEACH

Didactic Literature in the Medieval
and Early-Modern Periods

Edited by

Juanita Feros Ruys

To the loving memory
of James Nicholas Feros

(1932–2004)

educator, advisor, and mentor to many

and to Robin Jeanine Ruys
who has dedicated her life to teaching music

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Preface

The idea for this volume arose from a one-day conference I convened at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, in November 2004 on the broad topic of didactic literature. I would like to express my thanks to the former Director of the Centre for Medieval Studies, Professor Margaret Clunies Ross, for her enthusiastic support of this conference and for making available the resources of the Centre to assist in bringing it about. While some of the chapters in this volume are revised versions of papers given on that day, equally as many were newly invited and commissioned for this volume from international figures in the field. I would like to extend my thanks to all the contributors for their hard work, their willingness to interrogate the nature and function of didactic literature, and their generosity in time and spirit, always required in the fine editing of details. I would particularly like to thank those contributors who took the time to read and comment upon the chapters of other contributors, offering their knowledge and expertise to help make this volume a fuller, more complete analysis of didactic literature than it would otherwise have been.

This volume has benefited from the encouragement and support of the series editors of Disputatio (Brepols), and I particularly wish to thank Professor Georgiana Donavin for her patient guidance. I would also like to thank the members of the Early Modern Literature and Culture Research Cluster (EMLAC) in the Department of English, University of Sydney, convened by Dr Liam Semler, who kindly read and made valuable comments on a draft of the 'Introduction', and the reader of the volume who offered important suggestions that helped make the volume stronger and more coherent. My thanks also go to Dr Marika Kalyuga of the Department of Russian Studies, Macquarie University (Australia), who generously gave of her time to work through the transliteration

of the Russian bibliographic references in one of the chapters, and to Heather M. Padgen for her patient, insightful, and meticulous copyediting.

While organizing the Didactic Literature Symposium in November 2004 I received an e-mail from a colleague asking me to convince her that the symposium would be 'more interesting than it sounds'. At first I was nonplussed at this request, until I realized that for this scholar, as presumably for many others, the term 'didactic literature' marked a textual form that was by nature dry, dull, and of no real interest in a post-Romantic (let alone postmodern) world. What I hope the chapters in this volume prove beyond doubt is that the world of medieval and early-modern didactic literature is vibrant and alive, the coal face at which issues such as the authorial (and authoritative) voice of the individual, gender, and the limits of personal and institutional control—surely concerns that resonate as greatly today as they did then—were applied, tested, and reworked. Far from being inherently uninteresting, many of the medieval and early-modern texts discussed in this volume were designed to be as entertaining, engaging, and personal as possible: medieval and early-modern authors were no less perspicacious than modern ones in recognizing boredom as a substantial obstacle to effective teaching and learning. It is also notable that in a literary form with a pedigree stretching back centuries, many of the texts discussed here exhibit strategies at times as experimental and as personalized as they are at other times traditional and conventional. Didactic literature thus appears broadly as a genre that is, while always in touch with, if not dependent upon, its heritage, always also in the process of reinvention and self-renewal.

Illustrations

The cover image is taken from Giovanni Boccaccio's *Le livre des femmes nobles et renommées* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr. 598, fol. 71ᵛ, and is reproduced with kind permission of the BnF.

Figure 1, p. 320. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497, GLOSE SUPERETHORICAM CICERONIS *De inuentione*, fol. 105ᵛ.

Figure 2, p. 321. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497, GLOSE SUPERETHORICAM CICERONIS *De inuentione*, fol. 106ʳ.

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Introduction: Approaches to Didactic Literature — Meaning, Intent, Audience, Social Effect

Juanita Feros Ruys

In Epistle 94 written to his friend Lucilius, the Roman philosopher Seneca argues against the philosophical position, attributed to the Stoic Aristo, that precepts are useless, since either a person is naturally prone to goodness and is capable of living rightly in every situation, being therefore in no need of advice, or else that person is fundamentally flawed, in which case particularized conduct advice can be of no real use. On the contrary, Seneca declares, advice-giving is of the greatest importance because Nature does not teach what ought to be done in every specific circumstance ('quid autem cuique debeatur officio natura non docet'), and even when we already know the right way to live, a little prodding of the memory by the application of advice can be most beneficial: advice is a kind of exhortation.[1] Moreover, a person might have sufficient goodness of heart to be capable of living rightly and yet still lack the practical knowledge of how to act in any particular situation.[2]

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[1] *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, ed. by L. D. Reynolds, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 94.18; 94. 25: 'interdum enim scimus nec adtendimus. Non docet admonitio sed advertit, sed excitat, sed memoriam continet nec patitur elabi. Pleraque ante oculos posita transimus: admonere genus adhortandi est. Saepe animus etiam aperta dissimulat; ingerenda est itaque illi notita rerum notissimarum' (II, 369–70).

[2] *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, 94. 32: 'nam hic quoque doctus quidem est facere quae debet, sed haec non satis perspicit. Non enim tantum adfectibus inpedimur quominus probanda faciamus, sed inperitia inveniendi quid quaeque res exigat' (II, 371–72).

A similar understanding of advice-giving imbued those medieval and early-modern writers who, in affirming the importance of constant reminders, the provision of advice relevant to particular situations, and the need for preceptors to complement Nature's creation of goodness and knowledge of right living in every person, created a ubiquitous advice literature on a vast array of particularized topics from the moral to the pedagogic, practical, social, religious, and aesthetic.[3] These didactic texts do indeed reveal that Nature alone teaches no aspect of human culture, however 'natural' that behaviour might seem to us. For instance, the plethora of advice manuals on table manners that arose in Western Europe from the twelfth century onwards reveals that even 'obvious' knowledge such as not to spit in common bowls or blow one's nose on the tablecloth had to be learned, and can be seen as the creation of a specific historic time and place. Indeed, so evident — and problematic — had the sociopolitical foundations and ramifications of advice become by the early-modern period, that authors began to advocate and employ a return to more natural, less contestable images of didacticism in an effort to hide the constructed nature of advice.[4]

Asking Questions of Didactic Literature

Medieval texts set for study in schools were often approached through strings of Latin interrogatives, the seven *circumstanciae*, which forced students to consider who wrote the text, what was written, for whom it was written, for what reason, in what manner, and where and when. It is fitting to use these questions as guidelines to this volume as well, with the contributors to some extent treading in the footsteps of the medieval schoolboy undertaking his *accessus ad auctores* in applying to the wide array of texts under consideration these 'quis', 'quid', 'cui' questions. But the interrogation does not end there, for just as from these rather simplistic questions asked of individual texts there evolved the more

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[3] See Doris Ruhe, 'Hiérarchies et stratégies: Le conseil en famille', in *Consilium: Teorie e pratiche del consigliare nella cultura medievale*, ed. by Carla Casagrande, Chiara Crisciani, and Silvana Vecchio, Micrologus' Library, 10 (Florence: SISMEL—Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004), pp. 109–23: 'Pour les nombreux manuels populaires, tels qu'ils circulaient depuis le 12ᵉ siècle et circulèrent bien plus tard encore en France [...] [l]eur but est beaucoup plus d'orienter dans toutes les situations de la vie, d'aider à prendre des décisions et de donner des directives pour le bien-être tant au niveau individuel qu'au niveau social' (p. 115).

[4] See Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 62.

complex rhetorical, exegetical, and hermeneutic investigations of the twelfth century,[5] so from compositional questions asked of the specific didactic texts discussed here there derive larger questions about premodern didactic literature. One such issue is the *longue durée* of didactic literature: from where did a particular didactic tradition originate, what direction did it subsequently take, what was the ongoing reception of an individual didactic text? These considerations then lead to the metatextual questions addressed by contributors to this volume: what *is* didactic literature in the medieval and early-modern periods, how does it function, did it function as intended, and how are the didactic voice and didactic persona fashioned? All these researches finally presuppose the epistemological question that reflects back upon the modern scholar, asking us to interrogate both our own and the discipline's inherited practices, by enquiring how we know what texts were written and read as didactic in the medieval and early-modern periods.

Three major conceptual and definitional challenges are implicated in the subtitle of this volume. The association of the medieval and early-modern periods in the title is not accidental, simply the product of an attempt to produce as full or chronologically wide-ranging a volume as possible. Rather, as will be discussed further below, it represents an ideological position, first, that it is important for modern scholarship to draw out the continuities between these periods, so often placed in opposition to each other, and second, that a true understanding of the role and function of premodern didactic literature can only be achieved by considering its *longue durée*, that is, the application, repetition, and permutations of its texts and ideas over time.

By the term *literature* may be broadly understood any and all textual products available to the scholar of premodern Europe that permit us to apprehend the creation, transmission, and reception of didactic discourses. As Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse argue in the introduction to their edited volume on conduct books, the broader the textual base that scholars employ, the more nuanced the resulting understanding of medieval and early-modern social, political, and gender roles can be.[6] Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, in

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[5] See Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 66–82; also A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988), chap. 1, 'Academic Prologues to "Auctores"', pp. 9–39.

[6] Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, 'The Literature of Conduct, the Conduct of Literature, and the Politics of Desire: An Introduction', in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays on*

the introduction to their collection on medieval conduct literature, similarly argue for a 'broadening of the field of inquiry' in order to achieve 'more fluid conceptions of gender, of class identity, and of the ways texts operate in culture through variable appropriation';[7] they also endorse a wide linguistic base for the study of conduct literature in order to reveal the pervasiveness of social control in the medieval and early-modern periods.[8] Accordingly, contributors to this present volume take for their studies an exciting and stimulating range of poems, moralized tales, dramas, treatises, manuals, mirrors for princes, conduct books, *zibaldoni* and *ricordanze*, epistles, religious vitae, monastic rules, and even manuscript glosses that recall classroom lectures. These texts are not only drawn from the cultures and languages traditionally found in studies of premodern Europe (Latin, French, German, Italian, and English), but extend our view of didactic literature by deriving as well from linguistic-cultural origins as diverse as the Byzantine and Russian.

Perhaps most difficult of delineation in the volume's subtitle is the term *didactic*. More than one scholar has claimed the impossibility of defining any medieval text outside the parameters of didacticism. Daniel T. Kline suggests that interdisciplinarity of text and approach is essential to any study of medieval didactic literature since 'to separate the didactic from the artistic, the historical from the literary — courtesy books from Chaucerian tales — is fundamentally to misunderstand the literature of the Middle Ages'.[9] Ann Marie Rasmussen argues that '[a]ll medieval literature can seem at heart a moral-didactic enterprise',[10] and

Literature and the History of Sexuality, ed. by Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York: Methuen, 1987), pp. 1–24: 'there are more, many more, kinds of writing to be read and analyzed, all of which provide the material record or everyday life as it was supposed to be lived' (p. 23).

[7] Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, Medieval Cultures, 29 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. ix–xx (p. xiii).

[8] Ashley and Clark, 'Introduction': 'The theorizing of conduct represented in texts from a broad spectrum of languages and genres allows us to comprehend the extent to which the encoding of social practice is a crucial but intriguingly variable function of medieval — and indeed of any — culture' (p. xvii).

[9] Daniel T. Kline, 'Medieval Children's Literature: Problems, Possibilities, Parameters', in *Medieval Literature for Children*, ed. by Daniel T. Kline (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1–11 (p. 10).

[10] Ann Marie Rasmussen, 'Fathers to Think Back Through: The Middle High German Mother-Daughter and Father-Son Advice Poems Known as *Die Winsbeckin* and *Der Winsbecke*', in *Medieval Conduct* (see n. 7, above), pp. 106–34 (p. 106).

Thomas Haye concurs that the whole of medieval poetry is in many regards always also didactic.[11] Meanwhile Karin Ueltschi declares that the idea of didacticism can characterize a great part of the literary production of the period, and she cites comments from Pierre-Yves Badel to the effect that 'everything is didactic in the Middle Ages' and from Robert Bossuat that 'it is rather difficult to delimit the range of moral literature in the Middle Ages, since a moral intention pervades every genre'.[12] There is every evidence that the same considerations apply to the early-modern period, as Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell indicate in their introduction to their edited collection on early-modern didactic: 'It can be argued that every text in the early modern period had the potential to be viewed as didactic.'[13] For the purposes of this volume, a text can be considered didactic if it was created, transmitted, or received as a text designed to teach, instruct, advise, edify, inculcate morals, or modify and regulate behaviour.

Where Is Meaning Created in a Didactic Text?

Bossuat's image of a moral intention 'being introduced' into the texts of the Middle Ages and early-modern period raises, however, an important question: Where is the didactic intention of a medieval or early-modern text located, where is its didactic meaning created?

Most obviously, a didactic intention can be located in an author who explicitly identifies him- or herself as an educator or moralist and proceeds to offer advice,

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[11] Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: Analyse einer Gattung*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 'Aus den Beispielen wird deutlich, daß man in der Frage der lehrhaften Dichtung des Mittelalters drei konzentrische Literaturkreise voneinander scheiden muß: Den äußersten und am weitesten definierten Kreis bildet die gesamte mittelalterliche Dichtung [...] in gewisser Hinsicht immer *auch* lehrhaft ist' (p. 263; his emphasis).

[12] Karin Ueltschi, *La Didactique de la chair: Approches et enjeux d'un discourse en français au moyen âge*, Publications romanes et françaises, 204 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1993): 'La notion de "didactisme" permet de caractériser une grande partie de la production littéraire de cette période' (pp. 15–16); citing Pierre-Yves Badel, *Introduction à la vie littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris: Bordas, 1969), p. 165 ('Tout est didactisme au Moyen Age'), and Robert Bossuat, *La Littérature morale au moyen âge* (Paris: Larousse, 1935), p. 5 ('Il est assez malaisé de délimiter le domaine de la littérature morale au moyen âge, car l'intention morale peut s'introduire dans tous les genres').

[13] Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell, 'Introduction', in *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed*, ed. by Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 1–18 (p. 2).

constructing and employing a didactic persona throughout the text. Yet an explicit intention to teach does not necessarily have as its corollary a unified, self-coherent didactic persona, and we must be aware both of the efforts (successful and otherwise) made towards construction of a wholistic didactic persona by an author, as well as of competing intentions evident within these didactic authors. For instance, the chapter in this volume by Louise D'Arcens, '"Nee en Ytale": Christine de Pizan's Migrant Didactic Voice', reveals just how finely balanced the construction of a political didactic voice had to be in a time of unceasing domestic and international strife — particularly when the author was a woman and a foreigner to the realm.

Equally, as is revealed by Albrecht Classen's chapter in this volume, 'Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welsche Gast* and Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*: Two Middle High German Didactic Writers Focus on Gender Relations', it is not uncommon to find ambiguities, ambivalences, and even complete contradictions within single-authored didactic texts. One might argue that the contradictions highlighted by Classen in his examined texts are a function of any medieval text that attempted to deal with issues of gender in a period when the competing Aristotelian and Galenic medical traditions used to explain sexual difference, combined with the contrary creation narratives of Genesis 1. 26–27 and 2. 21–23, necessarily invoked incoherent understandings of social gender;[14] yet another consideration is that contradiction is a prevalent feature of medieval didactic writings — some scholars believe, deliberately so. Catherine Brown has argued that much medieval teaching is 'self-consciously doubled and divided [...] multiple and self-opposed',[15] and Constance Brittain Bouchard has suggested that '[t]he discourse of opposites in high medieval thought reached its apex in discussions of gender'.[16] Similarly, Frank Whigham has pointed out that the contradictions evident both within and between many Elizabethan courtesy texts

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[14] See Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[15] Catherine Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 1.

[16] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *'Every Valley Shall Be Exalted': The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-Century Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 113. This is also evinced by Roberta L. Krueger, 'Constructing Sexual Identities in the High Middle Ages: The Didactic Poetry of Robert of Blois', *Paragraph*, 13 (1990), 105–31: 'Robert's works do not constitute coherent *summae* voiced by the confident authority of a master who knows how his audience will respond. Robert's compilation inscribes the tension between the ideological frame and its contents and shows the internal inconsistencies and tensions of a doctrine' (p. 110).

are beside the point, since such texts were designed to be 'atomized' by their readers who could then pragmatically 'deploy arguments on either side as need arose'; as a result, such literature while 'internally dissonant in contemplative terms, is coherent in practice *in service of this flexibility*'.[17] Scholars dealing with medieval and early-modern didactic literature need to be aware, then, that contradiction can be found at the heart of any didactic text and that the didactic genre is by no means a monolithic one, either in intent or effect.[18] What scholars might consider in specific texts and instances is whether the lack of consistency in the advice offered, or discrepancies in the presented didactic persona, are evidence of a deliberate attempt to teach through dialectic contradiction, or whether these rather reflect unresolved, even unacknowledged, competing intentions in the author, which might then lead back to and hint at certain social contexts of the text's production.

In either case, the implications are significant, because the creation of didactic meaning is thereby relocated, existing not now with the author, but rather with the reader/listener who is required to absorb, make sense of, and perhaps resolve, contradictory advice. This is indeed the conclusion reached by Classen who writes of *Der Renner*: 'It seems as if Hugo leaves the final decision up to his audience and invites them to debate the issue further, which would be the most appropriate as far as the gender discourse is concerned' (p. 223). This reliance on audience to make meaning is also a feature of a number of other medieval and early-modern didactic genres. The debate-poem, which was a prevalent Latin and vernacular genre throughout the Middle Ages, often had a clear didactic import, yet equally often as not provided no clear outcome to the dispute portrayed.[19] Scholars speak of the lack of resolution in such texts as

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[17] Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 27–28, his emphasis.

[18] This *contra* Sarah Kay, *Courtly Contradictions: The Emergence of the Literary Object in the Twelfth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), who situates such deliberate contradiction in the new romance genres of the twelfth century, characterizing it as a reaction against the monolithic instruction of didactic genres; Rasmussen, 'Fathers to Think Back Through', similarly presents a view of single-author didactic texts as 'monovocal advice literature' that offers only 'an ethos of authority that is premised on a monovocal recitation of received truths' (p. 127).

[19] See for example E. C. Ronquist, 'Learning and Teaching in Twelfth-Century Dialogues', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 13 (1990), 239–56: 'we have the entertaining dialectic of arguments on both sides, often only lightly resolved. There is a great number of *conflictus* poems that examine permanent contraries' (p. 249).

'inviting the reader to decipher a "definitive conclusion" encoded in the poem'[20] and 'forcing their hearers or readers to judge the efficacy of the opposing arguments for themselves'.[21] Similarly, the 'grobianus' conduct literature that developed in the sixteenth century, which functioned in an ironic didactic mode, offered its readers an exemplar designed to inspire disgust and hence to promote the opposite of what it ostensibly advised.[22] The role of the reader in making didactic meaning is carefully unthreaded by Randall Ingram in his study of seventeenth-century reading practices across a range of texts, where he shows that the definition of a text as either 'literary' or 'didactic' is heavily influenced both by reader expectation and the use to which any given reader might wish to put a text.[23]

Yet while there is no question that the issue of audience is critical to any study of medieval and early-modern didactic literature, there is also no question that it is entirely fraught with difficulty: Richard Firth Green has declared that 'information about the nature and expectations of medieval audiences' is by no means 'easy to come by',[24] and Charles F. Briggs has similarly stated that 'it must be said that establishing the medieval audience of any text is a tricky business'.[25] This is mainly because when attempting to determine what texts were read, by whom, how often, in what manner, and to what end, scholars are often required to rely upon extratextual evidence such as ownership records of books and manuscripts, patterns of manuscript transmission and survival, and marginal

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[20] Thomas L. Reed, Jr, *Middle English Debate Poetry and the Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), p. 8.

[21] *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by John W. Conlee (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1991), p. xix; see also p. xx: 'a general intent to edify underlies most forms of dialogue and debate poetry — underlies, in fact, most varieties of medieval literature.'

[22] See Barbara Correll, *'Grobianus' and the Renaissance Text of the Subject* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

[23] Randall Ingram, 'Seventeenth-Century Didactic Readers, Their Literature, and Ours', in *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800* (see n. 13, above), pp. 63–78: 'a broad range of texts seem to have had practical utility for their readers [...] reading in early modern England complicates the category of "didactic literature" [...] didactic force does not simply reside in texts severed from contemporary practices' (p. 65).

[24] Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 3.

[25] Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De regimine principum': Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275–c.1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 6.

manuscript notations,[26] yet these forms of evidence are open to multiple interpretations and can be misleading. Neil Ker has written of 'the fallacious test of surviving books' since '[s]urvival has been usually a matter of chance',[27] and Kate Harris has explored what evidence may be gleaned from book inventories of the late-medieval period, concluding that 'the insignificance of their numbers at this period and their narrow social base, their confirmed tendency to present information about exceptional collections, the libraries of the illustrious, ensure that they too cannot supply a general basis for the study of book ownership'.[28] She adds the observation that 'ownership was not itself a *sine qua non* for access to books is obvious enough in the case of resources offered by the institutional libraries' and that 'access by loan generally is hardly quantifiable'.[29]

Glaisyer and Pennell make the same observations with regard to the audience for the didactic literature of early-modern England, citing documented instances in which it is evident that book owners were not necessarily also book readers, and similarly, that book readers could access their texts through parish libraries without personal ownership.[30] Susan Broomhall has particularly investigated the role of women as book owners and readers, concluding that '[i]t can be difficult to distinguish between the texts women owned and those that they read. Women could inherit texts that were part of a husband's collection so inventories may not necessarily indicate what they were reading themselves. Furthermore, many women exchanged texts, so that inventories of book collections do not accurately demonstrate the breadth of an individual's reading matter.'[31] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein argues that too often 'titles and prefaces are taken as evidence of the

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[26] For a detailed example of marginal annotations indicating reading practices see Stephen Orgel, 'Marginal Maternity: Reading Lady Anne Clifford's *A Mirror for Magistrates*', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. by Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 267–89.

[27] *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, 2nd edn (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. xi.

[28] Kate Harris, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Rôle of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1474*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 163–99 (p. 165).

[29] Kate Harris, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners', p. 171.

[30] Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 5.

[31] Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 26.

actual readership although they are nothing of the kind', and she demonstrates how broad and varied the readership of a didactic conduct volume written for young women might actually have been.[32] Briggs points out the many ways that the audience could be associated with a text, arguing that

> [t]he text could be read from beginning to end or partially, once or repeatedly; it could be recited to a group of listeners, a practice common to both the university classroom, the monastic or college refectory, or the royal or noble hall. Someone might have possessed but not read it, using it rather as a kind of talisman or symbol of status or power, or indeed not using it at all.[33]

We need to remember, moreover, that the author and the eventual recipient/s of a text were by no means the only potential makers of didactic meaning in the medieval and early-modern periods, for we must take into account the great array of intermediary parties involved in a text's transmission, such as copyists, redactors, annotators, glossators, illustrators, translators, publishers, patrons, and booksellers. Stephen G. Nichols has argued that '[t]he multiple forms of representation on the manuscript page', which include but are not limited to text, illumination, and gloss, 'can often provoke rupture between perception and consciousness, so that what we actually perceive may differ markedly from what poet, artist, or artisan intended to express or from what the medieval audience expected to find'.[34] Paul Zumthor points out that all manuscript texts that are not autographs are then reproductions rather than productions: rewritings, reorganizations, compilations.[35]

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[32] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Canto edition, 1993), pp. 33–34. In this regard consider also *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999): 'Those who are explicitly addressed are not always those whose interests are at stake in the production of the text' (p. 111); and Ashley, 'The *Miroir des bonnes femmes*: Not for Women Only?', in *Medieval Conduct* (see n. 7, above), pp. 86–105: 'one cannot deduce the ownership or readership of a medieval text solely from its contents' (p. 87).

[33] Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De regimine principum'*, p. 6.

[34] Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 1–10 (p. 8). Nichols also analyses the many sources of information present in a single manuscript leaf, arguing that 'different artists or artisans — poet, scribe, illuminator, rubricator, commentator — [...] projected collective social attitudes as well as interartistic rivalries onto the parchment. [...] Each system is a unit independent of the others and yet calls attention to them; each tries to convey something about the other while to some extent substituting for it' (p. 7).

[35] Paul Zumthor, 'Les Traditions poétiques', in *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, ed. by Bruno Roy and Paul Zumthor (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de

The first of these textual intermediaries, such as scribes and glossators, are clearly associated with a manuscript, but not a print, culture.[36] Most obviously, scribes had plentiful opportunities to refocus and reorient the texts they copied. As Nichols notes, 'In the act of copying a text, the scribe supplants the original poet, often changing words or narrative order, suppressing or shortening some sections, while interpolating new material in others.'[37] Illuminations have a long-overlooked potential for subtly recasting the written information or advice with which they may have shared a page, but which they did not necessarily innocently accompany.[38] The important role that a glossator could play in creating and inculcating meaning, even for well-known classical texts whose meanings were presumably already largely made, is examined in Suzanne Reynolds's study of medieval reading instruction where she points out that because glosses 'are not the reflection of an individual's interests and desires, but an answer to the grammatical requirements of the audience', then the '[r]eader response is replaced by the notion of mediation; the glossator or expert reader painstakingly mediates the text for a specific purpose'. Indeed, certain acts of glossing can 'appropriate for the expositor the place of the *auctor*'.[39]

Montréal; Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1985), pp. 11–21 (p. 15). However, one need only consider how a medieval thinker like Peter Abelard worked to see that an autograph copy would not necessarily yield a final text.

[36] See for example Gerald L. Bruns, 'The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture', *Comparative Literature*, 32 (1980), 113–29: 'Print closes off the act of writing and authorizes its results. The text, once enclosed in print, cannot be altered — except at considerable cost and under circumstances carefully watched over by virtually everyone: readers, critics, the book industry, the legal profession, posterities of every stripe' (p. 113).

[37] Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', p. 8.

[38] See *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences; Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, ed. by David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); especially the chapters by Anne D. Hedeman, 'Making the Past Present in Laurent de Premierfait's Translation of *De senectute*', pp. 59–80, and Rowan Watson, 'Manual of Dynastic History or Devotional Aid? Eleanor of Toledo's Book of Hours', pp. 179–95. See also Bianca F. C. Calabresi, '"Red Incke": Reading the Bleeding on the Early Modern Page', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (see n. 26, above), pp. 237–64.

[39] Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 31, 130, though note that Reynolds also argues that '[o]nly if the *intentio auctoris* is considered a valid category of interpretation can [...] the glossators' practice of appropriation be possible' (p. 131). See also Bruns, 'The Originality of Texts', on interlinear glosses: 'it is at this point that differences between interpretation and invention, imitation and originality, translation and *poiesis*, one text and another, become hard to define' (p. 120).

Translation was a particularly powerful means of recasting and reorienting advice in didactic texts, yet Peter F. Dembowski's study of translation from Latin into the vernacular in the Middle Ages raises the difficulties even of defining the medieval practice of 'translation' precisely, since far more prevalent than literal translation was the idea of translation as a free adaptation of earlier texts, often accompanied by a change of form from prose to verse which also necessarily affected what meanings the text was able to express.[40] This process of adaptation within translation had important epistemological ramifications, and in her chapter in this volume, 'English Translations of Didactic Literature for Women to 1550', Alexandra Barratt reveals the power over didactic meaning wielded by those translating Latin texts into the vernacular, particularly for female recipients. She concludes: '[I]f we read these texts, and in particular their dedications and apologias, with attention, it is clear that translating for women is blatantly a gender power game. By means of translation, men teach women and in various ways acculturate them into the gender roles they want them to fill' (p. 299).

The *Ovide moralisé* shows how a medieval commentator/adapter/translator could render a text didactic in intent, regardless of its original form and function. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski argues that the Franciscan friar who compiled this massive work used allegoresis to add 'a vast system of Christian interpretations to Ovid, a sure means to preserve the text for many different purposes (such as preaching, a particularly Franciscan concern)', thus according 'a new dignity to the Ovidian text by treating it essentially like the Scriptures'.[41] Yet we must remember that the audience is never excluded from the process of making meaning, even in such cases where an overwhelming textual edifice is constructed in order to create didactic function.[42] In fact, despite the best intentions of the redactor who shaped the text, audiences could always simply refuse to read a text

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[40] Peter F. Dembowski, 'Learned Latin Treatises in French: Inspiration, Plagiarism, and Translation', *Viator*, 17 (1986), 255–69, especially p. 268, where Dembowski comments on the interconnectedness of the many roles played by the compilers of manuscripts: 'Many of these translations [...] contain significant commentaries, often in the form of glosses [...]. They certainly prove that the translator-glossator did not think himself inferior to the *auctores*. [...] We must realize that the problem of glosses and commentaries is very often inseparable from the translations themselves.'

[41] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 91.

[42] Blumenfeld-Kosinski speaks of the 'vast Christian grid imposed on the *Metamorphoses*' (*Reading Myth*, p. 102).

as didactic, and Christine de Pizan manifests just such resistant reading[43] — and indeed, rewriting — of the *Ovide moralisé*.[44]

In a culture where many nonliterate people accessed books only through public reading of them, further opportunities for the manipulation of didactic intention arose. In such circumstances, Broomhall notes:

> [I]ndividual non-readers had little choice in the subject of their reading matter. Often it was the choice of the reader, perhaps a priest or literate male, whose role as disseminator of knowledge and agent between the author and audience was invested with great power. The reader could omit or add information at will, applying censorship over the non-literate audience.[45]

Given that women were more likely in this period than men to be non-readers, this didactic opportunity had a clearly gendered aspect. Yet we must not forget that certain powerful women were able to direct their own reading programme.[46]

Influence over didactic meaning could even reside in those concerned rather with a text's material manifestation than its conceptual contents, as Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse outline in their study of how late-medieval booksellers and stationers were able to contribute to the composition of the didactic corpus by determining what texts they would make available to students of the universities.[47] Broomhall similarly comments on the role of early-modern publishers in delimiting what texts women could read, arguing that printers 'influenced the reading material available to women. Their decisions about what to print, which might be based on perceptions about appropriate female reading

[43] The term originates with Judith Fetterley, *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978); see p. xxii. On resisting reading and medieval conduct see Ruth Nissé, 'Grace under Pressure: Conduct and Representation in the Norwich Heresy Trials', in *Medieval Conduct* (see n. 7, above), pp. 207–25, and the editors' discussion of this argument (p. xvi).

[44] See Judith L. Kellogg, 'Transforming Ovid: The Metamorphosis of Female Authority', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. by Marilynn Desmond, Medieval Cultures, 14 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 181–94.

[45] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 43.

[46] See Orgel, 'Marginal Maternity'.

[47] Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–ca. 1350', in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Publications in Medieval Studies, 17 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), pp. 259–338: 'The onus of procuring exemplars — and the very selection of which particular works might be "useful to the studies of the various faculties" (the university's only prescription) — fell entirely upon stationers' (p. 303).

material as well as economic viability, shaped material to which women had access.'[48] Ingram points out the power of publishers to create the *auctoritas* of a work by the way in which it was printed and presented, using 'signs of authorial legitimacy' including items such as 'engraved frontispieces, letters from the printer, commendatory poems'. As a result, 'Gestures toward presenting a work as monumental' can be 'gestures that open the text to use by didactic readers.'[49]

Indeed, copyists and printers could manipulate the didactic authority of a text simply through altering, or indeed omitting, its incipit or title page. Thus Christine de Pizan increasingly lost the authorship of her *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* in the manuscript tradition of the late fifteenth century, but most significantly in the first publication of the work in 1488 by Antoine Vérard where the text was presented as a translation into French of Vegetius's Latin treatise *De re militari*.[50] Implicated here are not only issues of gender, but also of the *auctoritas* of didactic literature written both originally in Latin as opposed to any of the medieval and early-modern vernaculars, and by 'antique' rather than 'modern' *auctores*.[51] Cyndia Susan Clegg has written in this regard of printing revealing 'patriarchy's anxious desire — and concurrent failure — to exercise authentic authority over unruly texts, unruly wives, and unruly subjects';[52] although it must be noted that Stephen Orgel paints a more rather laissez-faire image of Renaissance printers leaving the construction of 'final texts' up to their readers.[53]

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[48] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, p. 27.

[49] Ingram, 'Seventeenth-Century Didactic Readers', p. 66. See also Michael Baird Saenger, 'The Birth of Advertising', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (see n. 26, above), pp. 197–219: 'prefatory writers, including the publisher and translator, often have a profound impact on the way a text is read' (p. 198).

[50] See Cynthia J. Brown, 'The Reconstruction of an Author in Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (see n. 44, above), pp. 215–35. On the 'forgetting' of medieval women writers see Sara S. Poor, *Mechthild of Magdeburg and Her Book: Gender the Making of Textual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[51] See for example Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*: 'To acquire the status of an authority, of course, a work had either to be of some antiquity itself, believed to be of authority, or based extensively on older sources' (p. 149).

[52] Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'Checking the Father: Anxious Paternity and Jacobean Press Censorship', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (see n. 26, above), pp. 291–301 (p. 300).

[53] Orgel, 'Marginal Maternity', p. 289.

Other issues that need to be taken into account when dealing with the source of meaning in didactic literature include the significant number of anonymous medieval didactic texts: for example, the *Auctores octo* which every schoolboy read are almost all of unknown authorship, yet these were fundamental didactic texts for generations, at least for male students. Is didactic authority here simply a consequence then of custom? By the same token, could a text cited in a florilegium or copied or bound together with other culturally recognized didactic texts in a codex be rendered didactic simply by proximity?[54] The anonymous school texts raise another issue, however, for a certain number of them were strongly associated with names famous for moral probity, indicating the slippery relationship between author and *auctoritas* that could pertain in the Middle Ages[55] and which certainly affected the transmission and reception of didactic literature. For example, does not the didactic meaning of the *Disticha Catonis* reside primarily in its association with Cato the Censor, renowned for his strict morals;[56] would the *Secretum secretorum*, discussed by Steven J. Williams in this volume, have circulated as prodigiously as it did were it not, for a time at least, thought to be Aristotle's advice to his pupil Alexander; is the ubiquity and authority of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* not in truth a product of its erroneous attribution to Cicero, considered the master of rhetoric in the Middle Ages?

Scholars should always be aware, therefore, that no process or technology used to transmit didactic literature in the premodern period, or even thereafter, can be considered innocent of the potential to create, reinforce, or alter didactic

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[54] So also *The Idea of the Vernacular*: 'The company a text keeps in its "manuscript matrix"; and the fortunes of that manuscript can provide evidence of probable audiences' (p. 111). Wogan-Browne et al. here also cite Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, 'Introduction', in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Nichols and Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 1–6 (p. 2), regarding 'the possibility that a given manuscript, having been organized along certain principles, may well present its text(s) according to its own agenda, as worked out by the person who planned and supervised the production of the manuscript'.

[55] See Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*: 'To be "authentic", a saying or piece of writing had to be the genuine production of a named *auctor*. Works of unknown or uncertain authorship were regarded as "apocryphal" and believed to possess an *auctoritas* far inferior to that of works which circulated under the names of *auctores*' (p. 11).

[56] But note that this ascription was questioned during the Middle Ages: see the two *accessus* printed in R. B. C. Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores: Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 21–22. See also Ruhe, 'Hiérarchies et stratégies', pp. 115–16, where she notes that Remigius of Auxerre questioned the ascription as early as the ninth century.

meaning, and in each case of textual transmission, issues of ideology, power, and gender should be considered.[57] In addition, we must also be aware of our own role as modern scholarly handlers of these didactic texts — transcribers, editors, translators, commentators, publishers — in the *post factum* creation of the premodern didactic corpus,[58] particularly holding both in view and in question the disciplinary practices and assumptions that might lead us to label any particular text as 'didactic'.

Longue Durée

The didactic literature of the Middle Ages and early-modern period is, in some respects, highly unstable. During the course of centuries, any individual text might be translated into other languages, versified or, conversely, put into prose form, move from manuscript into various print editions, have extraneous material interpolated within it, be radically abbreviated,[59] be merged with or inserted into other similar texts,[60] rendered anonymous, ascribed to another author, have its original authorship rediscovered, have its title lifted for use with

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[57] See similarly Carol M. Meale, 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library, Digby MS 185', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy, York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings Series, 4 (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 103–31: 'No manuscript [...] comes into existence within a cultural vacuum. Issues of gender, domestic and national politics, all have a bearing' (p. 131).

[58] Some issues pertinent to the role of the modern editor in the philological construction of medieval texts are discussed in the volume *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature: Essays from the 1985 Conference at the University of York*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1987).

[59] See for example the complaint of James VI and I in his 'Preface to the Reader' that his text of advice for his son Henry was circulated in an unauthorized abbreviated version: 'Indeed I am litle beholden to the curiositie of some, who thinking it too large alreadie (as appears) for lacke of leisure to copy it, drew some notes out of it, for speeds sake; putting in the one halfe of the purpose, and leauing out the other [...]. And of these notes, making a little pamphlet (lacking both my methode and halfe of my matter)' (*King James VI and I: Political Writings*, ed. by Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), *Basilicon Doron*, pp. 1–61 (p. 10)).

[60] Consider for example the manuscript tradition of the didactic writings of Robert of Blois, which tends to present a series of discrete didactic texts (such as his *Enseignement des Princes* and *Chastoiement des dames*) inserted within a frame of a romance (the *roman de Beaudous*); see Krueger, 'Constructing Sexual Identities', pp. 111–12.

a completely different text,[61] and generally be shaped to fit the prevailing social and political requirements of a particular time and place. Indeed, some texts managed to endure almost all of these permutations in the course of their transmission.[62] Zumthor's notion of the *mouvance* of medieval vernacular poetry becomes particularly pertinent here, and it is significant that the editors of *The Idea of the Vernacular* find it especially applicable to a didactic text. They show that for *The South English Legendary*, '[t]he number and ordering of the saints' lives varies in every manuscript. Early versions of the text are distinct from later versions, combining hagiographic and other material in ways that suggest the targeting of specific local audiences.'[63] In the same way, as Philippa Bright reveals in her chapter in this volume, the Anglo-Latin collections of didactic tales known as the *Gesta Romanorum* also display an instability and volatility of association.

Yet despite these manifold mutations, what is remarkable about the didactic literature of these periods is also its resilience, with the same texts, authors, dicta, motifs, and concepts continuing to be cited and reproduced for generation after generation, from late antiquity through to the end of the early-modern era and the beginnings of the Enlightenment: for example, the third- or fourth-century *Disticha Catonis* enjoyed more than a millennium of use as an indispensable school text. As Jonathan Nicholls points out, 'Writing that circumscribes human behaviour can be found from the very beginnings of civilisation, and the medieval works that prescribe rules of conduct are only part of a long line of such material.'[64] Too often the medieval and early-modern periods have been treated in scholarship as radically disjunctive eras, and this trend continues.[65] By studying the resilience, the *longue durée*, of didactic

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[61] The title *De regimine principum* was, for example, widely used for a variety of mirrors for princes.

[62] For example, the *Secretum secretorum*: see Steven J. Williams, *The 'Secret of Secrets': The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003) and *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, ed. by M.A. Manzalaoui, Early English Text Society, 276 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[63] See *The Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 10, n. 4.

[64] Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985), p. 2.

[65] Despite the idea of this disjunction having been critiqued some time ago by David Aers, 'A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the "History of the Subject"', in *Culture and History 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*, ed. by David Aers (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp. 177–202, it remains prevalent, appearing, for example, as a key consideration in the 'Introduction to the Series' by

literature — whether the durability of a particular genre (such as the 'mirror', which remained a prevalent didactic genre from Carolingian times to the eighteenth century), a particular didactic practice, or the continuing influence of an individual text through the centuries — a new understanding of the fluidity and continuity between the medieval and early-modern periods can be developed. This is achieved, for example, by Barratt in her contribution to this volume which concludes that 'the pattern of texts chosen for translation for women evolves but undergoes no dramatic transformation as the Middle Ages morphs into the early-modern period' (p. 301).

Didactic Literature and Social Practice

Locating the didactic intent in medieval and early-modern literature is certainly difficult, but locating the didactic effect of such literature in the lives of premodern people is far more so. Was there any correspondence between textual advice and actual behaviour? Given that an intention to have a 'concrete effect' (in Ueltschi's terms) on behaviour might well be seen as comprising a fundamental feature of such literature,[66] can it exist as such if it is merely written, read, heard, and circulated, but never enacted? Is it indeed possible to quantify the success of the didactic genre as a whole beyond its unquestioned ability to replicate itself from generation to generation?

This is not a new question: over a century ago, Alice A. Hentsch considered whether there was any necessary relationship (perhaps an inverse one?) between the popularity of a didactic text and its ability to enact its didactic function upon its recipients.[67] This is an issue that continues to exercise modern scholars of medieval and early-modern didactic theory and practice. The editors of *Medieval Conduct* aim in their volume to 'place equal emphasis on three aspects of medieval conduct — texts, theories, and practices — with the goal of articulating

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Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, Jr, in each volume of the University of Chicago Press series, The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe.

[66] See Ueltschi, *La Didactique de la chair*: 'Le discours didactique sur la chair est fondamentalement acte de langage par l'intention d'enseigner, par la tension vers un allocutaire matérialisé linguistiquement, par la volonté d'avoir un impact concret sur un comportement' (p. 115).

[67] Alice A. Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique du moyen âge s'addressant spécialement aux femmes* (Cahors: A. Coueslant, 1903; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975): 'mais eurent-ils une influence proportionnée en profondeur à leur popularité?' (p. 11).

the relationships among them',[68] while Glaisyer and Pennell in their introduction admit that '[t]he question of whether readers followed prescriptions related in texts is crucial'.[69]

The problem has been well theorized by Anna Bryson in the introduction to her study *From Courtesy to Civility*. Here she notes 'the diffuse and fragmentary nature of direct evidence of practice in many areas of manners' and argues that 'written guides to courteous conduct [...] cannot, of course, be assumed to be reliable indications of actual behaviour in a complex society'.[70] The difficulty, she declares, is that often in such cases, texts are merely the petrifactions of practices that were learned rather through imitation than from a book.[71] And yet, although it is difficult to extrapolate either acquiescence or resistance to texts when all the evidence is necessarily itself also textual,[72] nevertheless as scholars of the genre we need, beyond the traditional refrain that repetition of advice intimates resistance to it, to be alive to any hints that might suggest to us the effect — or lack thereof — of didactic literature upon individual and social practice.

In many cases, there can actually be better evidence for resistance to didactic precepts than acceptance and application of them. Williams's investigation into the possibility of drawing a direct line of influence between medieval mirrors for princes and specific instances of royal or aristocratic political behaviour concludes that, despite the optimistic correlations claimed by some scholars, there is simply no evidence that rulers took their cue from manuals of advice. On the contrary, Williams shows that there is sparse evidence that rulers even read these mirrors, which they nevertheless liked for various reasons to have in their libraries, and indeed that the authors of these mirrors, such as Giles of

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[68] Ashley and Clark, 'Introduction', p. ix.

[69] Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 14.

[70] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 5.

[71] Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*: 'written precept was not the principal means of transmission of forms of social conduct, and codifications can easily be travesties or gross simplifications.' Bryson suggests that some kind of correspondence between text and practice may be found when, '[f]or any particular text, numbers of editions, discernible influence in other sources, and the general consistency of its content with that of other accounts can go some way towards giving an impression of its relevance to contemporary values and practices' (p. 5).

[72] See for example Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*: 'We will only avoid error (and not only errors of fact, but also serious errors of emphasis and interpretation) by recognizing the inherent circularity of allowing the literature to provide its own social matrix' (p. 4).

Rome, may well have tailored the advice they were offering to the prevailing political situation.[73] In her chapter in this volume, 'Elizabethan Drama and *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* by Juan Luis Vives', Ursula Potter takes up the challenge of articulating the nexus between precept and behaviour, reading in the popular dramas of the Tudor period, not acquiescence, but in fact resistance to the well-known theories of women's conduct circulating at the time, indicating a real struggle in the lives of English parents and guardians over the extent to which (foreign) moral prescriptions should be applied to the lives of their daughters.

We are in a much better position to judge the efficacy of didactic literature where texts were written to specifically named individuals and history allows us to determine how those individuals subsequently acted. Unfortunately, the evidence here is, again, not always positive. For example, in his chapter in this volume, 'Master Vacarius, Speroni, and Heresy: Law and Theology as Literature in the Twelfth Century', Jason Taliadoros examines a theological treatise written by a master for a former student and friend who was veering dangerously towards heresy; this text did not have its desired effect, unable to convince its recipient through logic and law to change his theological position. Similarly, a number of the parent-child didactic texts discussed by Juanita Feros Ruys in her chapter can be shown to have failed in their primary intent of providing a smooth pathway through life for their filial addressees; for instance, Dhuoda's anxious text of advice for her son William, which continually enjoins upon him loyalty to his sovereign lord, was unable to prevent his rebellion against and eventual execution by Emperor Charles the Bald. On the other hand, in her chapter in this volume, 'Vladimir Monomakh's *Instruction*: An Old Russian Pedagogic Treatise', Maria Nenarokova attributes the glowing success of the line of Russian monarchs descended from Monomakh to their acceptance and application of the precepts for good moral government contained in his *Instruction*, written originally for his sons.

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[73] Steven J. Williams, 'Giving Advice and Taking It: The Reception by Rulers of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* as a *speculum principis*', in *Consilium* (see n. 3, above), pp. 139–80. Similarly, Jenny Wormald argues that the number of surviving copies of early editions of James VI and I's didactic text, *Basilikon Doron*, 'suggests that it was bought, perhaps read once, and put on the bookshelf' ('James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 36–54 (p. 51)).

Dealing with texts of practical expertise rather than of moral conduct, Glaisyer and Pennell relate that '[e]vidence survives which suggests that readers might follow their didactic text almost to the letter';[74] yet despite such tantalizing glimpses of 'real life', Glaisyer and Pennell admit that 'we must recognize that there were huge variations in the relationship between text and response'.[75]

Modern Scholarly Practice

While the issue of a scholarly methodology and practice that is both self-aware and alert to the details of its disciplinary construction has been current in medieval and early-modern studies for some time now,[76] it is not often applied specifically to the genre of didactic literature. An exception is Rasmussen's study of the 'Lehrdichtung', a category of medieval German conduct literature, which she argues has been 'constructed largely by nineteenth-century scholarship, reflecting the assumptions and biases of previous — and present — learning, and producing the answers and the questions that communities of scholars past and present have deemed useful and legitimate'. This has created, she claims, a situation in which study of German conduct literature is necessarily gendered, for '[s]ince the early nineteenth century scholars of medieval literature have constructed through their editorial and interpretive practices the paternal authority — the fathers — that it wished to think back through'.[77]

While some scholars, such as Zumthor, have attempted to classify into subgenres the types of didactic literature found in the Middle Ages, others have

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[74] Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 14.

[75] Glaisyer and Pennell, 'Introduction', p. 14.

[76] See for example the 'New Philology' issue of *Speculum*, 65 (1990), ed. by Stephen G. Nichols; *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. by R. Howard Bloch and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); *Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman*, ed. by Richard Utz and Tom Shippey, Making the Middle Ages, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); and *Maistresse of My Wit: Medieval Women, Modern Scholars*, ed. by Louise D'Arcens and Juanita Feros Ruys, Making the Middle Ages, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

[77] Rasmussen, 'Fathers to Think Back Through', p. 107. Witness Haye's rigorous demarcation of the 'Lehrgedicht' from the larger mass of didactic literature in *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, especially chap. 9, 'Das Lehrgedicht im Vergleich — Abgrenzungen und Übergänge' (pp. 242–98).

declared even the difficulty of this, with Nicholls arguing that '[a]lthough the large general class can be broken down into various sub-sections, it is extremely difficult to assign one poem, or one treatise into a particular category without recognising the artificiality of such structures'.[78] This is, of course, a problem with any taxonomic impulse, but it has particular relevance to the field of didactic literature, where, as a number of contributors to this volume point out in their chapters, the very act of applying emphasis in persuasion could often alter the form of a didactic text, and, in extreme cases, push it towards a neighbouring or associated genre. In short, we need as scholars to be aware that certain ways of viewing and even speaking about the texts that broadly constitute premodern didactic literature are our retrospective constructions and delimitations of a much more organic literary phenomenon. At the same time, recognition of the contradictions and disruptions that — deliberately or otherwise — inhabit the didactic literature of this period, and of the multiple sites within the process of text and transmission wherein didactic meaning can be created, can prevent the Romanticizing and totalizing of the genre.[79]

The Contents of the Volume

The opening three chapters of the present volume address the issue of didactic literature at its broadest, considering for the periods under discussion what constituted a didactic text, how we recognize that didactic impulse today, and how a didactic voice might be constructed. It is easy for modern scholars to label a medieval or early-modern text 'didactic' based on our perception of its primary content (precepts, exempla, rules), but it is a far more difficult task to prove that premodern audiences would have read and received these texts in the same way. In his chapter in the volume, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* as a Didactic Text', Steven J. Williams takes up this challenge of aligning medieval and modern perceptions of didactic literature by analysing the transmission and reception of the *Secret of Secrets*, a text which, based on manuscript numbers alone, Williams claims as 'the quintessential secular didactic text of the Middle Ages' (p. 42). Williams seeks to accord the overt didactic appearance of the text (a *speculum principis* or instruction for rulers compiled of moral precept and

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[78] Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy*, p. 14.

[79] See David Greetham, 'Romancing the Text, Medievalizing the Book', in *Medievalism in the Modern World*, pp. 409–32 (especially pp. 412–13).

arcane 'scientific' knowledge) with contemporary indications that it was read as didactic. Drawing widely from paratextual comments by translators, analysis of how and to what ostensible ends the circulating text was altered and abbreviated, evidence of manuscript annotation, codicological evidence, and evidence of readers and their reading intentions, he demonstrates that the text was read and received as didactic. Williams also proves, however, how variable the perception of didactic effect and importance amongst readers can be, detailing the almost spectacular decline from fame that the *Secret of Secrets* suffered soon after the advent of printing. Paradoxically, at a time when the text's circulation could have undergone a manifold increase, insistent questions asked of the two key loci on which its didactic authority rested (the name of Aristotle and its esoteric magical knowledge) fatally damaged its didactic value.

In many ways, the chapter by Kathleen Olive, 'Preaching and Teaching: The Codex Rustici as Confused Pilgrimage Tale', provides the obverse side to this coin. While the didactic intent and effect of the text discussed by Williams is always manifest, that of the Codex Rustici remains, as Olive's title indicates, 'confused'. Its author, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, sets out with one stated didactic intention, achieves several quite different ones along the way, and in the process creates a text that would come to be considered instructional by modern scholars in an altogether different mode. Rustici commences his text with the ostensible aim of providing his readers with moral instruction through an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his text diverts markedly to provide a panegyric to his home city of Florence: Olive defines this distinction as one between 'preaching' and 'teaching'. Yet sandwiched between these extensive geographic and architectural descriptions of 'Jerusalem' and Florence are so many references to the great texts and authors of humanist Italian education that Olive cannot but describe the Codex as constituting, in addition to a pilgrimage account, a *zibaldone*, or commonplace book: the question remains, however, what precisely these excerpts and citations from *auctores* are designed to teach. Apparently standard moral and ethical precepts with which Rustici wishes to instruct the reader, perhaps their function resides just as much in their ability to teach the reader about Rustici's education and literary knowledge, of which he, as a man of artisan class ('watered by nature' as Olive points out) may well have been proud. Olive indicates that while Rustici's pilgrimage accounts are today dismissed as most probably inauthentic and of no instructional value regarding medieval Jerusalem, the Codex is, however, heavily utilized for its contemporary pictorial renderings of now-lost fifteenth-century Florentine buildings, a didactic effect of his manuscript that even Rustici could

not have foreseen. This chapter bears witness, then, to the continuing fluidity of notions of didactic intention and effect across times and places.

While the chapters by Williams and Olive explore the creation and location of didactic intent in a text and its reception, the chapter by Louise D'Arcens, '"Nee en Ytale": Christine de Pizan's Migrant Didactic Voice', considers the self-conscious and deliberate construction of a didactic voice by one of the most prolific didactic authors of the late-medieval period. As D'Arcens points out, particularly with regard to Christine de Pizan's role in the literary quarrel over the misogynistic power of the *Roman de la rose*, she was a didactic writer who never ceased to theorize her craft, thinking deeply about the influential power of literature on the individual for good or ill, believing in the active ability of literature to guide and produce behaviour, and concerned about misuses of didactic authority. D'Arcens shows that not only did Christine take careful account of the content and style of didactic literature that would render it most effective, but that she developed a theory and practice regarding the didactic persona as well. While recent studies have taken into account the role of Christine's gender in her creation of a didactic voice, D'Arcens here offers a new direction in research, considering how Christine employs her native Italianness (long overlooked as a feature of her political writings) to formulate a didactic persona that is able to be situated both within and outside the French society that she undertakes to critique and guide through her writings. D'Arcens analyses Christine's key political texts of exhortation and instruction, considering in detail how Christine's migrant didactic voice was constructed, how and why it was used, and how it intersected with her self-conscious evocations of her gender in her writings, highlighting in the process the delicate balancing act that Christine had to play in constructing herself as both French and Other in order to have her voice heard. D'Arcens concludes by considering the efficacy of the migrant didactic voice adopted by Christine, both in her own time and in the post-medieval reception of her writings, as well as the efficacy of the didactic genre itself at a time of unremitting civil and international unrest.

From these broad studies of the nature and functioning of didactic literature, the volume then moves to more specific considerations, examining how such literature was directed towards particular groups within society. Without a doubt a major role of didactic literature in the medieval and early-modern periods was to instruct children, and while it is not true that all didactic literature was designed for children, there is no question that all medieval literature for children was didactic, whether they were being instructed in appropriate conduct or the rudiments of literacy — storybooks designed purely for reading pleasure

would be a much later development. It is, of course, difficult to determine in many cases whether a didactic text was primarily intended for a child: as scholars have noted, children were exposed to a range of literary didactic materials not necessarily written specifically for their age group, while texts that were directed to them would not consequently have failed to reach a wider audience as well.[80] We can be fairly certain, however, that the texts discussed in the following two chapters were aimed specifically at juvenile readers, for we know that they were written by parents for their own children.

In her chapter, 'Vladimir Monomakh's *Instruction*: An Old Russian Pedagogic Treatise', Maria Nenarokova offers an analysis of a didactic text little known in Western medievalist scholarship. This twelfth-century Russian pedagogic treatise was created by later chroniclers out of disparate materials left by one of Russia's most significant rulers, Vladimir Monomakh, a great prince who unified Kievan Rus'. The treatise now bearing his name includes within it a letter Monomakh wrote for his children which appears very much a *speculum principis* in form, designed to instill in his children the qualities required for them to achieve a good spiritual life and to become just and humane rulers. Nenarokova analyses the content of the treatise, showing that it deals as much with the spiritual formation of the individual as with more practical and pragmatic matters, such as the means of settling political disputes and the methods of good governance both in times of peace and on the battlefield. In both the theological and political modes, however, Nenarokova points out that Monomakh draws not only from the written authority of the Scriptures and Russian Orthodox liturgical tradition, but also from his own extensive experience of conflict, resolution, and government. Most significantly, Nenarokova undertakes the difficult task of tracing the didactic effect that Monomakh's pedagogic instructions had on its intended audience of his children and subsequent descendants. It is challenging enough to discern didactic influence when dealing with a text written for wide dissemination, and the task only becomes harder when the text at hand is a parental one with a very specialized and limited readership. Nevertheless, through close work in the

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[80] See Kline, 'Medieval Children's Literature'; and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 274–304. See also a number of the chapters in the volume *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), especially the articles by Karen K. Jambeck, 'The *Tretiz* of Walter of Bibbesworth: Cultivating the Vernacular', pp. 159–83, and Nicole Clifton, '*The Seven Sages of Rome*, Children's Literature, and the Auchinleck Manuscript', pp. 186–201.

historical archives, Nenarokova demonstrates that the precepts of Monomakh's *Instruction* continued to resonate through the several generations of Russian rulers descended from him, their behaviour as pious and just men in accord with the advice Monomakh bequeathed.

The issue of personal experience as a didactic resource is the focus of the chapter by Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Didactic "I"s and the Voice of Experience in Advice from Medieval and Early-Modern Parents to Their Children'. Although important in classical didactic texts, the concept of experience became a contested category in the patristic era when it was aligned with Eve's decision to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. Ruys traces the gradual recuperation of the concept of experience in texts of advice written by parents for their children in Western Europe from the early-medieval period into the first decades of the seventeenth century. These include texts authored by Dhuoda, Peter Abelard, Saint Louis, the Knight of La Tour-Landry, Anne de France, and James VI and I. She shows how the earlier texts relied heavily on *auctoritas* (authoritative writings) and example (usually biblical) as a pedagogic medium, but reveals how, as the idea of experience came to be developed in new scientific and mystical thinking through the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, it was also incorporated as an increasingly important component in parental advice texts. This had the effect of relocating the authority of the parental advisor from external texts to the self, creating a significant alignment of parenthood and didactic authority. Ruys also considers the gender implications of the move to experience, taking into account parental texts written by both maternal and paternal authors, and for both male and female children. She concludes, somewhat contrary perhaps to popular perception, that the experiential mode in the late-medieval and early-modern periods was perceived as a masculine didactic mode, and she considers some possible reasons for this.

The question of the relationship between parents and pedagogy is continued in Catherine England's chapter in the volume, '"The world must be peopled": Children and Their Context in Renaissance Florence', which examines the didactic literature of Renaissance Florence either written by parents, or directed to them, regarding the rearing and education of children. The prescriptions that England finds in a range of contemporary documents such as personal journals (*ricordanze*), letters, and treatises, lay down in no small detail directions for the education of children, and firmly recommend denying children time for idle recreation: all spare time should be spent in learning and instruction. While these prescriptive texts demand strong parental examples to help form tender natures, they do also advocate a certain flexibility of instruction to allow a child's

natural abilities to manifest themselves. Yet overall, England argues, these texts reveal a somewhat unsentimental understanding of childhood, indicating that the education of children was undertaken as much to produce good and useful citizens for Florence as to improve the individual. In the end, England argues, this didactic literature offers cultural historians a finely balanced reception of the concept of childhood in Renaissance Florence as both individual and instrumental: authors are of course aware of the individuality of children, which they view as something to be cherished and fostered, but to some extent prevailing over this is the sense that children are needed to maintain the greatness both of the city of Florence and of individual families. The didactic literature prescribing children's education in Renaissance Florence remains as committed to this creation of communal as of individual good.

After children, the group most commonly addressed by didactic writers was women, who constituted a large, perennial, and, as Alexandra Barratt points out in her chapter, often 'captive' audience.[81] However, the chapter by Stavroula Constantinou, 'Women Teachers in Early Byzantine Hagiography', offers a fresh new perspective on the subject of didactic literature for women. Reversing the usual power differential of men writing to instruct the conduct of women, Constantinou's chapter offers instead a salutary instance of women not only as teachers of other women, but also as recognized teachers of men. Moreover, by focusing on Byzantine texts, Constantinou offers readers of the volume an insight into how didactic literature functioned outside the traditional bounds of Western Europe, allowing broader conclusions about medieval and early-modern didactic literature to be drawn than would otherwise be possible. This is particularly so since her primary texts are hagiographic, a genre, as Constantinou remarks, that constituted 'the didactic literature par excellence of the Middle Ages' (p. 189), and as such, one that is clearly capable of transcending both medieval political East/West boundaries and their modern disciplinary counterparts. Constantinou notes that hagiography aims to instruct through example and imitation, but the particular texts examined in her chapter, the Lives of Saints Macrina and Synkletike, go beyond this. In both cases, the women saints are represented as teaching by word as much as by example, and in the case of the Life of Synkletike, much of the text is taken up with actual reportage of her instructions, to the extent, as Constantinou notes, that this threatens the generic form of the traditional saints' life — such blurring of generic boundaries is something that occurs in a number of the texts discussed in this volume, and

[81] See also Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique*.

often bears witness to the urgency with which the author is seeking to teach. More significantly, both women are seen to instruct men, and both advise their female disciples about how they should learn and then teach others; these texts thus communicate a distinctively female form and tradition of pedagogy that is capable of instructing men as well.

The chapter by Albrecht Classen, 'Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welsche Gast* and Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*: Two Middle High German Didactic Writers Focus on Gender Relations', continues the exploration, begun in Constantinou's chapter, of the surprisingly unconventional understanding of male-female relationships that can be found in premodern didactic literature. Classen aims to uncover behind the prescriptive and idealistic advice of medieval literature on moral, political, and religious issues a real sense of how individuals of the time interacted with each other, both within the family unit, and more significantly, in terms of relations between the genders, particularly with regard to marriage. For his sources Classen chooses two of the most comprehensive and popular Middle High German didactic texts of the thirteenth century. In Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welsche Gast* (The Italian Guest) he finds an unexpected gender-neutral insistence on honour and a clear conscience, a depiction of virtue (and vice) as independent of gender, and an interpretation of marriage as a source of unity and partnership, founded on love, mutual respect, and a certain freedom of action. Thomasin even offers husbands the perceptive, not to mention enlightened, advice that they should not fear giving their wives a little leeway, for virtue is not produced through containment, and a good woman in a loving marriage will not abuse her freedom. In Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner* (The Runner) Classen finds similar instances of an evenhanded approach to gender differences, with a willingness by Hugo to find both good and reprehensible behaviour equally in men and women — leaving perhaps the final decision on such questions up to his audience. What Classen reveals, therefore, is that despite its prescriptive tone and the widespread modern sense that it constitutes a conservative genre, medieval didactic literature offered its readers a much more nuanced, less misogynist view of women, female behaviour, and marital relationships than many contemporary medieval courtly texts that ostensibly venerated women. Far from being a literary form that unthinkingly reproduced and then reprehended gender stereotypes (particularly of women) drawn from authoritative texts such as the Scriptures, Classen presents an innovative view of didactic literature as a genre that both draws from, and hopes to speak to, the real life of its readers, enjoining upon them the necessity of respect and tolerance when dealing with the opposite sex.

A similar premodern understanding of the importance of good relations between the sexes is apparent in the chapter by Julie Hotchin, entitled 'Guidance for Men Who Minister to Women in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* of Johannes Busch'. This chapter deals with a handbook written by Busch, a fifteenth-century monastic reformer, which draws upon his many decades of experience in the oversight and reformation of monastic houses in northern and central Germany. Hotchin focuses on Book II of the treatise, which comprises a guide to the reformation of female houses, and which she uses as a means of elucidating relations between male and female monastics in the later Middle Ages. In particular she considers the tensions that arose in the process of reforming female houses, tensions that were often intensified by the male-female power differential inherent in ecclesiastic structures. She outlines both the stresses that female religious suffered in having their established monastic *modus vivendi* scrutinized and criticized by unfamiliar male figures and the means by which these male reformers had to negotiate the imposition of changes upon unwilling female recipients. In the process, she shows the two sexes in a climate of tension, having to accommodate and compromise with one another, modifying their words, behaviour, and expectations in order to achieve the greater goal of monastic regularity. Busch's *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, written as a didactic text for the use of male reformers, thus deals directly with issues of gender representation in the later Middle Ages. Busch confronts standard ecclesiastical misogynistic tropes, such as the necessity for religious men to maintain their distance from women, and draws on his own personal experience in order to advise monastic men on how to minister adequately to the religious women under their pastoral care. Once again, then, we find that medieval didactic literature did not simply reproduce without question traditional gender stereotypes and antifeminist counsel, but could in fact offer insightful and useful advice on relationships between the sexes.

If these previous three chapters contest certain traditional views of the relationship between women, men, and the didactic impulse, the chapter by Ursula Potter, 'Elizabethan Drama and *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* by Juan Luis Vives', brings into question another, investigating whether parents in Tudor England actually applied to their own daughters the popular didactic instructions designed to regulate the behaviour of young women. Like Williams and Nenarokova, Potter here undertakes the difficult task of determining what correspondence might exist between textual instruction, the consumption of didactic literature, and actual behaviour. Potter's investigation centres around the reception in Elizabethan England of Juan Luis Vives's *Instruction of a Christian*

Woman, which was immensely popular in its English translation from the Latin by Richard Hyrde. Yet Vives's text was very strict in its regulation of young women, recommending a highly protected, almost secluded, upbringing, devoid of intellectual stimulation or social contact, with education geared solely to the goals of piety and the maintenance of chastity. Vives employed shame and fear as pedagogic tools: fear of exploitation by men, and shame of the female body. All this accorded well with the principles espoused and practised by more rigorous religious groups, such as the Puritans, but, as Potter notes, within broader society, there can be found instances of growing and sustained parental resistance to Vives's strictures and tactics. Potter particularly locates this resistance in a mid-sixteenth-century colloquy on female conduct and a number of Elizabethan dramas, most particularly Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*. This play Potter reads as engaging directly with Vives's feminine ideal through its Spanish cultural allusions and its exposure of the dangers of a pedagogic philosophy that denies women the necessary tools — both rhetorical and experiential — to survive in male society. While noting some cultural and racial aspects of the English rejection of Vives's restrictive 'mediterranean' approach to female conduct, Potter highlights a danger that remained attendant upon too close parental adherence to his policies. For parents applying *The Instructions of a Christian Woman* too strictly, the didactic effect of Vives's strictures came to be located upon the very bodies of the girls themselves, as his rigid guidelines for the preservation of chastity contributed to an epidemic of greensickness, the 'disease' of virgins.

The chapter by Alexandra Barratt, 'English Translations of Didactic Literature for Women to 1550', examines the didactic reading material that was made available for English women readers in the later Middle Ages through translation from other languages (primarily Latin and French). Most of these texts were religious and devotional in nature, consisting especially of monastic rules for women in those orders, but Barratt does note the existence as well of secular conduct texts compiled from exempla, the ever-present *Instruction of a Christian Woman* by Vives, and even a romance which its translator has, through his attribution of a moral message to it (in accord with techniques discussed earlier in this introduction) transformed into a didactic text. What Barratt particularly interrogates, however, is how these acts of translation can be viewed in terms of the power and gender differentials at play in the period. Fundamentally, women require English translations because they cannot read the texts in their original language — for most religious texts, this will be Latin, but women were, by and large, excluded from instruction in Latin throughout the Middle Ages. Their reliance on male translators was, therefore, a direct consequence of a gendered

education process. More significantly, there is no way of determining whether the translations made for women were in fact requested by them, or whether this was a convenient fiction espoused by the translator in his preface.[82] As Barratt points out, the provision of texts to women by male authority figures would be highly coercive in its own right, functioning as another layer of didactic authority, complementing in an extratextual way the instruction to be found within the text. What Barratt's chapter reveals, then, is that gender issues can be found not only in the didactic texts themselves, but in the paratexts they acquire as they change forms, and even in the contexts surrounding their use and application. Barratt's chapter thus provides a counterpoint to the earlier and more optimistic argument of Susan Groag Bell that women in the later Middle Ages, by playing an increasing role as book owners and the commissioners of books and specifically of translations from Latin, were influential in shaping the sorts of texts that were circulated.[83]

Although, as seen above, didacticism has a strong association with the instruction of children, this is far from the whole story. Throughout the medieval and early-modern periods, didactic literature was quite often written explicitly for adults; in such cases, it most frequently coalesced around issues of religious conduct and control, piety and heresy, although matters of classroom instruction and literacy — in both Latin and the vernacular — also surface for adult readers.

The chapter by John O. Ward, 'Lawrence of Amalfi and the Boundary between the Oral and the Written in Eleventh-Century Europe', takes us directly into the heart of the teaching process, aiming to reconstruct from a series of textual glosses preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript the classroom practices, discussions, texts, and subjects that may have pertained in Italy at that time. The glosses are enigmatic — clearly didactic both in subject matter and with regard to their inclusion within a manuscript containing other standard school texts of the era — but fragmented, lacking any explicit connection either to the texts they are glossing or even to each other, and of uncertain application, ranging more widely than might have been expected across the fields of rhetoric, ethics, classical literature, and Roman law. Ward argues that the glosses represent the imperfectly remembered or recorded notes of a lecture (or series of lectures)

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[82] On this see *The Idea of the Vernacular*: 'prologues are thus not just transparent sources of knowledge about medieval audiences but locations of power, representation, difference, and desire' (p. 111).

[83] Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', *Signs*, 7 (1982), 742–68.

by Lawrence of Amalfi on both Cicero's *De inventione*, which constituted the master text of rhetorical theory in the Middle Ages, and its important fourth-century commentary by Victorinus. It is in their very fragmentation and incompleteness, however, that Ward finds their greatest significance, suggesting that they constitute evidence of the important transition taking place during the eleventh century from a culture, and more specifically a classroom practice, based on oral exposition to one founded solely upon written texts. Providing a first-time transcription, translation, and commentary on these glosses within his chapter, Ward makes available to scholars of medieval classroom practice this suggestive new resource and draws from it conclusions that will revise current thought on the nature of instruction in the medieval classroom.

The chapter by Jason Taliadoros, 'Master Vacarius, Speroni, and Heresy: Law and Theology as Didactic Literature in the Twelfth Century', explores a text that stretched the bounds and capabilities of the didactic genre. Master Vacarius's treatise, the *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*, written by an old friend and former master to dissuade a one-time pupil from the pathway of heresy upon which he had set out, did not rely on the didactic staples of moral precept, entertaining tale, or salutary example for its didactic effect, but sought instead to mine a shared knowledge of and proficiency in the complex language and concepts of theology and Roman law. Yet because of this intricate subject matter, and despite its collegial, personal tone, Taliadoros notes that it often moved beyond the purely didactic, tending to shade into more traditional and formal ecclesiastic genres such as apologetic and polemic. Moreover, while it is a masterpiece of systematic, comprehensive, and coherent argument — as one would perhaps expect from what Taliadoros has identified as the new twelfth-century breed of 'lawyer-theologian' — it also constitutes, nevertheless, a failed didactic text. The unwillingness of Speroni to be swayed by its arguments, witnessed by his eventual denunciation as a heresiarch, is thus a cogent reminder that a clear didactic intent proficiently executed still remains reliant on a receptive audience to prove effective — an aspect of preceptive advice that Seneca himself had noted many centuries earlier.[84] The *Liber contra* is an

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[84] *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, Ep. 95. 4: 'Non semper ad actiones rectas praecepta perducunt, sed cum obsequens ingenium est; aliquando frustra admoventur, si animum opiniones obsident pravae' (precepts do not always guide us to right actions, but only when the inclination is amenable; sometimes they are applied in vain, if perverse fancies are besieging the soul; II, 382); my translation. See also Ruhe, 'Hiérarchies et stratégies', pp. 120–21, on late-medieval discussions over whether recipients were free to accept or reject advice given to them.

important inclusion in this volume for this reason; in a literary world full of didactic 'success' stories — texts that remain extant in dozens or even hundreds of manuscripts, texts that were copied, cited, and excerpted as authoritative for centuries — it is important to remember that just as often, didactic texts could be failures. Personal efforts, written in an urgent endeavor to persuade or dissuade, could fall on unlistening ears; recipients of didactic texts (child or adult) could always choose, despite the best advice to the contrary, to go their own way; texts might circulate only narrowly and then lie forgotten. Indeed, didactic writers do frequently evince an anxiety about the value of their advice and the likelihood that it will prove ineffective or remain unapplied,[85] a fact that should not be overlooked in considering the didactic literature of this period.

The chapter by Anne M. Scott, '"For lewed men y vndyr toke on englyssh tonge to make this boke": *Handlyng Synne* and English Didactic Writing for the Laity', makes an interesting counterpoint to the chapter by Taliadoros on Master Vacarius, illustrating how a didactic text on complex ecclesiastical issues could be successfully directed towards a literate adult population. Robert Mannyng's lengthy early-fourteenth-century English didactic poem *Handlyng Synne* treats many of the same key theological concepts as the treatise by Master Vacarius (the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the sacrament of baptism, the effectiveness of unworthy priests), yet does so in a text that is addressed, as Scott points out, to an audience of 'lewed' (lay) readers and listeners. To reach this audience effectively, Scott shows how Mannyng consciously shapes his material to render it as memorable, useable, and palatable as possible, interspersing lengthy sections of precept and advice with entertaining tales in a structure that allowed readers to begin and end at any point in the poem without having to read consecutively for meaning, and adding to his Anglo-Norman source references specific to the England of his day in order to personalize the reading experience. Scott finds Mannyng's conscious decision to write in English an important step in the development of the early English literature of moral and spiritual formation, giving those unlettered in Latin the ability to learn and to instruct themselves from written precept and example. Yet because Mannyng's subject matter is by no means simplistic, Scott argues that Mannyng's English-literate audience, although lay rather than 'learned', clearly had a highly developed understanding of a range of theological concepts, which must make scholars rethink traditional

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[85] See Roberta Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons: Gender, Morality, and the Social Order from the *Enseignemens* to the *Avision*', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (see n. 44, above), pp. 16–40.

dichotomies between learned and lay, Latin and vernacular, in the later Middle Ages. Scott thus outlines the creation of a specifically English didactic literary form that could appeal to levels of society from cleric to lay.

The didactic function of entertaining tales is also a feature of the chapter by Philippa Bright, 'Anglo-Latin Collections of the *Gesta Romanorum* and Their Role in the Cure of Souls'. The text under consideration here is the *Gesta Romanorum*, a collection of tales with attached moralizations, and Bright is particularly interested in the Anglo-Latin versions of these tales: these differ textually from the Latin versions that circulated on the Continent and represent a separate development of the *Gesta* tradition in England during the fifteenth century. Bright argues that the alterations and additions made to the Anglo-Latin versions of the tales and their attendant moralizations were designed to increase their efficacy as didactic texts by making them more appealing to an audience and by giving them greater authority and persuasive power as exempla. She examines the many codicological contexts of the Anglo-Latin collections and finds strong evidence that although the *Gesta* stories had a number of uses, their primary function was to help preachers and other clergy entrusted with the care of souls fulfil their pastoral mission to instruct the laity in matters of faith and morality and guide them on the path to eternal salvation. The expansion and intensification of the didactic effect of the stories is important, as Bright notes, because as texts associated with preaching and salvation teaching, they would be expected to achieve an 'active' outcome, manifested in the modification of audience conduct. The fact that new versions of the *Gesta* were produced in England during the fifteenth century is also significant, Bright believes, for while the stories were more appealing and persuasive as didactic texts in their reworked form, they also functioned more effectively as vehicles for promoting the authority of the church and boosting its power and control at a time when it was facing a range of social pressures, including threats of heresy.

The four chapters that conclude the volume explore the role of the classical Latin didactic tradition in the didactic literature of the Renaissance and early-modern period. These chapters show how classical texts were pressed into service, reworked, and applied to newly emergent concepts and issues. Evident throughout these chapters is a sense of the importance of membership in a humanist circle or coterie for the endorsement and circulation (and hence effectiveness) of a didactic work; in many ways these new intellectual and cultural fraternities took over the role that monastic houses and orders had played in the circulation of didactic literature earlier in the Middle Ages. There is also a new tone apparent in the sanctions threatened by Renaissance didactic authors if their instructions

should go unheeded. Whereas in the Middle Ages the consequences of heresy, death, and eternal damnation could result for those wandering from the path of good and upright behaviour as outlined in the didactic text, the penalties in Renaissance works have a propensity to be social rather than spiritual or ecclesiastic. Authors tend to refer to unacceptable behaviour in a satiric voice rather than one of thunderous condemnation, raising the spectre that anyone either parading modes of behaviour or championing beliefs contrary to those indicated in the text will appear ... boorish, provincial, and uncultured.[86]

In their chapter on an early-sixteenth-century text of musical theory and practice, '"Dulces discet ab arte sonos": The Latin Didactic Poem on Music of Philomathes (Vienna, 1512)', Frances Muecke and Robert Forgács outline the sense of both innovation and tradition in Renaissance didactic. The poem they discuss treats content that is relatively new (the theory and practice of polyphonic choral singing) in a form that remains traditional (hexameter verse) and largely indebted to Virgil. Importantly, Muecke and Forgács point out that the poem can be described as a practical handbook, full of highly detailed technical information, which underscores the evolution of the didactic genre in the post-medieval period from one based on moral precept and example to one much more indebted to personal experience and expertise in a specific technology.[87] Muecke and Forgács also explore how the poem was created and made to function as a didactic text, including personal addresses by a didactic persona, the establishment of a relationship between author and reader, references to external authorities and cross-references within the text, and explicit advice to the reader on how to learn from the text. Most remarkable in the poem, however, is the humourous tone of its instruction, with witty and satiric comparisons, many drawing on classical allusions, designed to inculcate correct behaviour and technique and reprimand the contrary. Nevertheless, despite these overt gestures towards increasing the utility of the text, Muecke and Forgács do concede that the marriage of technical information with poetic form did not always ensure didactic success, and they note the creation of a prose commentary on the first book, designed to facilitate the understanding of schoolboy readers. This difficulty of meshing form and intent would be an issue that would continue to affect neo-Latin didactic.[88]

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[86] See Correll, *'Grobianus' and the Renaissance Text of the Subject*.

[87] See the various chapters in Glaisyer and Pennell, *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800*.

[88] See Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2003), especially chap. 4.

The chapter by Anthony Miller on three sixteenth-century practical texts, 'Vindicating Vulcan: Renaissance Manuals of Mining and Metallurgy', explores the finely balanced and not entirely unproblematic relationship between classical and Renaissance didactic. Discussing the three mining manuals not so much in terms of their technological content, but rather with regard to what they reveal of the 'mentalités' of their authors and times, Miller indicates how a radical rethinking of classical viewpoints inhabits each of the three texts. While indebted to the language, images, and ideas of authors like Ovid and Virgil, these manuals nevertheless also fully embrace the Renaissance world, its sense of progress and modernity, and its associated validation of human endeavour and ingenuity. This leads in particular to a fascinating rewriting of the classic 'Golden Age' mythology, with the contemporary period and its newfound ability to utilize the vast resources of mining on an impressive scale now either reinterpreted as a new 'Golden Age', or revalorized as a true 'Iron Age'. So grand do these ideas become that, as Miller points out, generic change also ensues, with practical didactic shading into epic; in similar manner, book technology also has to adapt to new forms, with pictorial illustrations taking the place of literary ones as a means of instruction. Nature, expertise, and experience thus become the new arbiters of knowledge for humanity, which remains limited only by its own vision of the possible.

The chapter by Emma Gee, 'Astronomy and Philosophical Orientation in Classical and Renaissance Didactic Poetry', explores the sixteenth-century anxiety over the ancient Lucretian/Epicurean atomistic view of the universe, particularly in the wake of the publication of Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* in 1543. Focusing on Joachim Camerarius's 1535 translation of Aratus's ancient Greek *Phaenomena* and George Buchanan's *Sphera* (1584), Gee elucidates the complex web of didactic intertextuality stretching from ancient Greece (Aratus), through the greatest ancient Roman writers (Ovid, Virgil, Cicero), and into the Renaissance, showing how astronomical didactic poems from all these periods continued to be of influence and significance in a world whose conceptual foundation was rapidly changing. Gee argues that the opposition enunciated between the atomistic worldview of Lucretius and the alternative of a divinely ordered universe (championed by Aratus and Cicero), which had been a feature of classical Latin didactic, became crucial once again in the Renaissance when revolutionary cosmological discoveries and theories raised questions with vital philosophical and religious implications about the conception and structure of the universe. Gee reveals that despite its intertextual and allusive complexity, Renaissance astronomical didactic was no abstruse genre designed merely to

parade poetic skill and literary knowledge before admiring peers, but represented in fact the cutting edge of contemporary debate about issues as large (and as continuing) as the creation of the universe either by 'intelligent design' or chance.

The chapter by Yasmin Haskell, 'Sleeping with the Enemy: Tommaso Ceva's Use and Abuse of Lucretius in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* (Milan, 1704)', deals with an anti-Lucretian text written one and half centuries later — a testament both to the enduring ecclesiastical anxiety over the Lucretian influence on early-modern cosmological theory and to the continuing reliance on classical Lucretian didactic verse as a means of treating and refuting it. Haskell reveals how the Jesuit Tommaso Ceva attempts in his *Philosophia novo-antiqua* a delicate balancing act, aiming to chart a middle course between ancient philosophy and contemporary science while also maintaining the primacy of religious explanations for the world's creation and functioning. Haskell shows that Ceva's subtle employment of his Lucretian model, setting up and then subverting its structural and stylistic expectations, is key to the success of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*: Ceva deflates the Lucretian text's pretensions to lead to absolute knowledge of nature, for such knowledge cannot be encapsulated in a natural-philosophical poem — whether that 'poem' is the *De rerum natura* itself or the physics of Descartes (which is represented in Ceva's work as a form of fiction). Central to the chapter is Haskell's detailed analysis of Ceva's masterful creation of a didactic persona and voice, which is by turns hectoring, satiric, humorous, affable, and confronting. At times Ceva harangues Epicurus and Lucretius directly, at others he addresses the reader personally: cajoling, coaxing, teasing, and entertaining with vivid examples drawn from everyday life and the arts. Occasionally, in seeking to defuse what was seen in seventeenth-century Italy as the seductive power of Lucretius, Ceva turns to an alternative classical model when fashioning his didactic voice, adopting the more pedestrian persona of Horace. Treating science, philosophy, religion, and mathematics through the medium of classical allusion and imagery, Ceva's poem marks the elegant and eloquent apex of a centuries-long tradition of Latin didactic poetry that stretched back into the ancient world, but that would not long outlast the Jesuits who championed it in the early-modern world.[89]

In the didactic literature of the medieval and early-modern periods, then, we find both the best and worst of human nature: a desire to teach and a manifest concern for the moral and spiritual formation of an audience on the one hand,

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[89] See Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, p. 310.

while on the other intolerance, fear and suspicion, racial and gender stereotypes, and a strident insistence that the author is right and the reader must conform. We note also the contradictions that intersect the occasionally 'through the looking glass' world of didactic literature, and which are perhaps appropriate enough in a genre that did at times seek to teach through contradiction. This was a world where texts of conduct could be wildly popular, read and cited by all, without necessarily having a discernible effect on the behaviour of any; where entertaining stories concealed for the reader undercurrents of coercion, sanction, compulsion, threat, and breathtaking misogyny; where texts designed to exert influence reaped only resistance; where traditional preceptive advice could flower unexpectedly into acceptance of difference; and where relationships with earlier literary traditions could veer anxiously and unstably between the deferential, the instrumentalizing, and the condescending. Yet what emerges most clearly from all the texts discussed in this volume is a profound sense of concerted human endeavour. Whether or not we agree with the causes and methods espoused by these premodern didactic authors, we cannot deny the sincerity and sheer energy of their efforts, their earnest desire to teach, instruct, and lead others in the paths of righteousness, and their endless ingenuity in finding ways both old and new to persuade and dissuade. These didactic authors may or may not have been successful in the primary aim of their text, but none has been entirely unsuccessful either: after all, we have stopped to listen.

Constructing Didactic Intent and Persona

THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN
SECRET OF SECRETS AS A DIDACTIC TEXT

Steven J. Williams

In a volume dedicated to studying the phenomenon of medieval and
Renaissance didactic literature, one would expect to see something about
Aristotle. During the Middle Ages no preceptor was more famous than the
teacher of the young Alexander the Great. Their relationship was portrayed in
manuscript illuminations and other artistic media. It was described humorously
in Henri d'Andeli's *Lai d'Aristote* and imaginatively re-created in Gautier de
Châtillon's epic poem *Alexandreis*. It has an important role to play in those
stories we know collectively as the Alexander Romance that so captivated
medieval readers and listeners. And it provided the dramatic pretext for a host
of pseudo-Aristotelian texts, including one of the most-read books of the Middle
Ages, the *Secret of Secrets*.

The *Secret of Secrets* takes the form of a letter written by the famous philosopher
to his former charge.[1] As recounted in its elaborate preface, Alexander is far away

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[1] Unless otherwise noted, documentation for all factual statements about the *Secret of Secrets*
in the present article can be found in Steven J. Williams, *The 'Secret of Secrets': The Scholarly Career
of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,
2003); Steven J. Williams, 'The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets*
in the Middle Ages: Translations, Manuscripts, Readers', in *Filosofia in volgare nel medioevo*, ed.
by Nadia Bray and Loris Sturlese, Textes et études du moyen âge, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003),
pp. 451–82; Steven J. Williams, 'Giving Advice and Taking It: The Reception by Rulers of the
Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* as a *speculum principis*', in *Consilium: Teorie e pratiche del
consigliare nella cultura medievale*, ed. by C. Casagrande and others (Florence: Edizioni del
Galluzzo, 2004), pp. 139–80; and the extensive bibliography cited therein. References to the *Secret
of Secrets* are based on the Latin edition as found in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. 5,

from home, carrying out his war of conquest against the Persian Empire. Many letters, we are told, passed between the two men. In one of them, Alexander asks that Aristotle come to him in order to provide advice in person, but Aristotle is now too aged and infirm to make the journey. In place of himself, though, Aristotle has prepared a guidebook that, he says, if read with intelligence, and God's help, will answer all of Alexander's questions. What follows is a wide-ranging text that touches on a number of subjects: politics and ethics, health and medicine, warfare and government, metaphysics and psychology, plus alchemy, magic stones and plants, astrology, talismans, and physiognomy.

No, this is not really Aristotle's work. While historians have found snippets of genuine Aristotelian doctrine in the *Secret of Secrets*, they put the time and place of its composition (or more accurately, compilation) in the Islamic Near East during the eighth through eleventh centuries, when the nucleus of a (possibly Hellenistic) pseudo-Aristotelian epistle on statecraft attracted to itself, if you will, a variety of little tracts on topics that a succession of redactors considered useful for a ruler to know. Over several hundred years' time what was originally conceived as a simple *speculum principis* became a kind of miscellany that almost anyone could read for profit.

It was during the High Middle Ages that the *Secret of Secrets* was introduced to the Catholic West. A translation from Arabic into Latin of some of the health material was done around 1120; a complete version appeared a little over one hundred years later. Following in short order was a string of translations into a number of other languages; many more followed. Add up the copies of all the extant manuscripts, partial and complete, in Latin, English, Irish, Welsh, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Hebrew, Dutch, Provençal, and French, and you will get a total approaching one thousand, which is something quite extraordinary. (For medievalists, one hundred subsisting manuscripts is considered an extremely large number and a sign that a work was especially popular.)[2] It does not seem an exaggeration to say that the *Secret of Secrets* was the quintessential secular didactic text of the Middle Ages.

But what does it mean to be a didactic text? For the sake of clarity as well as a better understanding of the *Secret of Secrets* itself, it would be helpful to begin

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Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis, ed. by Robert Steele (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), which also contains an English translation of the Arabic version.

[2] For example, Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), p. 255, describes the *fortuna* for history texts as 'très grand' (his highest ranking) when there are sixty or more extant manuscripts.

by exploring the meaning of this word. From the Greek 'to teach', the adjective *didactic* means 'designed or intended to instruct'. Usually, but not exclusively, it refers to moral instruction, and more generally advice as to personal conduct. While a didactic text might also impart information and provide entertainment, such are not part of what makes that text didactic. It is the narrower definition of the word that will be operative in this paper.

A formal definition, however, can take us only partway down the road to understanding what didactic means. There is also a relational dynamic that must be discussed in this connection. We are apt to think that a text is conceived in the writer's mind as didactic and then leave it at that. But a lot more is required here than just authorial intention, although this is certainly important. Equally important is the reception accorded a didactic text. The audience (reader or listener) must be considered, first of all: if a text is, so to speak, a teacher, then for any lesson to be learned there must be a willing student. If the reader is impressed, this might lead him or her to annotate it, to quote it, to copy it, to translate it, to put it to pedagogic use, to give it as a gift.

To annotate or to quote a text as part of a statement of one's own is (usually) to second that text's message, to agree with the passage being singled out, to underline its didactic significance for oneself or for some later reader. Annotation can be as simple as placing a pointing finger or the word *nota* in the margin; comments of just a few words or several sentences can also be made that nuance or elaborate on a particular passage. As for quotation, it can be implicit or explicit. In the latter case, naming the source, the *auctor* responsible for the words, is to provide validation for those words and to lend them a degree of extra weight.

Obviously, to copy out a text in its entirety for one's personal use necessitates a great commitment to the text and, in many instances, would seem to signal a desire to — as it were — repeat and memorize its lessons. In copying a text, the scribe is also in a position to be an editor, eliminating portions of the text that do not serve his didactic mission and interpolating material that does; he can put signs in the margins in order to alert himself or some other reader to pay attention to particular passages; he can likewise add comments that accentuate those passages.

In translating a text on his own initiative, the translator has obviously concluded that the lessons imparted by that text deserve to be widely broadcast. The translator is free, too, just like the copyist, to import extraneous matter in order to augment and amplify the text's didactic dimension as well as to eliminate that which is considered to detract from it. He can also put his translation into prose or verse, with the hope that the latter might facilitate reading and serve as an aid to memorization.

A person who knows the text might give it as a gift in the hope that the recipient would appreciate the lessons taught and even take them to heart. Most donors would not take on the writing themselves but have it done at the shop of a stationer. Here the donor could supplement the copied words with paraphs, initials, rubrics, headers, border decorations, and miniatures — all at extra cost, of course — not only to make the text more attractive and enjoyable to read but also in order that the recipient would be better able to understand that text as well as to reinforce and possibly add to its didactic message. With such a goal in mind, other didactic texts could be added to the volume as well. And by means of such a gift, the donor might even be presuming to take on the role of teacher, with the words of the text becoming, in effect, his own.

A tutor, spiritual director, or well-meaning parent could assign a text as 'homework' or have portions of it read out loud as part of a pedagogic programme for some younger pupil. An adult audience could also hear it recited *viva voce* — individually in some private setting or to a group during a public reading event at court.

Finally, there is the possibility that a person had received a favourable report about a text through word of mouth and then, unable to read it in the original language but wanting to go at it for himself or herself — and, consequently, wanting to be instructed — commissioned a translation.

With these necessary preliminaries out of the way, we are now ready to deal with the *Secret of Secrets* directly. On the pages that follow we will cover five questions in turn:

1. What didactic message does the *Secret of Secrets* impart?

The *Secret of Secrets* is about evenly divided between two types of contents, scientific and edificatory, with the *speculum principis* material belonging in the latter category. The core of the *Secret of Secrets*, the mirror of princes, is where its didactic message is concentrated. Along with a lot of practical political advice, we find a host of moral platitudes. Some have special import for rulers. Thus, Aristotle exhorts Alexander to enjoy power not for its own sake and the possibility for self-indulgence but rather to win glory and a good name for himself. A king, Alexander is told, is God's agent on earth, is like a god, and must resemble God in his virtues. And the key virtue that a king should possess is justice.

Given the basic theme that a good king must be a good person, many of the moral lessons in the *Secret of Secrets* have a more general application, such as to avoid shedding blood; be merciful, kind, cheerful, and generous; overlook the

faults of others and be slow to anger; be pious and observe all divine commandments; eschew lechery and desire only that which is lasting; never grieve for what is past.

In a chapter that begins with Aristotle warning Alexander never to put his trust in women, Aristotle reminds Alexander about what happened when the Queen of India sent him the gift of a beautiful girl who, unbeknownst to him, had been fed from infancy on the venom of serpents. All it would have taken for this cunning assassination plot to have succeeded would have been one bite or even a look from her, but fortunately the sagacious Aristotle was able to save the day.

The moral of another story is that one ought not to trust Jews either. After cautioning Alexander not to have confidence in a person of another faith, Aristotle relates that there were once two men who happened to be on the same road together — a Mage and a Jew. The Mage was on a mule and the Jew was on foot. They got to talking about religion and — in a caricature of Judaism — the Jew explained that according to his belief his responsibility to others extended to his fellow Jews alone and that it was licit for him to steal from a non-Jew and even to kill him. And indeed soon enough, the Jew had the opportunity to act on his belief, whereupon he stole the Mage's mount and left him to die in the desert. All turns out well in the end, however, as God rights the wrong and punishes the evil Jew.

The chapters in the *Secret of Secrets* on medical matters also contain some advice about personal comportment and conduct. Alluding to a point already made repeatedly in the section on kingship, the mean is again emphasized. So, wine taken in moderation is both physically and mentally salutary. For food the same rule obtains; to that end Aristotle quotes a maxim attributed to Hippocrates, 'I don't live to eat but I eat to live'. And because habit is a kind of second nature, change in one's habits ought to be done a little at a time rather than all at once.

The section on physiognomy usually concludes the *Secret of Secrets*, and here we find the following amusing account: Hippocrates' disciples drew a picture of the great doctor on a piece of parchment and brought it to the physiognomist Polemon. 'Look at this image and describe his character for us', was their request. After carefully considering the picture, Polemon gave his judgement: 'This man is dissolute, deceitful, and loving fornication.' Angry and embarrassed, the disciples returned to their master and related what had happened. Upon hearing Polemon's conclusion, Hippocrates responded, 'Indeed Polemon has told the truth; he has not misjudged me in anything! But I have established my soul as ruler over itself, and I have triumphed over my concupiscence.'

2. How do we know that the *Secret of Secrets* was read as a didactic text?

Given the significance of the didactic component to the *Secret of Secrets* as a whole, and the enormous number of subsisting manuscripts, odds are that some readers so viewed it. And a substantial amount of evidence indeed shows that many readers went to it for moral instruction or valued that instruction so highly that they wanted to pass it on to others.

It makes sense to start with readers' explicit statements that the *Secret of Secrets* was a didactic text. Consider in this connection four of the earliest translators of the *Secret of Secrets* into the vernacular. Pierre d'Abernun describes the teachings in the *Secret of Secrets* as good for both body and soul and he underlines the importance for salvation of the text's teaching on the virtues.[3] For Jacob van Maerlant, 'young lord Alexander', as well as the recipient of his work, was to learn from the *Secret of Secrets* '[how] to bring justice to the world and fight against sins [...] how to manage a country and remain honorable himself'.[4] The anonymous translator into Italian informs his readers that Aristotle wrote to Alexander 'so that he can preserve his soul and body in good health and live [according to] good and useful customs'.[5] And for the young nun of Zimmern who executed the first German translation of the complete Latin version, 'Master Aristotle' of the *Secret of Secrets* was 'a lover of wisdom, an investigator of virtuous purity'; her weighty responsibility was to 'speak' his words and, by

[3] 'De ceste treité plus ne trovai, | Mes plus i ad, tres bien le sai [...] | Mes puske si est asez, suffit | Aparmemes ceo k'ai escrit | E del ensampleire translaté; | Kar ki ke veot en verité | Entendre le e ovrer après | Prudume serra tenu adés. | Kar entendre puet e saver dreit | Coment en vertuz aver se deit | E endreit sei meimes, saciez de fi, | Quant al cors e al alme ausi [...] | Endreit del alme, devez saver, | Ke crestien bien se puet sauver | S'il fet sulum le document | Des vertuz, ke cest livre aprent' (*Le Secré de Secrez by Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham*, ed. by Oliver A. Beckerlegge (Oxford: Blackwell, 1944), pp. 60–61).

[4] 'Nu ontfaet dit, lieve neve, | Van mi, Jacoppe van Merlant, | Wat ic in Latine vant: | Hoe Aristotiles ende gheen ander | Sinen jonghere Alexander | Leerde die werelt berechten | Ende jeghen die sonden vechten, | Want het hoghen here betaemt | Ende elken here die hem scaemt, | Dat hi wete, hoe land bedriven | Ende selve in sire eren bliven' (*Jacob van Maerlant's Heimelijkheid der Heimelijkheden*, ed. by Andries Anton Verdenius (Amsterdam: A. H. Kruyt, 1917), p. 116).

[5] '[Arestotano] conpuose e scrisse a utilità del suo disciepulo et quasi figluolo Alexandro. E mando [...] a cio ch'elli potesse se in buona sanita conservare de l'anima e de lo corpo e vivere in buoni e utilissimi costumi' (cited in Mario Grignaschi, 'La Diffusion du *Secretum secretorum* (Sirr-al-'asrar) dans l'Europe occidentale', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 47 (1981), 7–69 (p. 52, n. 24)).

implication, convey something of his didactic message.[6] Looking at the other end of the career of the *Secret of Secrets*, Robert Copland concluded his 1528 printing of the text this way: 'Thus endeth the secrete of secretes of Arystotle with the gouernale of prynces and euery manner of estate with rules of helthe for body and soule very prouffytable for euery man.'[7] Sir William Forrest's English verse rendering, *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise* (1548), is described by him as 'a myrroure of perfection true' that 'ordrede [Alexander] in hole his lyuinge'.[8] And in the preface to his Latin edition (1555), Francesco Storella urges his dedicatee to take from it the lessons of several virtues 'not only in word but in deed'.[9]

Next, there are those many instances when an author has incorporated parts of the *Secret of Secrets* into his own didactic work, thereby making Aristotle's advice his own. I will confine myself to a single example from the many that could be cited. John Gower, 'moral philosopher and friend of Chaucer', stands among the greatest English poets of the Middle Ages.[10] His *Confessio Amantis* (first recension 1390; final version 1393) had as its intended primary reader Richard II and then Henry of Lancaster, the soon-to-be Henry IV. Along with Gower's two other major poems, it was composed, he tells us, 'for the sake of

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[6] 'Da ich von maister Aristotilis worten sprechen sol, | Der ain minner was der weisheit, | Ain prüefer der tugentlichen rainigkait' (*Hiltgart von Hürnheim. Mittelhochdeutsche Prosaübersetzung des 'Secretum Secretorum'*, ed. by Reinhold Möller (Berlin: Akademie, 1963), p. 3). Note that while the prologue here is in verse, the *Secret of Secrets* itself is reproduced in prose. On the attribution to Hiltgart von Hürnheim and the nature of her work, see now Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: Arabische und deutsche Fassungen des pseudo-aristotlischen 'Sirr al-asrar'/'Secretum secretorum'* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006).

[7] *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions*, ed. by Mahmoud Manzalaoui (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 388.

[8] *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions*, p. 402.

[9] 'Illustrissimo Hectori Pignatello Vibonensium Duci ornatissime. Franciscus Storella foelicitatem. Secretum secretorum [...] opus sane quod et ab Aristoteles scribi, et ad Alexandrum mitti nequaquam fuit indignum [...] amore quo bonas scientias profitentes prosequeris, literarum cognitione [...] alterum praete[r]feras Alexandrum, cumque optime gubernandi (ut Christianis principem decet) prudentia, vitae sanctimonia, conscientiae integritate, veraque religionis cultu, non solo nomine, sed etiam opera' (*Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis ad Alexandrum Magnum, cum eiusdem Tractatu de Animae immortalitate nunc primum adiecto*, ed. by Francesco Storella (Venice: n. pub., 1555), fol. † ii^r).

[10] My characterization of Gower echoes the subtitle of John H. Fisher's famous study *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964).

teaching' (doctrine causa).[11] Book VII, 'a veritable *de regimine principum*', is indebted to the *Secret of Secrets* for some of its didactic content.[12]

Now let us consider the physical remains themselves — the manuscripts and printed editions — which are eloquent in this regard. Both in the Latin and the vernacular, reader-editors made significant changes to the text so as to strengthen the didactic element. This is observable early on in the European career of the *Secret of Secrets* and continues through to its conclusion.

As far as we can tell, it was some time in the fourteenth century when someone produced a significantly shortened recension of the Latin *Secret of Secrets* that excises most of the theoretical philosophy and the science (only physiognomy remains), with a consequent shifting of the balance in the *Secret of Secrets* heavily to the edificatory/didactic side. This version seems to have grown in popularity during the fifteenth century and can be found in approximately 30 per cent of the printed Latin editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (An independent, radically abbreviated version of the Latin focused on the edificatory was also published in 1516.)

We see a similar phenomenon of abbreviation with the vernacular translations. Thus Jacob van Maerlant's Flemish *Secret of Secrets* does not include the specifically philosophical material or the chapters on occult science; even the physiognomy is gone. Geoffrey of Waterford's French version not only eliminates the occult and philosophical chapters but also significantly bulks up the moral portion with additions from a variety of didactic sources, including the Bible, *The Golden Legend*, and Martin of Braga's *Formula vitae honestae*. And a shortened version of the first complete German translation prunes away the philosophical material and the chapter on magic plants; it also radically shortens the chapters on alchemy and magic stones plus the theoretical preface to the physiognomy.[13] Instances of an even more radical paring can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque

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[11] For the quotation from Gower, see *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1902), III (1901), 479.

[12] I take the description of Book VII from A. J. Minnis, 'John Gower, *Sapiens* in Ethics and Politics', *Medium Aevum*, 49 (1980), 207–29 (p. 216). On Gower's use of the *Secret of Secrets* in the *Confessio Amantis*, see Mahmoud Manzalaoui, '"Nought in the Registre of Venus": Gower's English Mirror for Princes', in *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett*, ed. by P. L. Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 159–83. Gower makes this use explicit at the end of his poem: 'Tractat eciam secundum Aristotilem super hiis quibus rex Alexander tam in sui regimen quam aliter eius disciplina doctus fuit' (Macaulay, *Complete Works*, III, 480).

[13] Here I am relying on Forster, *Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, chap. 4.2.

nationale de France, fr. 821, which reduces the *Secret of Secrets* to a bare-bones *speculum principis*. As for vernacular printings of the *Secret of Secrets*, two-thirds of the editions were retranslations of the abbreviated Latin recension discussed in the preceding paragraph.

The manuscripts have yet more to say on the subject of the *Secret of Secrets* as a didactic text. We find manuscripts that are annotated in the work's didactic portions, like Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11118, with its *nota*s in the margin — some even touched with red — and an antifeminist comment next to the Poison Maiden chapter. Some manuscripts include excerpts of moral material culled from the *Secret of Secrets* — the work of individuals selecting choice passages for their own use. A number of such moral *sententiae* can also be found in the most popular school florilegium of Aristotelian material, the *Parvi flores* (later printed under the title *Auctoritates Aristotelis*). To complete the answer to this question of how we know the *Secret of Secrets* was received as a didactic text, some other evidence should be discussed here that, while necessarily imprecise, is suggestive:

(i) *Codicological contexts*: Sometimes it is no more than happenstance long after the fact that brings together in the same codex a manuscript of one text with a manuscript of a different text, and sometimes it is just the coincidence of common personal ownership. But sometimes it is the result of design, so a didactic text could be deliberately placed with others in the same volume. In such a situation, the coupling of the *Secret of Secrets* with a didactic text could be taken to provide some confirmation that the *Secret of Secrets* was itself considered to be a didactic text as well as to supplement the didactic message of the *Secret of Secrets*. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this very common phenomenon. Several early Latin manuscripts of the *Secret of Secrets* put either the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* (a moral compilation, with most of the material coming from Roman authors) or the *Vita et sententiae Secundi* (the life and moral sayings of the second-century AD philosopher Secundus) next to this work, with the *Secret of Secrets* and its companion both written in the same hand. The unique volume containing Pierre d'Abernun's translation has the *Secret of Secrets* flanked on one side by *Paroles de Jésus-Christ* and on the other by the *Distiques de Caton* (a collection of moral maxims in verse), with all three having been copied by the same scribe. Something similar can be observed with the printed versions. In the same way Johannes de Westfalia's Latin edition of *c.* 1485 includes two moralizing texts by John of Wales — his *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum* and *Breviloquium de sapientia sive philosophia sanctorum*. Finally, the French edition of the *Secret of Secrets* that the printer

Antoine Vérard produced and then presented to King Charles VIII of France was bound by Vérard with Diego de Valera's *Le Trésor de noblesse* (a treatise on the proper conduct of nobles) and *Les Fleurs de Valere le grant* (a reworking of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, a collection of edifying anecdotes that illustrates various moral qualities/virtues and vices).

(ii) *Personal libraries*: It is usually the idiosyncrasies of taste that play the central role in the formation of a personal collection of books, so it stands to reason that such a collection ought to reflect something of a person's intellectual predilections. True, an individual typically has a number of interests, but it is also the case that one interest might be dominant or that several of those interests might be bundled around a common theme or general tendency. In those personal libraries that contain the *Secret of Secrets*, we can see that some scholarly book owners show a marked preference for edificatory texts; laypersons overwhelmingly so. For the latter text, the inventory of the books belonging to Guichard II de Jaligny, a high-level royal official who died at the Battle of Agincourt, is typical: of the eighty-two items listed, we see a number of religious books, chronicles and histories, classical and medieval literature, some ethical philosophy, and books dealing with 'noble' pursuits and concerns; there is nothing whatsoever here that can be described as 'scientific'; significantly, Guichard's copy of the *Secret of Secrets* is bound with the moralizing *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium sive super ludo scacchorum*. Our tentative conclusion from this fact is that the *Secret of Secrets* was likely in such cases to have been appreciated primarily for its didactic contents.

(iii) *Titles*: Another way of signaling that the didactic component was paramount was by means of the title used to name or to refer to the work. It is well known that the titles of texts were fluid during the Middle Ages.[14] Individuals quoting a particular text might follow convention and employ the most common one, but they could also choose some alternative title or even make up one on their own initiative; when they did invent a title, they typically employed a phrase that they felt was descriptive of the text's contents. Readers of the *Secret of Secrets* would get some help in formulating a title at the very start of the prologue where some anonymous presenter (one of the Arabic redactors, in fact) recounts that Aristotle prepared for his pupil Alexander 'liber moralium in regimine dominii qui vocatur *Secretum Secretorum*'.[15] Later in that same

[14] Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts; An Evidence-Based Approach* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

[15] *Secretum secretorum*, ed. by Steele, p. 36.

prologue it is stated that 'Aristotle composed many moral letters [for Alexander]'.[16] While there were many medieval readers who employed the title *Secret of Secrets*, a good many others used *De regimine principum* (or *dominorum*). Yet others, echoing the self-description of the *Secret of Secrets*, used phrases starting with 'liber moralium [...]' or 'liber moralis [...]'. Admittedly, the employment of any of these titles could simply be automatic and formulaic. But if some thought did go into the title, *De regimine principum* or *Liber moralium* [...] was a way to signal that the *Secret of Secrets* was first and foremost a didactic text and to put the moral dimension of the *Secret of Secrets* front and centre.

(iv) *Gifts*: Gifts can be given as a mere formality or they can be given to curry favour. Simple kindness might also be mentioned as a rationale. And sometimes a person can have a didactic purpose in mind when proffering a gift. We know of a number of occasions when the *Secret of Secrets* was given as a gift, but discerning when there was didactic intent behind them is not always possible. Sometimes, however, that intention is obvious, such as with Roger Bacon, ever the professor, who prepared his recension of the *Secret of Secrets* with the goal of playing the teacher to some unnamed worthy: while the specifically political-moral material was not central to Bacon's concern — for him the *Secret of Secrets* was a great repository of scientific arcana — it was nevertheless important, as can be seen in Bacon's marginal comments (albeit occasional here) to his reader. Again, the initiative for Jacob van Maerlant's translation seems to have come from Jacob himself: he believed that the moral lessons imparted by Aristotle in the *Secret of Secrets* were relevant not only to Alexander but also to his dedicatee. And a similar didactic motivation was at work for Walter Milemete, who commissioned a deluxe copy of the *Secret of Secrets* for King Edward III. With Aristotle's advice, Walter explains to Edward, 'King Alexander learned the Philosopher's teachings for ruling himself and his empire successfully [...]. Through this counsel [...] he obtained victory in every conflict and conducted himself vigorously in every royal act.' And 'for that reason', Walter continues, 'I ordered, Most Revered Lord, the copying, word for word, of this same book, for your use, so that you, Lord, might have his teaching.'[17] To accompany the *Secret*

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[16] *Secretum secretorum*, ed. by Steele: 'Porro multas morales epistolas composuit Aristotiles' (p. 38).

[17] '[A] quo libro rex Allexander documentum didicit philosophicum ad se ipsum et suum imperium [...] feliciter regendum; per quod consilium [...] in omni controversia triumphum optinuit; et in omni actu regali strenue se habuit. Idcirco domine reverentissime eundem librum de verbo ad verbum ad usum vestrum duxi scribendum ut vos domine eiusdem haberetis

of Secrets, Walter composed a supplementary mirror of princes especially for the occasion, the *De nobilitatibus sapientiis et prudentiis regum*, and he had the manuscript put together by some of the same artisans who worked according to the same high standards of execution. With its heavy reliance on the *Secret of Secrets* — something Walter himself thought important enough to call attention to — Walter's treatise serves as a kind of commentary on Aristotle's work.[18] Indeed it is clear that the two gift texts were planned as a pair to communicate a common message. What is to be noted in all three of the just-described cases — implicitly in the first two, explicitly in the third — is that the recipient has been put by the donor in the place of Alexander and the donor himself has taken on the mantle of Aristotle.[19] As we will see below, it is this message that is reiterated by the programme of illustrations accompanying Walter Milemete's gift.

(v) *Images*: Images in a manuscript can do more than just illustrate, providing a visual counterpart to what is said in the text; they can also sound a kind of counterpoint to the words, add to them, or even communicate a separate message on their own. Some high-end manuscripts of the *Secret of Secrets* are fronted by an image of Aristotle and Alexander, with both Aristotle and Alexander either standing or sitting opposite each other, or with Aristotle standing opposite a sitting Alexander. Sometimes Aristotle is writing or holding a book; sometimes he is gesturing and talking to Alexander. If Aristotle and Alexander appear in separate panels, the image of Alexander might show the presentation of the *Secret of Secrets* to the King by some anonymous individual in the standard pose expected in such situations — on bended knee. No matter what the arrangement, however, it seems that the heads of Aristotle and Alexander are always at approximately the same level. Now if the manuscript with such a 'frontispiece' were a gift, it sets up several possible meanings beyond the simple picturing of the two dramatis personae of the *Secret of Secrets*. For starters, the donor seems to be

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doctrinam' (M. R. James, *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete De Nobilitatibus, sapientiis, et prudentiis regum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 23–24). Milemete makes similar remarks elsewhere here in Chapter 3 as well as at the very end of his work. For an English translation of Milemete's treatise, see *Political Thought in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Treatises by Walter of Milemete, William of Pagula, and William of Ockham*, ed. and trans. by Cary Nederman (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 24–61.

[18] I take the idea that Walter's treatise was 'a commentary' on the *Secret of Secrets* from Nederman, *Political Thought*, p. 19.

[19] This was a common occurrence, as Mahmoud Manzalaoui observes in 'Tyrocaesar: A Manual for Sir Walter Mildmay', *Manuscripta*, 19 (1975), 27–35 (p. 29).

saying, 'Just as Alexander, the world's greatest ruler, accepted the guidance of Aristotle, the world's greatest philosopher, so you, the reader and the person to whom the work is given, should do the same.' But potentially there is more. Implied here is an equality between philosopher and king, counsellor and ruler — a radical message, to be sure. And it leads to the further suggestion that just as Alexander listened to Aristotle, so the recipient should listen to the donor, who is seconding Aristotle's words and perhaps even adding to them with words of his own. Walter Milemete in fact seems to intend all of this, speaking in his own voice with his *De nobilitatibus* and communicating as well by means of the elaborate set of rich illuminations that pack the *Secret of Secrets*, a great number of which show Aristotle as the one giving advice and Alexander as the one taking it. The traditional presentation image in the *De nobilitatibus* that has Walter handing his book to Edward (Oxford, Christ Church, MS 92, fol. 8ᵛ), and which echoes an image seen in Walter's *Secret of Secrets*, where the book is being presented to an enthroned Alexander by a kneeling messenger (London, British Library, MS Add. 47680, fol. 10ᵛ), serves as yet another reminder of the didactic intention behind Walter's gift.

3. Who read the *Secret of Secrets* as a didactic text?

We can distinguish two audiences for the *Secret of Secrets*, namely scholarly and lay. By a scholar is meant an individual who received an education conducted primarily in Latin in a formal school, for example, a university; for our purposes a layperson can be defined as an individual whose literacy was primarily in the vernacular. Scholarly readers of the *Secret of Secrets* were about evenly split in terms of their interest in either its scientific or edificatory contents; lay readers, however, were predominantly interested in the edificatory. Among the scholars who read the *Secret of Secrets* as a didactic text were such major figures as Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Bradwardine, and John Wyclif, plus a host of minor ones. Their interest could either be personal or professional. Within the latter category we must single out those men for whom preaching was a part of their vocation and who mined various nuggets from the *Secret of Secrets* for their sermons or preaching aids, including those collections of moralizing tales known as exempla. Among laypersons, many male and female members of the nobility, including kings and princes, owned copies of the *Secret of Secrets*, and some of them too, we know, read it and appreciated its didactic contents. As we have seen above, they might also encounter the *Secret of Secrets*, quoted either explicitly or implicitly, in some other didactic work.

4. What passages of the *Secret of Secrets* were singled out for their didactic message?

Some medieval authors quoted significant chunks of the mirror of princes material; others were more selective in their usage. It was routine for writers to repeat Aristotle's observation that 'coitus is an attribute of pigs; what glory is it if you cultivate the vice of irrational beasts and the acts of brutes?' and his injunction to give charity to the poor and worthy (but not too much and not to the unworthy). The anecdote of Polemon and Hippocrates was popular; so was the Poison Maiden story (although both were also cited in scientific discussions). It is heartening to report, on the other hand, how infrequently the tale of the Mage and Jew seems to have been told or mentioned (I know of only three instances).

Some readers were inventive in extracting a didactic message from the *Secret of Secrets*. Martin of Poland turned Aristotle's advice to vomit a minimum of once every month into praise for going to confession, where one engages in a kind of spiritual purging. With Aristotle's praise of the Greeks for supporting schools, and even (it is claimed) educating girls, Roger Bacon took this as an opportunity to urge the education of rulers in philosophy, quoting to that end the line attributed to Henry I that 'an illiterate king is a crowned ass'.

5. When and why did the career of the *Secret of Secrets* as a didactic text come to an end?

To be on the best-seller list for several hundred years is no mean feat, and this the *Secret of Secrets* accomplished. Its popularity as a didactic text extended through the late Middle Ages. Manuscripts continued to be copied regularly well into the fifteenth century, and by century's end, with the printing press up and running all across Europe, the *Secret of Secrets* appeared in an impressive number of editions. However, it was just at this time, when the reading public was growing so dramatically and the possibility for even greater success lay ahead, that the audience for the *Secret of Secrets* began to contract significantly.

Consider the rhythm of printed editions post-Gutenberg to 1700. As the chart below makes clear, the attractiveness of the *Secret of Secrets* waned substantially during the sixteenth century; indeed its fall from the best-seller list was precipitous.[20]

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[20] I have not included here the editions of the health and physiognomy sections in the *Secret of Secrets*, each of which circulated on its own. Unless otherwise noted, the edition listed is a complete version of the work.

Latin Printings	Vernacular Printings
1472 (abbrev.)	
1477	
	1478 (abbrev. French)
1483	
1484/87	
c. 1485 (abbrev.)	
1486–91 (abbrev.)	*c.* 1490 (abbrev. French)
1486–91 (abbrev.)	
1491/94 (abbrev.)	
1492	
1495–96	
	1497 (abbrev. French)
1501	
1505	
	1511 (abbrev. English)
1516	
1516 (abbrev.)	1517 (abbrev. French)
1520	
1528	1528 (abbrev. English)
	1530 (German)
	1531 (German)
	1532 (German)
	c. 1536 (abbrev. French)
	1538 (Italian)
1555	
	1572 (abbrev. English)

Keeping in mind that the copying of manuscripts ceased for all intents and purposes after about 1500, notice how the pace of publication in Latin slows in the opening decades of the sixteenth century and then peters out after 1555; as for publication in the vernacular, it is sporadic, with this stream eventually running dry as well. It is also worth underlining the fact that not one edition of the complete or abbreviated version was printed in any language in the seventeenth century. During the first half of the sixteenth century, then, the

scholarly audience of the *Secret of Secrets* pretty much fell away; over that same fifty-year period a similar story was played out with respect to its lay audience as well. Moreover, other didactic texts were printed much more often — to consider only items in the same 'classical' category as the *Secret of Secrets*, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cicero's *De officiis*, and Boethius's *On the Consolation of Philosophy*. In the early-modern era, 'best-seller' status was no longer one that the *Secret of Secrets* could legitimately claim.

The reasons for this decline are easy enough to pinpoint: there were doubts about the authenticity of the *Secret of Secrets* plus scepticism about 'occult' phenomena, in particular the claims of astrology, which constitutes such an important component of this work. Doubts had dogged the *Secret of Secrets* almost from the moment the complete Latin version had become available in the Christian West, and these had only increased with the philological sophistication that grew with the humanist movement. There was also the new mentality about the physical functioning of the universe that we associate with the Scientific Revolution but which had begun centuries earlier. This double attack — one on a broad front, the other focused — slowly but surely undermined the readership base of the *Secret of Secrets*. The *Secret of Secrets* had an extraordinarily long run, but by about 1575 it was effectively over. With most of its scientific chapters now regarded as ridiculous and unworthy of attention, efforts to sell it for the edificatory contents that remained were increasingly unsuccessful. Arguments about its authenticity had been won by the naysayers, and the *Secret of Secrets* had lost its Aristotelian *auctoritas*. Without its classical pedigree, what remained fell pretty much on deaf ears.

In 1702 a certain H. Walwyn had an English translation of an abbreviated *Secret of Secrets* privately printed in London. Apparently it had an exceedingly limited circulation: it now only exists in a unique copy in the British Library. In an address from 'The Bookseller to the Reader', this self-described 'real Lover of Mankind' who undertook his labour, he explains grandly, 'from a generous Philanthropy', claims that his translation 'would be of the greatest Advantage to whatsoever Prince and People in general, who shall observe it as to the Government of the Body Politick, and to every Man in particular'. The *Secret of Secrets*, he says, is 'very scarce' but it 'hath justly merited a rescue from Obscurity'.[21] However, his attempt at revival, like that of Francesco Storella some one hundred and fifty years earlier, was unsuccessful. With manuscripts very hard to come by and earlier editions out of print, the *Secret of Secrets* was now an

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[21] *Secretum secretorum: Nine English Versions*, pp. 550–51.

exceedingly rare item. It had also become what it remains for us: a scholarly curiosity. Nevertheless, while it no longer communicates a didactic message that we take seriously — some of what it has to say, however, is not without a certain wisdom — it still has a great deal to teach us about the past. And so it continues to be read. Most didactic texts from a bygone era cannot claim as much.

Preaching and Teaching: The Codex Rustici as Confused Pilgrimage Tale

Kathleen Olive

Certain types of writing do not lend themselves to rigid plans or linear description; the earliest accounts written by pilgrims of their holy journeys, however, are structured lists of sites visited. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* is one of the first surviving accounts; dating from AD 333, twenty years after Constantine's legitimization of Christianity encouraged and enabled believers to follow his and his mother's example of touring the holy sites, the *Itinerarium* is essentially a list of the sites visited by an anonymous French pilgrim to Jerusalem.[1] Such a document functions as a prescriptive guide, one which sets up the most important sites and implies that prospective pilgrims should visit them. With the development of the genre, however, longer and personalized accounts of pilgrimages begin to be composed, fleshed out with descriptions of the pleasures and difficulties of such a journey. These accounts are frequently and clearly didactic: their stated purpose is to encourage and instruct the future pilgrim, including those making an *itinerarium mentis in Deum*.

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[1] On this work see, for example, Elio Caruso, 'Pellegrini in Terrasanta nel Medioevo', in *Pellegrini, crociati e templari*, ed. by Elio Caruso, Loredana Imperio, and Mauro Mariani (Modena: Castrocaro, 1994), pp. 31–61 (p. 33).

Notes of edification and instruction are frequently sounded in Italian pilgrimage accounts from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries: Gabriele Capodilista, a northern Italian, wrote an account of his 1458 pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the nuns in Padua's convent of San Bernardo, who had left 'the active life, and therefore cannot [...] perhaps see and know such fruit for themselves'.[2] In 1480, Santo Brasca composed a similar account for the spiritual consolation and instruction of a nobleman too busy to make the journey to the Holy Land in person.[3] For the most part, the didactic, moral impulse that motivates pilgrimage writers is clearly evident in their work, whether it is stated or not. In the Codex Rustici, the fifteenth-century Italian account which is the subject of this chapter, the stated (and standard) didactic purpose of the work is, however, subverted by the author's true focus: that of teaching his reader of the glories of his own city, Florence. While Rustici opens with conventional expressions of his desire to instruct the listener/reader[4] in the spiritual benefits of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he ends up teaching a lesson on quite a different — and much closer — location.[5]

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[2] 'La activa vita, per la qual non possendo [...] forsi pervenire al personal vedere e cognoscimento di tanto fruto': Santo Brasca, *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'Itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458*, ed. by Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy (Milan: Longinesi, 1966), p. 164.

[3] Santo Brasca dedicated his account to 'Magnificum Dominum Antonium Landrianum Ducalem Thesaurarium generalem [...] che non possendo epsa per le grandissime sue occupatione publice et private venire al personal vedere et cognoscimento di tanto delectabile fructo, ella possa a le volte in le vacatione de suoi impedimenti, legendo quelo, prenderne consolatione et atribuirlo a la personal visitatione' (Brasca, *Viaggio*, p. 45).

[4] Rustici uses the terms interchangably; see Seminario Maggiore del Cestello, Florence, Codex Rustici (hereafter Codex Rustici), fols 1ʳ and 277ᵛ, for example.

[5] This chapter cannot hope to address the entire literature on Italian pilgrimages of Rustici's period, but the reader is directed to the following general works on Italian pilgrimages: *Pellegrini, crociati e templari* (see n. 1, above); *Viaggiatori e pellegrini italiani in Terrasanta fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, ed. by Silvio Calzolari and others, 2 vols (Florence: Università degli Studi di Firenze, 1975); *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. by Franco Cardini (Florence: Alinea, 1982); Alessandro Bedini, *Testimone a Gerusalemme* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1999); and the recent and comprehensive study by Cardini, *In Terrasanta: Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002). Interesting comparisons can, of course, be drawn between pilgrimages made by Italians and by other Western European travellers; consider, for example, the pilgrimage of Felix Fabri, who travelled on the same ship as Santo Brasca and also composed an extensive account of his journey; see Felix Fabri, *Sionpilger*, ed. by Wieland Carls (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1999).

The Codex Rustici

The Codex Rustici is a celebrated manuscript composed around 1444.[6] While Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici has been identified as the manuscript's author,[7] the bulk of the text is written in a scribal hand that has not been identified. Hand A (the scribe) transcribes the major part of the text in clear Tuscan, leaving space for Hand B — that is, Rustici — to add numerous marginal notes and corrections of errors or lacunae. Hand B completes the last ten folios of the manuscript (fols 271[r]–81[v]), identifying itself as 'I, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustici, Florentine goldsmith'.[8] Rustici's orthography, syntax, and grammar are of a markedly inferior standard to that of his scribe; indeed, the often bizarre orthography conserved in the quotations offered here frequently indicates the work of Rustici's Hand B.[9] The original audience of the manuscript was presumably Rustici's immediate descendants, and despite its 'public' tone, the manuscript would, at most, have been circulated only amongst Rustici's family and perhaps a few close friends.

The manuscript's subsequent fame has rested almost entirely on its marginal watercolour sketches made by the author; these depict more than thirty of the 165 churches and religious institutions found within or just outside Florence's walls at that time (the reckoning is Rustici's; see Codex Rustici, fol. 8[r]). Subsequent urban developments have led to the refurbishment, remodelling, or even total destruction of many of these buildings and so, since the eighteenth century at least, the manuscript has been mined for visual clues to the city's onetime appearance.[10] The text of the manuscript has not, however, met with a

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[6] For the most in-depth published study of the manuscript, see Lucia Gai, 'La "Dimostrazione dell'Andata del Santo Sepolcro" di Marco di Bartolommeo Rustici fiorentino (1441–42)', *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. by Franco Cardini (Florence: Alinea, 1982), pp. 189–233.

[7] This is largely due to Werner Cohn's comparison of Rustici's autograph extant returns and the sketches, annotations, and authorial corrections/additions to the Codex Rustici with another Florentine manuscript similarly illustrated and annotated in the same period; see Cohn, 'Un codice inedito con disegni di Marco di Bartolommeo Rustichi', *Rivista d'arte*, 32 (1957), 57–76.

[8] '[I]o Marcho di Bartolomeo Rustichi, orafo da Firenze': Codex Rustici, fol. 277[r]. All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

[9] The quotations from the Codex Rustici offered here have not been standardized; in some cases, however, pointed brackets are used to supply amendments necessary to clarify Rustici's meaning (for example, *lapsus* of consonants).

[10] In his monumental survey of the history of Florentine churches, Giuseppe Richa utilizes the Codex Rustici as a source; see his *Notizie istoricha delle chiese fiorentine divise ne' suoi quartieri*, 10

similar interest: this is perhaps due to its length (more than 280 folios), turgid prose, and a vague but nevertheless diffuse notion that the pilgrimage account is a fabrication.[11] Rustici's work is certainly problematic: its chronology is uncertain, its author's biography (and, almost, identity) seem wilfully to have been kept hidden, and large sections of the text have been 'borrowed' from other authors with no attempt at acknowledgement. The contents of the manuscript are, furthermore, often misrepresented: celebrated for its description of Florence's churches, the manuscript's pilgrimage description (which its author states is the 'real' impetus behind the work) is generally assumed to be false.

While the Codex Rustici is famous for its *fiorentinità*, or 'Florentine-ness', Rustici begins his work with a statement of its purpose, clearly moral and didactic in intention:

> Love and desire constrain me to know and to wish to understand the places where Our Lord was born and died in order to give us life [...] and to see the lands of his resurrection, and to be able to speak of those holy places that are found in the Holy Land, in Egypt and on Mount Sinai, and to search out many countries with devotion and great love and the right resolution [...]. May God grant me wisdom to offer the tale of the holy voyage and of those things which I believe will be to the delight and spiritual health of my listeners.[12]

These motivations do not greatly distinguish Rustici from his fellow pilgrim-writers: Gabriele Capodilista writes that he went in order to 'know openly a firm verification of our faith';[13] Alessandro Rinuccini, a Florentine who travelled to Jerusalem in 1474, says that he departed for the 'health of soul and body' (the

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vols (Florence: P. G. Viviani, 1754–62; repr. Rome: Multigrafica, 1972). For the most recent example of this trend, a Florentine exhibition on Arnolfo di Cambio, see *Arnolfo alle origini del Rinascimento fiorentino*, ed. by Timothy Verdon, Edoardo Speranza, and others (Florence: Polistampa, 2005).

[11] For the suggestion that the pilgrimage account is a plagiarized fabrication based on Petrarch's literary Jerusalem itinerary, see the editor's comments in Francesco Petrarca, *Itinerario in Terra Santa 1358*, ed. by Francesco Lo Monaco (Bergamo: Pierluigi Lubrina Editore, 1990), p. 30. The notion will be further addressed later in this paper.

[12] 'L'amore e il volere mi stringne di sapere e di volere intendere de' luoghi dove il Nostro Singnore naque e morì per dare a nnoi vita [...] e di vedere i luoghi della sua resurressione e di potere dire di quelle sante luoghora che ssi truovano in Terra Santa, inn Egipto e al monte Sinai, e cerchare molti paesi chon divozione e grande amore e buon proponimento [...]. Donimi sapienzia di profferere el dire del santo viaggio di quelle chose ch'io crederròe che sia agli uditori diletto e ssalute': Codex Rustici, fol. 1ʳ.

[13] 'Conoscere apertamente la ferma verificatione de la feda nostra': Brasca, *Viaggio in Terrasanta*, p. 164.

latter somewhat ironically, given the real danger of such a journey).[14] A unique and specific logic, however, underpins Rustici's retelling of his journey: unlike most other pilgrims, he claims, he is unwilling and unable to take up his tale only from the moment of arrival in the Holy Land: 'Let it be permitted me, for love of my homeland, to say some things about the magnificent city of Florence; *I will then leave* from the said city in order to go on the holy voyage.'[15] That is, to be able to leave his city (metaphorically and physically), Rustici must reflect on and describe its glory. It is here that we begin to see a conflict between the desire to instruct morally and spiritually ('preaching') and that of wanting to instruct about earthly, and particularly Florentine, matters ('teaching').

This uncertainty over motivations is compounded by Rustici's confused identity: the reader/listener is given very few verifiable details about either the goldsmith or his physical pilgrimage. In a way, this serves to support his stated reasons for expounding the benefits of such a journey. The text becomes that of an Everyman: a person not located in a precise moment in time (after all, the description lacks a consistent chronology); a person without specific familial, professional, or political ties (the Codex Rustici, most unusually for a Florentine source of this period, does not state these).[16] With its bland descriptions, little sense of a personal response to what is seen during the journey, and a formalized method of cataloguing the holy sites and their spiritual significance, the section of the manuscript containing the pilgrimage description locates itself firmly within the genre of *itineraria*.[17]

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[14] 'Salute dell'anima et del corpo': Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini, *Sanctissimo Peregrinaggio del Santo Sepolcro 1474*, ed. by Andrea Calamai (Pisa: Pacini, 1993), p. 43.

[15] 'A me fia lecito per l'amore della mia patria a dire alchuna chosa della mangnificha ciptà di Firenze, *e dipoi* partendomi da detta ciptae per andare al santo viagio': Codex Rustici, fol. 1ʳ, emphasis added.

[16] On the importance of name, patronymic, 'surname' and profession as signifiers of identity (and status) in fifteenth-century Florence, see Anthony Molho, 'Names, Memory, Public Identity in Late Medieval Florence', in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 237–52.

[17] His need to expound the glories of his city, it could be argued, also locates Rustici's work in the genre of 'state praise'. A similar Italian example is Bonvesin da la Riva's ode to Milan, which also praises the city by imaging it as a new Jerusalem: see his *De magnalibus Mediolani: Le meraviglie di Milano*, trans. by Giuseppe Pontiggia, ed. by Maria Corti, 2nd edn (Milan: Bompiani, 1974). Legends written about Bologna's San Petronio use that city in the same way. For a discussion of both, see Anna Imelde Galletti, 'Gerusalemme o la città desiderata', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Temps Modernes*, 96 (1984), 459–87. On German exemplars of *staedtelob*, see Harmut

The Description of Florence

As has been noted, however, the contents of the manuscript are more varied than other pilgrimage accounts of its period. Rustici divides his work into three books: the first sets out to 'describe' Florence. In effect this section of the manuscript is little more than long lists of the city's churches, accompanied by extensive stories from the lives of their titular saints, digressions into iconic episodes of Florentine history (cribbed from the rubrics of Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica*), and marginal illustrations. In the second and third books (ostensibly, according to Rustici, those dedicated to the Holy Land pilgrimage itself), the author frequently digresses to include excerpts from and summaries and glosses of a staggering range of sacred and profane texts. These are apparently designed to provide important background information and explanations, but it becomes clear that the digressions from the pilgrimage are themselves the author's true focus, the task to which he dedicates the most space and the most creative energy. It is for this reason that I identify the work as a *zibaldone*, or commonplace book, a popular genre in fifteenth-century Florence. Such works contained more than the genealogical information and occasional historical digression included in family memoirs or *ricordanze*; they referenced a wide range of texts and appealed to a lettered merchant and artisan class, who collected and transcribed favourite passages for the edification of themselves and others.[18]

A number of questions become important to a discussion of such an anomalous pilgrimage text. One of the most intriguing is to consider what kind of man composed it. Rustici is not, in his composition, interested in answering the specifics of this question: we are not provided with his biography or with information about his family; we are not given to understand his role in his neighbourhood or in Florentine politics; we are, in fact, provided with almost no direct personal information whatsoever. Rustici seems reluctant even to name himself or his profession — these full identifiers are given only two times, seemingly as an afterthought (once added in the author's own crabbed hand in available interlinear space).[19]

Kugler, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters* (Munich: Artemis, 1986). I am grateful to Professor Albrecht Classen for this last reference.

[18] On these Florentine commonplace books, see Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), chap. 6, and the chapter by Catherine England in the present volume.

[19] See fols 88ᵛ and 277ʳ respectively: 'We left the city of Florence on the —day in order to go to Porto Pisano, or rather Genoa [...] I, Marco di Bartolomeo, goldsmith, with my companions';

Archival records allow us to re-create the life that Rustici is loath to reveal; from his tax returns we may infer that he was born in 1392 or 1393.[20] His grandfather, Rustico di Baldo, was probably a used-clothes dealer (*rigattiere*), and his father, Bartolomeo di Rustico, died before his son submitted his first extant tax return. Bartolomeo's profession is not known.[21] This obvious lack of a distinguished lineage tallies with Rustici's household arrangements: he lives in rented accommodation with his wife, six children, older sister, aunt, and an unmarried female relative.[22] By 1442, four orphaned nieces (all under the age of thirteen and therefore soon to be in need of dowries) have been added to the household.[23] Little wonder that by the time of his 1451 tax assessment these *incarichi* ('burdens', in both a fiscal and literal sense) are beginning to weigh on Rustici: he notes with the martyred tone of the tax payer, 'I have an eighteen-year-old girl to marry, and a fourteen-year-old niece, and eight unproductive mouths to feed, my sister continually ill, and I too unwell and aged fifty-eight, without a house of my own.'[24]

His complaints aside, Rustici's profession marks him as a man with solid economic and political possibilities: a goldsmith, he was a member of one of Florence's seven major guilds (the powerful *Arte della Seta*, or Silk Guild).[25] He

'And I, Marco di Bartolomeo Rustichi, Florentine goldsmith, left Florence in company in order to go to the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Sinai, which is in Arabia' (Partimoci dalla ciptà di Firenze a dì .. per andare in Porto Pisano overamente a Genova [...] io Marcho di Bartolomeo, orafo cho' mia chompangni; Ed io Marcho di Bartolomeo Rustichi, orafo da Firenze, mi parti' da Firenze ‹in› co‹m›pangnia per andare al Sa‹n›to Sipolch‹r›o ed a Mo‹n›te Sinai, i‹l› qual'è in Arabia.)

[20] In 1427 he declares that he is thirty-five years old; see Archivio di Stato, Florence, Catasto 50 (1427), fol. 561ʳ. The document has been published (with some typographical errors) by Cohn, 'Un codice inedito', pp. 75–76.

[21] For Bartolomeo di Rustici, see ASF Catasto 50 (1427), fol. 561ʳ; Marco di Bartolomeo notes certain bequests that he must carry out according to the wishes of his late father. On Rustico di Baldo, see ASF, Catasto 378 (1430), fol. 129ʳ.

[22] See ASF, Catasto 50 (1427), fol. 561ʳ. On the tendency of Renaissance Florentines to live with their extended family, see F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

[23] ASF, Catasto 623 (1442), fol. 376ʳ.

[24] 'Ò una fanciulla a maritare d'ani 18 e una nipote d'anni 14 e otto boche adosso sanza utole, mia sirochia inferma di chontinovo ed io pocho sano, d'età d'anni 58, e nonn ò chasa': ASF, Catasto 714 (1451), fol. 580ʳ.

[25] See ASF, Arte di Por Santa Maria, n. 7, Matricole dal 1328 al 1433', fol. 129ᵛ for his guild matriculation, which has been published in *L'oreficeria nella Firenze del Quattrocento* (Florence: SPES,

worked actively in the profession for the duration of his documented adult life (although no known works by him survive), first in his own workshop and finally as a salaried worker in that of a colleague.[26] Thus Rustici worked consistently, supported his large family, participated regularly in minor government roles, and was involved in an active and prestigious religious confraternity.[27] There is little here to distinguish him from his fellow middle-class artisans, the kind of Florentine often referred to as 'middling' — the range of works he chooses to include in his manuscript account, however, begin to set such a statistical biography in sharper relief.

One of the much-explored phenomena of the Renaissance in Italy is the educational standards of the peninsula's city-states; Lauro Martines, among others, has argued that the communal system of government in Florence demanded that middle-class artisans and merchants eligible for public office be trained in the skills that were necessary for their active, political life.[28] The most basic skills, such as reading and writing, arithmetic and elementary rhetoric, were imparted to artisan boys (such as apprentice goldsmiths) because they were considered directly relevant to the functions of a prosperous and well-ruled city.[29]

1977), p. 193. Goldsmiths, goldbeaters, and makers of tinsel and gold thread were incorporated into the Silk Guild as gold thread was frequently used to embroider the silk cloth produced in Florence; on the structure of the Florentine guilds, see Alfredo Doren, *Le Arti fiorentine*, trans. by G. B. Klein, 2 vols (Florence: Le Monnier, 1940–48).

[26] ASF, Catasto 46 (1427), fol. 491ʳ; ASF, Catasto 378 (1430), fol. 128 ʳ; ASF, Catasto 469 (1433), fol. 696ᵛ; and ASF, Catasto 714 (1451), fol. 580 ʳ. His involvement in a luxury trade must also have provided Rustici with the income required to enable a lengthy absence from his family and business while in the Holy Lands: Giuliano Pinto's work on average Pisan and Florentine incomes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries demonstrates that more than half of Pisa's inhabitants, for example, would have been unable to pay for a pilgrimage, and only about 12 per cent could have borne the costs comfortably. See Giuliano Pinto, 'I costi del pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nei secoli XIV e XV (dai resoconti dei viaggiatori italiani)', in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, pp. 257–84 (p. 275).

[27] For his political involvement, see ASF, Tribunale della Mercanzia 83, fols 107ᵛ (1430) and 254ʳ (1432); ASF, Mercanzia 84, fols 63ᵛ (1435), 118ʳ (1437), 188ᵛ (1439) and 253ᵛ (1441). For his involvement with the confraternity of St Jerome, see Archivio della Compagnia di San Girolamo, Florence, Catalogo dei Fratelli dal 1410 al [1840], fol. 8ʳ, and ACSG, Registro dei Morti, fol. 6ᵛ. These registers are unfoliated; my pagination begins with the first retro folio.

[28] See Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979; repr. 1988), chap. 11.

[29] See also the chapter by England in this volume for a consideration of communal education in Florence. There is evidence that boys with no professional need for Latin (such as Rustici, a

For this reason, Rustici probably had access to a basic education, precisely at a moment in Florence's history when once-lost classical works were being identified and disseminated (often in Latin or vernacular translations). What is begun as a pilgrimage description is also, as Rustici acknowledges at the conclusion of his tale, an opportunity to pursue such intellectual endeavours; his activity is described as that of collecting 'varied sweet and precious flowers [...] in order to give and serve them [to others] and to smell them for my own pleasure'.[30] There is an awareness here of the metamorphosis of the work from its opening assertions of spiritual edification: for Rustici, it is also an exercise in intellectual enjoyment, an opportunity to make the texts available to a wider audience, at the same time as demonstrating his knowledge in a didactic way.

Certainly Rustici's education, finances, and daily habits would not have given him unrestricted access to an extensive education or full range of humanistic texts. He remains aware, for example, of the defects of his style:

> And therefore I ask pardon for my presumption and some will say that this was an act of pride, and this is only because I am not proficient or well-organized in my intellect, neither by study nor good style.[31]

This passage does not only appear to be a familiar rhetorical device begging pardon for literary deficiencies: Rustici's Tuscan is often clumsy, punctuated by bizarre spelling and an utter disregard for the rules of syntax.[32] Furthermore, he describes himself in childhood as having been 'watered by nature', not a description that points to an extensive, privileged education but one that suggests rather a communal and vernacular one.[33]

It is nevertheless evident that Rustici pursued intellectual activity of his own volition — even the most cursory survey of the works he excerpts begs this conclusion. It is this compilation of sacred and profane material (most of it given

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goldsmith) did have opportunities to study basic Latin grammar; see, for example, Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 17, and Carla Frova, *Istruzione e educazione nel Medioevo*, 3rd edn (Turin: Loescher, 1981), pp. 114–15. This was by no means, however, a 'full' Latin education.

[30] 'Divariati fiori soavi e preziossi [...] per dâgli e serbâgli e odorâgli per mio piaciere': Codex Rustici, fol. 277ᵛ.

[31] 'E però io mi schusso dela mia prusunzione e alchuno direbe che ffussi alto di superbia, e quelsto è sollo perch'io non sono benne peritto e bene orchanezatto nel mio inteletto, né per istudio né per belo ilstile': Codex Rustici, fol. 277ᵛ.

[32] In the above quotation, for example, the handwriting is Rustici's own, not that of his scribe.

[33] 'Ero inafiato da la natura': Codex Rustici, fol. 271ᵛ.

in the vernacular, some of it clumsily translated either by the goldsmith or his scribe) that reveals the work's true character, irrespective of its stated function as a pilgrimage description. Dale Kent's recent work on Florentine *zibaldoni* has demonstrated that the genre often transcended social status — the only obvious prerequisites for participation in the activity were literacy and time.[34] Selections could include philosophical and devotional texts, texts for performance, moralistic musings — or in the famous words of Giovanni Rucellai, a wealthy Florentine who compiled a *zibaldone* in the fifteenth century, 'a salad composed of many herbs'.[35] One Lionardo di Giovanni Carnesecchi noted in his *zibaldone*:

> This little book of mine will bring you utility as well as delight, and these two things are necessary to the community of men for diverse ends [...]. The delight of speaking and hearing and seeing things that make one glad [...] both soul and body seek these from the world and from God [...]. To inspire mercy with the composition and memorization especially of works on hell, on Jesus Christ and all the martyrs who followed him along the path of various torments, so that the fruit may please you more than the flowers.[36]

Carnesecchi's didactic motivations for writing, and the moral benefits he foresaw for his readers, neatly intersect with Rustici's determination to 'say fully that which is to the glory and praise of Omnipotent God, [...] to proffer the retelling of the holy voyage [and] of those things that I believe will be to the delight of my listeners, and health, repose and glory to their humanity'.[37]

The contents of *zibaldoni* thus draw from a wide selection of material, and while compiled for pleasure they clearly serve a didactic function. A quick survey of the topics covered by the works included by Rustici suffices to demonstrate their instructive (and frequently moral) value; for example the following selection is taken from the table of contents composed in Rustici's own hand: 'How the creature is endowed, and of countries, and of diverse things'; 'How the creature must run to the priest who is Christ's vicar and shows [him] all the articles of faith'; 'Of Marcus Tullius Cicero and speaking well and rightly [*sic*]';

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[34] For a discussion of literacy in Florence in the fifteenth century, see Gene Brucker, 'Florentine Voices from the *Catasto*, 1427–1480', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, 5 (1993), 11–32.

[35] Or an 'insalata di più erbe'; see *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, ed. by A. Perosa (London: Warburg Institute, 1960), p. 2.

[36] Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, p. 70, citing Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, 1185B, fol. 52ᵛ.

[37] 'Dire appienamente chosa che si' a gloria e a laude dello onnipotente Idio, [...] profferere el dire del santo viaggio di quelle chose ch'io crederròe che sia agli uditori diletto e ssalute a lloro humanitae e riposo e gloria': Codex Rustici, fol. 1ʳ.

'Eight good effects and graces one receives, upon devotedly hearing mass'.[38] A close examination of the sequence in which some of these items are transcribed highlights the fact that the compiler was evidently drawing on existing compilations, such as Domenico Cavalca's *Lives of the Holy Fathers* and the *Summary of the Christian Life*, a popular work that brought together a range of doctrinal writings. Florence's Riccardiana library contains, for example, a commonplace book that shares much of the Codex Rustici's material, some of which is apparently excerpted in the same order: the pseudo-Bernardine letter to Raimondus (see Codex Rustici, fols 20ʳ–21ᵛ), Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (see Codex Rustici, fols 125ᵛ–34ᵛ), excerpts from Augustine's sermons (quoted repeatedly in the Codex Rustici), and a list of indulgences to be gained in Fiesole, near Florence.[39]

Unlike the later exemplars printed throughout early-modern Europe, fifteenth-century Florentine commonplace books frequently reflect the individual taste of their compiler — but many histories, fables, and stories recur. The books are thus a gauge for what Florentine men, as a group, were reading and of what particularly pleased them.[40] This group is not solely comprised of the well-educated elite; *zibaldoni* do not necessarily only reflect the library of a bibliophile such as Niccolò Niccoli, or of a Cosimo de' Medici the Elder, men whose wealth and status gave them easier access to written texts. These commonplace books are rather a representation of more widespread literary trends, of the types of texts that reached a wider audience. The notion of the 'trickle-down' effect of the Renaissance would suggest that men such as Rustici should have access to a reasonably wide range of material — but not one that equalled the breadth of the libraries of eminent Florentine statesmen and humanists.

The reality, we have seen, is that *zibaldoni* such as Rustici's *do* cover an astounding range. The goldsmith divides his own selection criteria into three basic categories: religious texts, classical and philosophical works, and works written in the vernacular. He says:

[38] 'Chome la criatura è dotata e i paessi, di diverse chosse'; 'Come la criatura de' ricorere al sacierdote ch'è vichario di Cristo e mostra tuti gli articholi dela fede'; 'Di Marcho Tulio Ciecieronne e di bene parlare corellto'; 'Olto begli efetti e grazie si ricievono udendo la messa divotamente': see fols 278ʳ–80ᵛ.

[39] On Riccardiana MS 1429, see Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici*, p. 428, n. 154.

[40] Kent suggests that a *zibaldone* is 'a personal selection from a common cultural repertoire' in *Cosimo de' Medici*, p. 69.

> If a man considers well how short his time is [...] he cannot comprehend the works of the prophets, of the evangelists, of the [Church] doctors and of the poets, and other writers of verse and prose, those in Greek and those in Hebrew and many in Latin.[41]

A detailed investigation of all the texts excerpted would require more space than is possible here; a survey of the genres included and the way in which they are used, however, begins to point to the undeclared didactic focus of the work: moving away from preaching the benefits of a Holy Land pilgrimage, toward the process of teaching the listener/reader of the glories of Florence. In the first book of the manuscript, dedicated to describing the spiritual patrimony of Florence, Rustici makes reference to an enormous number of sacred and profane texts. These include standard works such as the Bible, as well as numerous (unacknowledged) quotations from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, Domenico Cavalca's *Lives of the Holy Fathers*, and excerpts from the sermons of Augustine and Bernard. A number of Marian prayers (in both Latin and the vernacular) are included, as well as tracts such as the *Summary of the Christian Life* mentioned earlier, imported almost entire into Rustici's own description. The profane texts include references to works by Dante, an almost complete vulgarization of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (apparently translated by Rustici himself), and numerous references to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *Politics*. Cicero's works on rhetoric — vulgarizations of which were popular in Florence because they championed and taught a necessary civil skill — are another important influence. All of these texts are used to flesh out the description of Florence, to illustrate the devout and educated nature of the Florentines themselves — and they are indications of the range of texts to which Rustici had access. They give us a sense of the way in which he interpreted and construed his city, its character, and its mission.

Such texts are also, it should be noted, frequently instructive in their own right and were, we know, thus used in Florence. (This is particularly the case, as mentioned, with Cicero.)[42] The frequency with which they were used and referenced (in public speechifying, for example) domesticates these works and makes them Florentine, regardless of their provenance. As has been argued above,

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[41] 'E se bene chonsidera la criatura quanto è brieve la sua ettae [...] non puòe intendere l'opere de' profeti, de' va<n>gielisti, de' dotori e de' poetti e altri ilscriti in verssi e chi in prossa, e alchuno in grecho e chi in ebreo e moltti i latini': Codex Rustici, fol. 272ᵛ.

[42] See, in general, Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

it is as a Florentine, with a communal education, that Rustici must have accessed these texts, and he uses them to reinforce a Florentine didactic tradition; he advocates their use in situations that the politically and spiritually active Florentine man would actually encounter:

> Any speaker on judicial matters who wishes to talk well must be in possession of six things. First, that his speech is made well; secondly, that it is composed; thirdly, that it is embellished well; fourthly, that he uses words in common usage; fifthly, that he is able to memorize his speech before making it; sixthly, that he knows how to proffer the speech well and in a pleasing manner when he makes it.[43]

Rustici's source for this advice is the *Flower of Rhetoric*, a popular thirteenth-century vulgarization of Cicero on rhetoric. The manuscript tradition of the *Flower* is divided into two versions, one attributed to Fra Guidotto da Bologna and the other to Bono Giamboni.[44] Giamboni's work stresses the importance of memory in rhetoric, whereas Fra Guidotto omits this section (and thus Rustici must have copied from a text of the Giamboni tradition).[45] Kent has shown how Florentines worked particularly hard at this skill; they practised by memorizing household inventories, composing, and then declaiming epic poems in public squares, transcribing the poetry of other performers, and making political speeches.[46] Rustici shows off just such a technique, creating and domesticating a very Florentine memory house to suit his personal context (see fol. 88ᵛ); Michele del Giogante, a public poet and transcriber of such performances, outlines a very similar method.[47]

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[43] 'Qualunque dicitore nella favella iudiciale vò dire profettamente deba avere sei chose. La prima, che lla sua favella faccia buona; la sechonda, che la sia chonposta; la terza, che la sia ornata; la quarta, che lle sieno parole all'usanza; la quinta, che si sapia le sua parole rechare a memoria innanzi che parli; la sexta, che sapia bene e piacevolemente proferire quando la dice': Codex Rustici, fol. 82ʳ.

[44] The selection of Ciceronian (and pseudo-Ciceronian) works used in the Giamboni *Flower* is reasonably broad and includes the standard *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; see Guidotto da Bologna, *'Fiore della rettorica' in La prosa del Duecento*, ed. by Cesare Segre and Mario Marti (Milan: Ricciardi, 1959), pp. 103–30.

[45] See Frances A. Yates, *Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 88–89.

[46] Kent, 'Michele del Giogante's House of Memory', in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by William J. Connell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 110–36.

[47] Kent, 'Michele del Giogante's House of Memory'.

The Journey to the Holy Land

Even when Rustici embarks on the description of his pilgrimage in Book II, he is frequently distracted by observations on the new people and places that he is visiting. These digressions necessitate frequent references to still other works: the most significant of these are to Petrarch's *Itinerary of the Holy Land* and to Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Book of the Outremer*. Rustici's dependency on Petrarch in particular has led Francesco Lo Monaco to suggest that the goldsmith's pilgrimage was never made — just as Petrarch's fear of water conveniently prevented him from making a physical pilgrimage, so Rustici is argued to have composed a literary (and, furthermore, bastardized) account, rather than a truthful description.[48] His use of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's fourteenth-century pilgrimage book has not been previously identified but, as with Petrarch's work, Rustici modifies its specifics very carefully (inverting the route Niccolò followed through Jerusalem to Egypt, modifying dates, adding anecdotes and names of people encountered), presumably to reflect the particulars of his own journey. Unfortunately no documentary evidence exists to settle the question of whether Rustici's pilgrimage was actually made. Nor are these the only works used to gloss, reference, or flesh out Rustici's description: numerous others, many of them (like Petrarch's) today classed as literary, distract Rustici from his task of preaching. When passing the islands of Gorgona and Capraia off the Tuscan coast, for example, he defers to Dante's description of them in *Inferno*, XXXIII. 82:

> And on the right-hand side, turn towards midday; there are two small islands. One is called Gorgona, the other is called Caprara; and the Florentine poet speaks about these two islands because of the Pisans' cruelty against Count Ugolino and his children, as we see in *Inferno* in the relevant chapters where it says: 'Muovasi la Caprara e la Gorgona', etcetera.[49]

Even a companion's illness requires the transcription of a huge textbook, Maestro Niccolò's *Tract on Medicine*; moreover, as we should by now expect, the surgeon who wrote the work was a Florentine:

> And Maestro Niccolò was a divine man, deeply wise in every faculty, with wonderful experiences under his belt. And so his works demonstrate and renew every day the experience and the cure of sick people according to his doctrine, which he composed in his

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[48] See Petrarca, *Itinerario*, p. 30.

[49] 'E da man diritta ti vogi inverso mezodì; sonvi dua isole picchole. L'una è chiamata la Gorgona, l'altra è chiamata Caprara; e 'l poeta fiorentino rachonta queste dua isole per la crudeltà che feciono i pisani al chonte Ugolino e a sua figliuoli chome si vede nell'*Inferno* a sua chapitoli, dicendo "Muovasi la Caprara e la Gorgona" ecetera': Codex Rustici, fol. 95ᵛ.

life, and he wrote wonderful and magnificent books. This work is called *The Practice of Maestro Niccolò of Florence*, so that in every study, every doctor studying Avicenna or Galen or Hippocrates and many other worthy writers on medicine, in the end, after studying many years, they leave those other books and such authors and cling to and carry around with them the books of *The Practice of Maestro Niccolò*, because these shed light on the subject of medicine, perfectly demonstrating all remedies.[50]

Rustici's pilgrimage companion (and Maestro Niccolò's patient), the Servite friar Maestro Leale,[51] seems aware of this tendency to distraction and upon arrival in the Holy Land exhorts Rustici to return to the spiritual dimension of their journey, noting: 'Marco, we have spoken about temporal things, and this was necessary in order to explain fully the variety we have found in these countries. Let us now force ourselves to speak of spiritual things.'[52] This advice does not have quite the desired effect, however, inspiring Rustici to expound a great deal more catechism, including the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the seven vices and virtues, the twelve benefits of hearing Mass daily, and even a very depressing list of one hundred sins. The actual pilgrimage itinerary is detailed but ultimately uninformative — we are told how many strides it takes to walk from one sanctuary to another, how many steps one descends when entering the grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem — but there is little personal involvement on the part of the author, and no attempt to describe a spiritual engagement with the Holy Land. The description of churches only as 'devout' or 'well-appointed' contrasts

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[50] 'E il Maestro Nicholò fu un uomo divino, uomo profondo di sapienza in ongni facultà, chon maravigliose isperienze fatte ala sua vita. E anchora le sua opere dimostrano e rinfreschono ongni indìe la sperienza e lle chure degl'infermi per la sua dottrina, la quale e' chonpuose in sua vita e fé maravigliosi libri i quali son mangnifichi. Chiamasi *La patricha* [sc. pratica] *del Maestro Nichcholò da Firenze*, in tal modo che in ongni studio, ongni dottore studia in Avicena o in Galieno o in Iprograso e molti valenti aultori di medicina, e nella fine istanno allo studio più anni e dipoi lasciono tutti i libri e tali autori solo s'apichono e portono cho<n> loro i libri della *Patricha* [sc. pratica] *del Maestro Nicholòe* ché quelli sono aluminati della medicina, mostrando profettamente tutti i rimedi': Codex Rustici, fol. 96ʳ.

[51] The friar is a figure hard to pin down in documentary evidence; his name ('loyal master') and character suggest a fictional construct. It has recently been suggested that extracts from the Florentine accounts of a Servite friar may be identified as the work of Rustici's Maestro Leale; without further evidence, however, the suggestion remains conjecture. See Paola Ircani Menichini, *Vita quotidiana e storia della SS. Annunziata di Firenze nella prima metà del Quattrocento* (Florence: Convento della SS. Annunziata, 2004), pp. 258–59.

[52] 'Marcho, parlato abiamo delle chose temporali ed è suto di nicessitae per dire apienamente le divarazioni trovate ne' paesi; isforzerenci di parlare delle ispirituali': Codex Rustici, fol. 168ʳ.

with Rustici's first great descriptive cycle of Florence's history, people, buildings, and patron saints.

Just as the work opens with creative efforts directed at teaching us about Florence, so the pilgrimage description ends with a distinctly Florentine echo. While in Jerusalem Rustici is obviously dreaming of his own city, for he creates an imaginary palace in the desert that bears a strong resemblance to it. After informing his reader that 'the words of he who tells tales or speaks are signs of the intention that you have in your soul [*sic*]', Rustici proceeds to describe Ptolemy's palace, the residence of the 'divine Ptolemy, author and master of all mathematicians at the time of the emperor Antoninus, who divinely wrote many things'.[53] For much of the description of this fantastical place, Rustici resorts to listing; the extensive grounds, for example, are described in this way:

> And on the right-hand side there was a little wood as wide as the garden, with grates all around it and inside it apples, pears, hazelnuts, chestnuts, olives, dates, oaks, jujubes, figs, laurel trees, plums.[54]

This kind of listing constructs a new reality, bombarding us with facts in a way that leaves no question of their truthfulness; G. R. Cardona has suggested that such a technique of accumulation is not so much a description as an attempt to conjure a chronological vision of what is being seen, and how.[55] Similarly, the varieties of grapes observed in the vineyards include 'Greek grapes, vernaccia grapes, long grapes, short grapes, big grapes of all types, grapes that bear fruit four times a year, muscat grapes [...] and many other types of grapes which I will not mention'.[56] While even the flora and fauna here are frequently Tuscan rather than native to the Holy Lands, Rustici's model for the palace becomes clear when he describes its architecture and decorations. Ptolemy's palace is a Holy Land version of Florence, an ideal humanist academy which allows Rustici to return to his favourite instructive subject:

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[53] 'Ma lle parole di chi favella o dice son sengni della intenzione che tu ài nel'animo'; 'il quale Tholomeo chompuose divinamente molte chose': Codex Rustici, fols 204ᵛ–05ʳ.

[54] 'E da man diritta v'era um· boschetto largho quanto il giardino tutto graticholato dintorno, dentrovi meli, peri, nocciuoli, chastangni, ulivi, datteri, quercie, giugioli, fichi, allori, susini': Codex Rustici, fol. 207ʳ.

[55] 'I viaggi e le scoperte', in *Letteratura italiana Einaudi*, dir. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1982–), V: *Le questioni*, ed. by Roberto Antonelli (1986), pp. 696–97.

[56] '[Uve] grecho, vernaccia, uve lunghe, uve chorse, uve grosse di diverse maniere, uve che facievano lo frutto 4 volte l'anno, uve moschadelle [...] e di molte mani‹e›re d'uve non si dichono': Codex Rustici, fol. 207ᵛ.

And in front of this palace there was a portico which rose up five steps and was twelve *braccia* wide, which was placed on top of columns [...] of serpentine and alabaster and marble and jasper [...]. And the middle door of the palace was of bronze and so were the other two, in the same manner as those of Saint John the Baptist in Florence.[57]

'Saint John the Baptist' is Florence's baptistery, the location of Andrea Pisano's and Lorenzo Ghiberti's celebrated bronze doors. Both Pisano's work there in the mid-fourteenth century and Ghiberti's in the mid-fifteenth century (which included his famous 'doors of Paradise') are praised by Rustici in the opening book of the manuscript in his description of the glories of Florence:

And the said tribune has eight sides and on the front side there is a door of bronze, with the Old Testament sculpted on it, and in the second part on the left-hand side there is another door like that, depicting the life and death of Saint John the Baptist. And in the second part on the left-hand side there is a door, with the New Testament depicted there in the same manner. All of the said doors are of high and low relief, all beautiful and perfect things in every faculty, from the hands of perfect masters, such that in all the universe no one ever saw such a work nor such perfection.[58]

Also suspiciously Florentine is a huge fresco of the Church Militant, which echoes Andrea di Bonaiuto's 1365 work on the same subject in Santa Maria Novella's Spanish Chapel. Rustici's version includes the depiction of a sepulchre inscribed with the following poem:

It cannot be, reader, that you shall not die.
And if you know, go with your head high,
The earth will tan your hide:
You will return as you see me lie.[59]

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[57] 'E dinanzi a questo palagio era un porticho il quale saliva 5 gradi ed era largho braccia 12, il qual' era i‹n› su cholonne [...] di serpentino ed alabastro e di marmo e di diaspro [...]. E lla porta del palagio quella di mezo era d'ottone dorata e chosì l'altre due porti in quel modo chome quelle di Santo Giovanni Batista di Firenze': Codex Rustici, fols 205 ʳ⁻ᵛ.

[58] 'E lla detta trebuna è ffatta a otto faccie e nella faccia dinanzi v'è una porta d'ottone dorate, dentrovi intagliato il Vechio Testamento, e nella sechonda parte da ma‹n› mancha v'è una porta al detto modo, dentrovi affiguratovi la vita e lla morte di Santo Giovanni Batista. E nella sechonda parte da mano diritta v'è una porta, al detto modo dentrovi affigurato il Nu‹o›vo Testamento. Tutte le detti porti sono figure di rilievo e di mezo rilievo, tutte chose perfette e maravigliose in ogni facultae, di mano di perfetti maestri che per tuto l'universo non si vide mai tale opere né in tanta perfezione': Codex Rustici, fol. 8ᵛ.

[59] 'Non può manchare, letorre, che tu non muoia. | E va' cholla testa alta, se tu sai, | Che pure la terra choncierà le chuoia: | Come mi vedi, chosì ritornerai': Codex Rustici, fol. 213ʳ.

There is an obvious resonance here with the *memento mori* labelling Masaccio's *Trinity* in Florence's Church of Santa Maria Novella: there a skeleton lies in a grave inscribed with the words 'I once was as you are and that which I am, you will become'.[60] Rustici is so fond of the imagery that he includes it another manuscript of which he was the illustrator: here a cherub holds a sickle in its right hand and a skull in its left, announcing, 'Think of your end, you will soon die and you know neither when nor where, and you will take nothing with you there: as you see me, so you will return.'[61]

The interior of the huge building is frescoed with episodes from the lives of great heroes and writers:

> Ovid was there, who spoke about love. Then there was Juvenal, who showed worldly things. Terence was there, Pamphilius [Maurilianus] and Pindar too; they stood on a flowery field. Statius from Toulouse was there; he spoke about the Thebans and their cries. [...] Cato was there, and he was reasoning with Antigone. There was Livy, who wrote the *Decades* during the time of Emperor Titus. Valerius was there, who wrote short works. Paolus Orosius was there. Dante Alighieri of Florence was there, he who wrote about the greatest good and just punishment and ultimate death. Francesco Petrarch was there, and Claudian, and Giovanni Boccaccio and Arighetto da Settimello, and Zanobi da Strada, and Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini and all of them Florentines.[62]

The inclusion of compatriots such as Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini (two Florentine humanist chancellors) should not surprise us, although we might be surprised to see them in a building supposedly built and decorated centuries before their birth — particularly in the case of Bruni and Marsuppini, who were still alive at the time of Rustici's 1441–42 pilgrimage. Even the Romans who accompany them are, in a sense, Florentine: Rustici gleans his lists of classical figures from a minor work written by Boccaccio, the *Amorous Vision*, and for the most part he integrates them in precisely the same order as they are described by

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[60] 'Io fu già quel che voi siete, e quel ch'i' son voi ancor sarete.'

[61] 'Pensa al fine, ài a morire tosto e non sa' quando né dove e nula ne porterai. Come tu vedi, così tornerai': BNCF II.I.112, fol. 19^r.

[62] 'Eravi Ovidio, il quale disse d'amore. Po' v'era Giovinale, mostrava chose mondane. Eravi Terrenzio, eravi Phanphilio e Pindaro; istava<n>si i<n> sun uno prato fiorito. Eravi Istazio di Tholosa, parlò de' theban<i e> de' lor pianti. [...] Eravi Catone e ragionava chon Antigone. Eravi Livio che fé le X *Deche* al tempo di Tito inperadore. Eravi Valerio, fé su' opere in brevitate. Eravi Pagholo Orosio. Eravi Dante Arlinghieri da Firenze, il quale iscrisse il sonmo bene e le pene e la gran morte. Eravi Messere Franciescho Petrarcha e Gradiano e Messere Giovanni Bochacci e Messere Arighetto e Messere Pietro da Strada e Messere Choluccio e Messere Glionardo Bruni e Mesere Charlo di Messere Girigoro e tutti fiorentini': Codex Rustici, fol. 213^{r–v}.

Boccaccio.[63] On some occasions he even borrows his description of what these men are doing directly from Boccaccio, as in the case of Terence, Pamphilius Maurilianus, and Pindar's flowery field.[64] Both the anachronisms and the unacknowledged 'borrowing' of such eminent personages are further confirmation of how important Florence is to Rustici: the Florentines are the natural heirs of the Greeks and Romans, known to Rustici precisely because the culture of his city gives him access to works such as Boccaccio's.

Without a doubt, this section of the manuscript is Rustici's most prolonged, creative effort (covering twelve folios in total), and it is primarily concerned with creating a place that greatly resembles Florence. In this sense, it functions as his second 'Florentine cycle', the first being the manuscript's opening book and its itinerary of the city's holy sites and spiritual benefits. It is only by mentally returning to Florence again that Rustici is able to imagine Ptolemy's palace, the most wonderful place in the world — one which overwhelms even its creator, leaving him feeling 'lost, alone, and without company', as if he 'had fallen asleep and was left without intellect'.[65] The palace is decorated in a distinctly Florentine style and haunted by images of the Florentine heirs to the great classical tradition. This observation that Rustici views the rest of the world through a Florentine lens is reinforced by his closing considerations. After returning to his hometown after the pilgrimage, Rustici looks back on all he saw and thinks about his reasons for being pleased to be home:

> And certainly love of my homeland does not deceive me, considering the lifestyle and habits and virtues and situation and countryside and inhabitants and government of that liberty [in Florence], and the great constancy and wonderful spending and alertness and fervour and love of the magnificent Florentine people, who by their actions demonstrate that they would rather die or experience every discomfort than submit and lose that glorious liberty.[66]

[63] Boccaccio's work describes an intellectual pilgrimage comparable with Dante's spiritual journey in the *Divine Comedy*. Both Boccaccio and, in his turn, Rustici are influenced by *Inferno* IV, for example, where Dante meets the 'admirable heathen' writers and philosophers in their castle.

[64] Compare with Boccaccio's 'ciascun per sè sopra 'l prato fiorito'; see Giovanni Boccaccio, *Amorosa visione*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Florence: Sansoni, 1944), bk V, l. 33.

[65] 'Mi parve essere ismarito e rimanere solo e sanza chompangnia. Parevami essere sanza intelletto e adormentato': Codex Rustici, fol. 210^r.

[66] 'E ciertamentte l'amore dela mia patria non m'ingana, chonsiderando il vivere e i chostumi e le virtudi e il sito e il paesse e gli abitantti e il governo di quela liberttae, e la grande colstanzia e le maravigliosse ilspese e i disagi e il fervore e l'amore del mangnificho popolo fiorentino, il quale cho‹n› l'operazione lo dimosstra piutolsto voler morire e ilstare in ongni disagio che sotometerssi e perdere la groliosa libertà': Codex Rustici, fol. 271^r.

These ideas are strongly related to the speeches of statesmen such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini — precisely those men Rustici 'sees' in Ptolemy's palace and to whom he probably listened regularly as they made public addresses.[67] For Rustici, it is not Jerusalem that is the *umbilicus mundi*, but rather Florence; after all, if it were not for his hometown:

> All of Italy would be a thieves' cave and every town in Italy would be full of tyrants and pain and wickedness and everything would go to ruin: just as a boat without a pilot or rudder or sails, so everything would go to perdition in Italy. [...] And for this reason all of Italy, if not all of Europe, should with love and fervour always praise and help the flowery city of Florence, and worthily one should strive for and desire that she be raised up high and praised for many reasons, which are universally obvious.[68]

Thus while Rustici's text does mark out the path to being a good Christian, its primary message is that a devout and intellectually satisfying life is best achieved in Florence, not Jerusalem.

The structure of Rustici's work makes plain this underlying message: the opening section, or first Florentine cycle, places its description of the city as a pilgrimage circuit in light of the texts necessary to grasp the importance of this. These, it has been shown, were presumably accessed thanks to Rustici's education — one that would have stressed the skills necessary for active Florentine men. These skills were then domesticated by Rustici, incorporated into his knowledge base (and manuscript) through his study of instructive texts on rhetoric and by the very Florentine genre in which he chooses to write, the *zibaldone*. When Rustici finally moves to his stated didactic purpose — that of describing his Jerusalem pilgrimage — he is willingly distracted by a second Florentine cycle, his conception of Ptolemy's palace, one that teaches what the apotheosis of

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[67] On fols 7ᵛ–8ʳ, Rustici lists Florence's principal gates, placing as their guards the foremost literary and state figures of his period. These men include Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, and Carlo Marsuppini, and Rustici is careful to mention that the government crowned them all with the laurel wreath on their death. It is precisely on occasions such as these state funerals that Rustici would have heard humanistic and republican orations; see Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[68] 'Tutta Italia sarebe una spiloncha di ladroni e ongni paesse in Italia sarebe pienno di tiranni e pienno di dolori e di malizie e ongni chossa andrebe i‹n› rovinna; chome ffae la nave nel mare sanza il nochiere ol sanza il timone o le vele, rovinerebe sanza alchuno rimedio in Italia. [...] E per quelsta chagione tutta Iltalia, e non che Italia tutta la 'Uropia, chon amore e chon fervore senpre dover‹e›be groliare e aiutare la citae fiorita di Firenze, e meritamente si doverebono isforzare e disiderare ched ela sormo‹n›tassi in altura e in grolia per molte ragioni, le quali son pronntti e universali': Codex Rustici, fol. 271ʳ.

Florence's vision for itself will look like, artistically and humanistically speaking. The unifying focus of Rustici's work, then, despite his opening assertions, is quite plainly that of teaching about Florence. This is never more clear than in his closing remarks: after coming home from Jerusalem, this teacher concludes that, 'having returned to Florence, I felt that I had returned to Paradise'.[69]

[69] 'Send'io rito<r>nato nela mia patria e avendo vedutto e intesso di moltte provinccie e lcittadi le quali sonno pel universso del mondo, e' mi parve esser tornato in paradisso': Codex Rustici, fol. 271ʳ.

'NEE EN YTALE':
CHRISTINE DE PIZAN'S
MIGRANT DIDACTIC VOICE

Louise D'Arcens

[C]uides tu que devant la face de Fortune ne me repute pour maleureuse quant je voy ces autres acompaignees de leur lignage, freres et parens d'estat, et aisiees eulx resjouir ensemble, et je pense que je suis hors de mes amis en estrange lieu?

[D]on't you think that before the face of Fortune I consider myself very miserable when I see others, accompanied by their families, brothers and well-placed relatives, contented and merry together, and I think that I am far away from mine in a foreign country?[1]

Over the past three decades Christine de Pizan (*c*. 1364–*c*. 1431) has come to be regarded as one of the most distinctive voices of late-medieval French literature. Alongside her renowned advocacy of women, she is increasingly widely recognized for her abiding dedication to analysing, and proposing solutions to, the struggles of war-torn France. For a quarter of a century she devoted herself to offering advice to members of the beleaguered royal family, whose unstable fortunes at the hands of civil war and the Hundred Years' War very directly affected her own condition and that of her

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[1] Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de l'advision Cristine*, ed. by Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001), p. 116 (hereafter *L'Advision*); *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, trans. by Glenda McLeod and Charity Cannon Willard (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), p. 110; all subsequent references are to this edition and translation. Note that I have changed 'do you think' to 'don't you think', a translation which corresponds with that by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, trans. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee, ed. by Blumenfeld-Kosinski (New York: Norton, 1997), p. 197.

family. Her political writings clearly reveal the extent to which she regarded her own fate as intertwined with, and reflected in, that of the French kingdom. Her repeated evocations of France as a grieving widow, for instance, fuse a long-established image of civic desolation derived from the widowed Jerusalem of Lamentations with one of Christine's best-known self-portraits, the *seulette*, or solitary widow.[2] There is, however, an intriguing detail in these writings that has gone relatively undiscussed: despite Christine's ingenious self-identification with France, she was born in Italy, and frequently reminded her readers of this fact, even going so far as to call herself a 'femme ytalienne'. Even amongst those critics who do acknowledge her Italianness, there is a tendency to subsume it into her adopted Frenchness. Through an examination of how Christine represents her geographical and ethnic origins in her early political writings, I wish to argue that her Italianness, far from being an incidental biographical detail, or a skin she needed to shed in order to identify with France, infuses the persona she constructs in these texts, and figures significantly in her development of what can be called a migrant advisory voice — a voice in which distance and intimacy, foreignness and belonging, and learning and experience are held in subtle yet forceful balance.

Christine as Didactic Author

Christine's earlier political texts — that is, those produced between 1399 and 1410 — need first of all to be contextualized within her development throughout this same period of indentifiable hermeneutic and pedagogic theories. As both Roberta Krueger and Charity Cannon Willard have demonstrated, an investigation into Christine's views on writing and didacticism proves extremely fertile, for even the briefest survey of her early work reveals the gravity — and at times, the urgency — with which this self-fashioned advisor regarded her own instructive duty as a writer.[3] In this respect she is an indispensable figure to include in any study of late-medieval and early-modern didactic literature. In the decades before the feminist-inspired rehabilitation of her work, she again attracted interest as

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[2] I have discussed Christine's use of this image at greater length in '*Petit Estat Vesval*: Christine de Pizan's Grieving Body Politic', in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Karen Green and Constant Mews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 201–26.

[3] See Charity Cannon Willard, 'Christine de Pizan as Teacher', *RLA: Romance Languages Annual*, 3 (1992), 132–36.

an educator and advisor, being described as 'one of the greatest moralists of Christian literature'.[4] More recently, Krueger has claimed that Christine's early works 'tell one of European literature's most significant stories about the education of the author and her instruction of others, about learning and teaching'.[5] Particularly evident throughout this work is Christine's deep conviction about the power of literature to edify — or alternatively to corrupt — the individual reader, and thereby to determine wider social dynamics. This conviction is clearly evident in her 1399 *L'Epistre au dieu d'amours*, where she famously has Cupid attribute the perpetuation of misogynist ideology and behaviour not to legal, economic, social, or sexual inequities, but to the inclusion of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris* in the liberal arts education of boys.[6]

Christine's belief in the power of literature and, moreover, duty to promote personal virtue and, by extension, social equity and harmony, also underpins her repeated condemnations of what she regards to be obscenity and misogyny in Jean de Meun's continuation of Guillaume de Lorris's celebrated verse allegory *Le Roman de la rose*. As well as the two allegorical texts she devotes to rebutting this text's immorality, *L'Epistre au dieu d'amours* and *Le Dit de la rose* (1402), Christine's most famous criticisms of the *Roman de la rose* are found in the epistolary polemic known as *Le Débat sur le Roman de la rose*, or the Quarrel of the Rose, in which Christine, along with her ally Jean Gerson, locked horns with prominent Parisian humanists Pierre and Gontier Col, and Jean de Montreuil. In this polemic Christine discloses her didactic philosophy when she emphasizes that the *Roman de la rose* is derelict in its duty not only to women, whom it misrepresents, but also, importantly, to its male readers, whom it misleads with contradictory and distorting advice about women. This has also been observed by Kate Langdon Forhan, who argues that Christine's primary objection to the *Rose* was its power 'to corrupt and degrade the reader by desensitizing him or her

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[4] Astrik L. Gabriel, 'The Educational Ideas of Christine de Pisan', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 16 (1955), 3–21 (p. 3).

[5] Roberta Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons: Gender, Morality, and the Social Order from the *Enseignemens* to the *Avision*', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. by Marilynn Desmond (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1998), pp. 16–40 (p. 16).

[6] 'They give these texts out to their youngest lads, | To schoolboys who are young and new in class, | *Examples given to indoctrinate* | So they'll retain such doctrine when they're grown' (Si les baillent en matiere aux premiers | A leurs nouveaulx et jeunes escoliers, | En maniere d'exemple et de doctrine | Pour retenir en aage tel doctrine) (*Poems of Cupid, God of Love*, ed. and trans. by Thelma Fenster and Mary Carpenter Erler (Leiden: Brill, 1990), p. 46 (text); p. 47 (trans.); emphasis mine).

to a debased view of human beings',[7] thereby influencing not just readers' opinions but their actual treatment of women. This is certainly borne out in a letter to Jean de Montreuil in 1401, where Christine censures the text's representation of the figure Genius, claiming he is the one who 'more than any of the characters, makes great attacks on women, saying, in fact, "Flee, flee, flee the venomous serpent". Then he tells men to pursue them relentlessly' (dist sur tous personages moult de grans vituperes de elles, et dist de fait: 'fuiéz! fuiéz! fuiéz le serpent venimeux!' — et puis si dist que on les continuer sans delaisser).[8] These sentiments are echoed in *Les Enseignemens moraux* (1400–01), where she advises her son Jean Castel to avoid exposing himself to the vice embedded within the pages of Ovid and, especially, the *Roman de la rose*.[9] Her rejection of the latter finds its most extreme articulation, however, in the ballade where she calls for its burning: 'l'en devroit ardoir!'[10]

Christine's vehement antipathy towards the *Roman de la rose* has been met with longstanding criticism stretching from her *débat* opponents to contemporary scholarship, where some have professed their discomfort with what they view as a call for literary censorship.[11] Its relevance to my argument, however, lies more in the clue it offers as to the presence of a moral-hermeneutic conviction that underpins the didactic philosophy in Christine's work. While not wishing to concur with those condemnations that have reduced Christine's position to

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[7] Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 18.

[8] *Le Débat sur le Roman de la rose*, ed. by Eric Hicks (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977), p. 17; *La Querelle de la Rose: Letters and Documents*, trans. and ed. by Joseph L. Baird and John R. Kane (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 41.

[9] '[I]f you wish to be good and live well, do not read the book of the Rose' (Si bien veulx et chastement vivre | De la Rose ne lis ne livre') (*Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, ed. by Maurice Roy, 3 vols (Paris: Didot, 1886–96), III, 39, verse 77).

[10] *Autres Balades*, in *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, II, 250, l. 25.

[11] See David F. Hult, 'Words and Deeds: Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose* and the Hermeneutics of Censorship', *New Literary History*, 28 (1997), 345–66. Christine's defenders have pointed to her portrait of male beauty in *Le Dit de Poissy* and to her frank references in the *débat* to human copulation as evidence against the charge of prudery: see Earl Jeffrey Richards, 'Christine, Courtly Diction, and Italian Humanism', in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Richards with Joan Williamson, Nadia Margolis, and Christine Reno (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 250–71 (p. 253), and Barbara K. Altmann, 'Opening the Case: Machaut's *Jugement* Poems as a Source in Christine de Pizan', in ibid., pp. 137–56 (pp. 141–42).

prudishness,[12] there can be little doubt that her campaign against de Meun's text exposes her deep concern about the nature of instruction as a kind of seductive pact, in which the one who wishes to dispense advice can as readily — indeed, more readily — succeed by engaging the lower as the higher instincts of his or her audience. Christine can, after all, only condemn the *Roman de la rose* so vehemently if she believes its seductions have the power to work on the reader's mind and actions.[13] The role of seductive and persuasive techniques in the hermeneutic pact is, I wish to suggest, a central conundrum for Christine. While in the *Débat sur le Roman de la rose* she appears to condemn these practices, an analysis of her larger oeuvre suggests that what she is actually rejecting is de Meun's abuse of their power and the dangerous ends this abuse serves. Elsewhere we see her recommend and make complex use of techniques of persuasion, principally in her development of distinctive didactic personae.

In a thorough discussion of Christine's views on pedagogy, Krueger acknowledges the reverence in which Christine held education, but rightly points to the fear expressed throughout her oeuvre that moral instruction is a precarious, even doomed venture. Christine's work abounds, according to Krueger, with cameos of failed pedagogues and intractable pupils who revile their sage advisors, inevitably with dire outcomes.[14] Lest this suggest, however, that Christine is pessimistic about instruction per se, it is worth pointing out that many of her exempla suggest that more generally it is harsh counsel, or advice that shames and condemns the pupil, which meets with failure. A good example of this, and one that goes undiscussed by Krueger, can be found in Part 3 of *Le Livre du corps de policie* (1404–07). Here Christine tells the story of the philosopher Cantilenes, advisor to Alexander the Great, who, ignoring warnings from Alexander's former teacher Aristotle, sharply rebukes his charge and is executed

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[12] The best-known example of this position is Sheila Delany, 'Mothers to Think Back Through: Who Are They? The Ambiguous Case of Christine de Pizan', in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. by Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Schichtmann (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 177–97.

[13] For a detailed reading of the *Débat sur le Roman de la rose* through the lens of medieval literary theory, see Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'A New Context for Reading "The Querelle de la Rose": Christine de Pizan and Medieval Literary Theory', in *Au champ des escriptures: IIIᵉ Colloque international sur Christine de Pizan, 18–22 juillet 1998*, ed. by Eric Hicks with Diego Gonzales and Philippe Simon (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), pp. 581–95. In this essay Brown-Grant highlights Christine's concern with, among other things, de Meun's failure to distinguish an authorial voice that would provide his readers with unambiguous didactic guidance.

[14] Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons'.

for his efforts.[15] With his blunt counsel Cantilenes embodies, for Christine, the antithesis of Aristotle's *Secretum secretorum*, whose medieval reputation rested, to use Judith Ferster's phrase, on the subtle 'play of deference and challenge' it offered the prince.[16] Perhaps, then, we can interpret Christine's exempla of failed lessons less as indices of her anxiety over the fragility of the didactic pact, and more as part of a didactic strategy in which she offers cautionary tales that warn advisors against the use of humiliating counsel and, importantly, goad her princely readers to submit themselves more readily to the advice they are receiving.

Christine's most sustained argument against condemnatory counsel is, however, arguably embodied by Christine herself — or, more accurately, by her self-representation as refractory *estudiante* of misogynist literature in *Le Livre de la cité des dames*. After her initial despondency at the violence of the antifeminist rhetoric she encounters, Christine proceeds under the more benevolent tutelage of Reason, Rectitude, and Justice to discredit the disparaging lessons of misogynist *auctores*. This she achieves either by reading them with a defiant antiphrasis that turns their lessons against them, or, even more audaciously, by invoking her own experience as a more authoritative and impartial teacher. One can argue, then, in agreement with Krueger, for the existence of a Christinian didactic philosophy that advocates compassionate counsel and, importantly, acknowledges the need for a didactic voice that appeals to or engages the sympathies of its intended audience even as it offers potentially unwelcome or unpalatable advice.

Christine is careful in a number of her reflections on the dynamics of instruction to distinguish between this audience-sensitive voice and the seductive mendacity of flatterers, whom she presents, following didactic convention, as the enemies of true counsel.[17] Nevertheless, she consistently endorses the use of

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[15] Part 3, Chapter 7. See *Le Livre du corps de policie*, ed., with introduction, notes, and glossary, by Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), pp. 101–02; *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. and trans. by Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 100–01.

[16] Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 54. For studies of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* as a didactic text, see the extensive work undertaken by Steven J. Williams, such as his *The 'Secret of Secrets': The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), and his chapter in the present volume.

[17] See, for instance, the discussion of '[l]es gouverneurs des enfans des princes' in Book IV, Chapter 9, lines 5761–862 of *Le Livre de la mutacion de fortune*, ed. by Suzanne Solente, 4 vols (Paris: Picard, 1959–66), II, 51–54.

subtle and amusing persuasion over admonition, especially when the intended audience is adolescent, as is the case with *Le Livre des trois vertus*, written in 1405 for the twelve-year-old Marguerite of Burgundy who was to marry the dauphin Louis de Guyenne. It is true that she admits to the drawbacks of persuasion in Book I, Chapter 24 of this text, and concedes that reproofs and even threats might work better with an obstreperous princess.[18] These concessions notwithstanding, this chapter is most memorable for Christine's repeated recommendations that the governess should aim to win her charge's complicity by leavening her instruction with amusing anecdotes, diversions, and laughter.

Establishing the nature of Christine's didactic philosophy is important because, as mentioned earlier, far from being merely theoretical, her fundamental belief in the efficacy of instructional literature is reflected in her early output of didactic writings that is prolific and wide-ranging in both content and genre, spanning the literary commentaries discussed above, conduct manuals aimed at women (*Le Livre de la cité des dames* and *Le Livre des trois vertus*), and short verse tracts of moral pedagogy (*Les Enseignemens moraux* and *Les Proverbes moraux*) which she wrote for her adolescent son Jean. Furthermore, as will be discussed below, she also produced a range of texts offering either urgent, overt political advice or more veiled commentary on contemporary events in France. Produced throughout a period marked by the immediate horrors of civil conflict and the ongoing turmoil of the Hundred Years' War, Christine's political writings reflect, in Joël Blanchard's words, 'the relationship of the poet to a reality in the face of which she cannot remain passive, the misfortunes of her time, [which] lead her to seeking out the truth and addressing the great people of her time in the form of a truth-telling'.[19] These texts of political advice include verse and prose allegories (*Le Livre de l'advision Cristine*, *Le Livre de chemin de long estude*, and *Le Livre de la mutacion de fortune*), mirrors for princes (*Le Livre du corps de policie*, *Le Livre de la paix*, *Epistre Othea*, and the biographical *Les Fais et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage*), and epistles (*L'Epistre a la royne*, *L'Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, and *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*). In these

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[18] *Le Livre des trois vertus*, ed. by Eric Hicks, intro. and notes by Charity Cannon Willard (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1989), p. 92; *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies*, trans. with intro. by Charity Canon Willard, ed. with intro. by Madeleine Pelner Cosman (New York: Bard Hall Press and Persea, 1989), p. 126.

[19] Joël Blanchard, '"Vox Poetica, Vox Politica": The Poet's Entry into the Political Arena in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan* (see n. 1, above), pp. 362–71 (p. 366).

texts she consistently writes from the position of someone who is not only deeply concerned with the operations of good government, but also as a woman who is determined to take an active role in shaping, in so far as she can, the fate of her beloved but ailing France.

One intriguing question that emerges out of reading Christine's political works is what role her acknowledgement of her Italian identity plays in her creation of a politico-didactic persona. Her ethnicity as an Italian-born woman in France has received far less attention as a characteristic of her politico-didactic voice than has, for instance, her gender. And yet she makes explicit reference to her origins in no fewer than six of her early political works: *L'Advision Cristine*, *La Mutacion de fortune*, *Le Chemin de longue estude*, *Epistre Othea*, *Le Livre des fais d'armes et chevalerie*, and *Le Livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage*. She also evokes her familiarity with contemporary Italy in works such as *Le Corps de policie*, *Le Livre de paix*, and *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*, where she makes brief but knowing reference to models of government found in Italian cities, as well as to civil conflicts taking place there.

It is true that there exists a sizeable body of immensely useful commentary that has examined the impact of Christine's Italian heritage on her intellectual development. Many have noted that her dual Franco-Italian identity was central to her capacity to embrace, and fuse, medieval and early-modern ideals. Focusing on the privileged access her heritage gave her to contemporary Italian humanist thought, and especially to Italy's most illustrious *auctores* — Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio — scholars such as E. J. Richards, Maureen Quilligan, and Christine Reno have dwelt extensively on her reverent yet also frequently subversive use of these *auctores* as a strategy of self-authorization.[20] Recently, Richards has extended the range of Italian influences on Christine's writing to include Bolognese jurisprudence.[21] There is, furthermore, no shortage of work that routinely mentions the biographical fact of Christine's Italianness, highlighting in particular her connection to her father, Tommaso da Pizzano, who, with his

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[20] See, for instance, Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Richards, 'Christine de Pizan, Courtly Diction, and Italian Humanism'; and Reno, 'The Preface to the *Avision-Christine* in ex-Phillipps 128', in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan* (see n. 11, above), pp. 207–27 (pp. 220–25).

[21] See Earl Jeffrey Richards, 'A Path of Long Study: In Search of Christine de Pizan', in *Maistresse of My Wit: Medieval Women, Modern Scholars*, ed. by Louise D'Arcens and Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 93–117 (pp. 109–11), and Earl Jeffrey Richards, 'Bartolo da Sassaferrato as a Possible Source for Christine de Pizan's *Livre de paix*', in *Healing the Body Politic* (see n. 2, above), pp. 81–97.

progressive Italian views on the education of girls, is widely regarded as fostering Christine's love of learning. Nikolai Wandruszka has pointed out that Christine's retention of the toponym 'de Pizan' — a name which, moreover, as Jacqueline Cerquiglini has emphasized, was not fully gallicized as it was spelt not with the Franco-normative *s*, but with a *z* — signalled publicly her link not only to her father but to Lombardy, and thus served to remind her peers of her origins.[22] Others such as Willard have discussed the significance of her Italianness to her public career, especially the entrée it offered her into the Italian immigrant intelligentsia in Paris that gathered for much of the late 1380s and 1390s around Valentina Visconti, the Milanese wife of Louis d'Orléans. Yet there has been almost no sustained discussion of how we might understand her clearly deliberate and repeated inclusion of it in her early political writings.

I wish to approach the question differently. First, while it is undeniable that Christine's use of Italian *auctores* is a vital component of the authoritative voice she forges in her writings, my aim is to complement, rather than to add to, this body of commentary by exploring instead the authorizing capacity of Christine's explicit references to her own Italianness. Secondly, rather than dwelling on the *fact* of her Italian origins, I wish instead to examine the rhetorical and political significance of Christine's *construction* of her Italianness, to consider its function and strategic efficacy as one of Christine's numerous self-authorizing strategies, and to determine its particular contribution to the complex authorial persona she develops to underwrite her mandate to offer advice to the princes of France. The central questions I will address are the following: given so many of her politico-didactic texts are concerned with French governance and national destiny, does emphasizing her Italian origin authorize and legitimate, or limit and undermine, the force of her political advice? Why does Christine overtly and

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[22] Nikolai Wandruszka, 'The Family Origins of Christine de Pizan: Noble Lineage between City and Contado in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Au champ des escriptures* (see n. 13, above), pp. 111–30; Jacqueline Cerquiglini, 'The Stranger', in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan* (see n. 1, above), pp. 265–74. Lori J. Walters sees Christine's name as a reflection of her 'adoptive French lineage' as the 'French child of an Italian father transplanted to France', and argues that Christine must have discontinued use of her original name, which would have been Cristina da Pizzano ('Christine de Pizan as Translator and Voice of the Body Politic', in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Deborah L. McGrady (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 25–41 (p. 32)); I believe, however, that Wandruszka and Cerquiglini are right to emphasize the vestigial Italianness of the name. See also Elena Nicolini, 'Cristina da Pizzano (L'origine e il nome)', *Cultura Neolatina*, 1 (1941), 143–50.

repeatedly call attention to herself as a 'femme ytalienne' in her early political texts? Can this be understood as a didactic strategy, and if so, how?

The Lombard Migrant: Christine's Distinct Persona

One possible motive behind Christine's Italian self-construction can be related to her philosophy of persuasive rather than coercive pedagogy in *Le Livre des trois vertus* and *Le Livre de corps de policie*. In these texts we can discern Christine's conviction that the development of an attractive and diverting persona should *precede*, and take precedence over, any attempt to convey didactic content; without it one cannot gain the ear of one's addressee, and therefore cannot encourage him or her toward a desirable disposition or course of behaviour.

   In Book III, Chapter 12 of *L'Advision Cristine*, we encounter a noteworthy extrapolation of this sentiment when Christine reveals her awareness of the advantages of her distinctive persona in attracting a readership. She remarks candidly that her novelty as a female voice has gained her works a level of international attention that their content alone might not have yielded, attributing her international reputation to 'the novelty arising from the judgment of a woman' (de choses nouvelles venues de sentement de femme).[23] This assessment is borne out by the poet Eustache Deschamps in his verse response to her *Epistre a Eustache Morel,* where he repeatedly lauds her for her uniqueness.[24]

   Christine's acknowledgment in *L'Advision Cristine* of her own novelty value can, of course, be read as an instance of her favoured humility topos: she alludes to her fame while modestly declining to ascribe it to her talent. Nevertheless, it does raise the possibility that Christine could also have been attentive to the value of her Italian ethnicity as a novel, distinctive, or 'exoticizing' autobiographical feature that would gain a reader's interest. Admittedly, drawing attention to one's foreignness, especially as a woman, was also a risky strategy in Christine's milieu, which was characterized as much by xenophobia as by cosmopolitanism. The volatility of this milieu has been of particular relevance in recent rehabilitative work on Isabeau of Bavaria, which has examined how the Queen's status as a foreigner

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[23] *L'Advision*, p. 113; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 107.

[24] See Ballad 1242 in Eustache Deschamps *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by the Marquis Queux de Saint-Hilaire and G. Raynaud, 11 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1878–1904), vol. VI. This ballad is a response to Christine's epistle to Deschamps, written on 10 February 1404.

contributed to her liminality in the early-fifteenth-century French court and fuelled the (often unfounded) suspicions that surrounded her.[25] There is no doubt, however, that in Christine's immediate environment Italianness, and especially an affiliation with Lombardy, carried numerous positive associations. Deschamps's verse reportage on his encounters with foreign peoples, for instance, which is otherwise notable for its ethnocentric revulsion at their alien customs, singles out the Lombards for praise, extolling their refined entertainments, fine wine, beautiful women, lavish clothing, and civilized sleeping arrangements.[26] As *maître d'hôtel* to Louis, Duc d'Orléans, whose Milanese duchess and advisors encouraged the court's predilection for Italian culture and learning, Deschamps was hardly a disinterested observer. What his verse does confirm, though, is that in French court circles of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, a writer who emphasized her Lombard heritage would be more likely to attract than repel an audience's interest.

Christine's awareness of the beguiling power of her ethnicity seems especially apparent in a vignette she includes in Book III, Chapter 3 of *L'Advision Cristine*, in which she recounts her family's reception at the court of Charles V in 1369. Here the portrayal of her family's Lombard exoticism seems calculated for aesthetic effect: the child Christine, her brothers, and her mother form a charming tableau as they stand, newly arrived, amid the pomp 'still wearing their richly ornamented Lombard clothing and headdresses customary for wives and children of rank' (atout leurs abis lombars, riches d'aournement et d'atour selon l'usaige des femmes et enfans estat).[27] Christine's vignette relies for its aesthetic impact on her audience's responsiveness to the enticing foreignness it conveys. What we detect in this vignette, most importantly, is Christine's construction of a *migrant*

[25] See, for instance, R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue at the Court of Charles VI* (New York: AMS, 1986); Tracy Adams, '*Moyenerresse de traictié de paix*: Christine de Pizan's Mediators', in *Healing the Body Politic* (see n. 2, above), pp. 177–200, and 'Medieval Mothers and Their Children: The Case of Isabeau of Bavaria in Light of Medieval Conduct Books', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 265–89; and Rachel C. Gibbons, 'Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385–1422): The Creation of an Historical Villainess', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 6, 6 (1996), 51–73.

[26] Iris Black, 'Accidental Tourist in the Hundred Years War: Images of the Foreign World in Eustache Deschamps', in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, *c.* 1995), pp. 171–87 (pp. 180–82).

[27] *L'Advision* p. 96; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 92

voice; unlike a traveller such as Deschamps, who speaks from outside the host culture, she is simultaneously able as a migrant to evoke her own 'otherness' and to calibrate finely the effects of this otherness for her French audience precisely because of her position within, and familiarity with, the host culture.

While by all accounts Christine clearly understood the rhetorical force of her otherness, to suggest that she relies on her migrancy simply as a novel feature risks reducing her ethnic self-portraits to alluring ornament at best, and cynical entrepreneurial gesture at worst. There are two good reasons why this explanation should be treated with caution. First, we need to recall that Christine would have been aware that just as her novelty as a woman writer brought her renown, so too did it threaten to diminish her authority. She had, after all, received in 1402 Pierre Col's barbed missive in the *Débat sur le Roman de la rose* where he discounts her renown as trivial and ephemeral because founded on the novelty of her gender. Thus, relying on novelty for its own sake would potentially have left her vulnerable to dismissal by her peers and audience. More importantly, to claim that Christine's primary aim is to attract readers by capitalizing on her Italianness takes us very little distance in explaining the particular valency of her ethnicity in texts of political advice. If Christine were simply using it as an autobiographical 'resource' to create a distinctive persona, we need to account for the fact that she makes no overt reference to it in her early verse, written at a point in her life when she was establishing her reputation as a poet at the Italophilic court of Louis d'Orléans. Her enduring creation of Christine the widowed *seulette* had certainly begun to emerge in her courtly *poèmes de veuvage* of the 1390s, while her *Epistre au dieu d'amours* introduces another 'signature' voice, the indignant antimisogynist *fille d'escole*; but Christine the Italian migrant is all but absent. It is only when she turns to writing allegories of statecraft, mirrors for princes, and military treatises, that she deems it necessary to call direct attention to her foreign heritage: this suggests it fulfils a more serious politico-didactic function.

Christine the Migrant: Prophet and Advisor

The six 'Italian self-portraits' in Christine's political writings range from briefer and less ambitious usages to those in which it plays a fundamental role in crafting her persona as advisor to the kingdom of France.

In *Epistre Othea*, Christine's first reference to her Italian persona in a politico-didactic text, her migrancy plays what will later be seen to be an uncharacteristically defensive role in her self-authorization. In her prologue to this 1399 text, which is

essentially a 'mirror of chivalry' in the form of a glossed and allegorized letter from the goddess Othea to the Trojan prince Hector, Christine uses her Italian origin as a kind of masculinizing attribute to offset the marginality of her status as an 'unschooled woman, small of stature' (*femme ignorant de petite estature*). It is in this text that we find the most pointed example of Christine's migrancy being filtered through that of her father: she is 'Daughter of the former philosopher and doctor, who [...] | once came [...] | From Bologna the Fat where he was born' (*Fille jadis philosphe et docteur | Qui [...] | jadis vint de Boulogne la grace | Dont il fu ne*).[28] She mentions, it seems, her father's Bolognese origin and his renown and former status at Charles V's court in order to bask in his reflected glory and thereby offset any de-authorizing effect her gender might have. She will continue to cite her own migrancy as a result of her father's in political texts written after this one, but this strategy is especially important in one of her earliest forays into the masculine terrain of advising on correct chivalric behaviour. Of course, as *Othea* proceeds and we see Christine make a case for the wisdom and influence of her own sex, it is increasingly apparent that her feminine self-deprecation should not be taken at face value. Nevertheless, although she is yet to capitalize on the full authorizing potential of her Italian migrancy, it is significant that as early as 1399 she includes it as something that can grant her legitimacy as a political advisor, despite her sex.

A sense of the more complex strategic function of Christine's Italianness is strongly apparent in her self-representation in the 1405 prose dream vision *L'Advision Cristine*, which contains, in its third and final book, the lengthiest and best-known of Christine's autobiographical discussions of her migration, describing not only how her family came to leave Italy to begin a new life in France, but also her reasons for remaining in France even after the death of her father and husband (in 1387 and 1390 respectively) and despite her brothers' repatriation to Italy to claim family lands.

L'Advision Cristine is also important for being among Christine's more complex political texts, one whose allegorical meaning scholars have until recently found difficult to divine. This has changed over the last decade or so with the increased attention given to the explanatory gloss written by Christine

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[28] *Epistre Othea*, ed. by Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999) p. 195; *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, trans. with intro, notes, and interpretive essay by Jane Chance (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), p. 33. Please note that I have changed Chance's 'Boulogne-la-Grace' to 'Bologna the Fat', to emphasize Christine's desire to convey the prosperity of this city in her writings.

which appears in one of the three extant manuscripts, MS ex-Phillipps 128. The inclusion of this gloss in updated editions and translations of the text has made Book I more accessible, offering a key to some of the meanings encrypted within Christine's use of 'veiled speech' (parole couverte).[29] In this gloss, Christine explains in good Dantean fashion that 'the dream can be taken for thought, the pilgrimage for human life' (songe puet estre pris pour pensee, pelerinage pour vie humaine). She then proceeds to explain that each of the allegorical figures encountered in the dream has three points of reference, being applicable 'to the general world, which is the earth, also to the individual man, and then to the realm of France' (au monde general, qui est la terre, aussi a homme singulier et puis au royaume de France). It is this third point of reference that warrants the inclusion of *L'Advision Cristine* among Christine's political advice texts. Its discussion of French strife is conducted through Christine's encounter with the distraught widowed figure of Libera, La Dame Couronee, who embodies the embattled kingdom of France. Christine listens to Libera's lament, and is appointed her *antigraphe*, or amanuensis, in Chapter 5. In the final chapter of Book I, she is charged with the important task of seeking remedy for the ailing Dame by publicizing her symptoms to her children, the princes of France.

What is most significant about this for my purposes is that Libera appoints Christine to this vital national role with full knowledge of her dual cultural affiliations. Indeed, Christine has already made overt reference to it: the opening gloss indicates that the 'homme singulier' referred to in the migration narrative of Book I, Chapter 4, is Christine herself, who 'in the time of her childhood, was with her parents carried into France from the land of Lombardy where she was born' (ou temps de son enfance, fu avec ses parens transportee en France du païs de Lombardie dont elle estoit nee).[30] Yet she indicates her loyalty in the same chapter when she laments the vandalism inflicted on France by 'envious foreigners' (estranges envieux).[31] Libera's appeals for Christine's continued allegiance 'even though you may be requested elsewhere and have few rewards from me and mine' (non obstant que d'ailleurs tu soies requise et que de moy et des miens aies petiz emoluemens) reveals the Dame's grateful awareness that

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[29] *L'Advision*, p. 3; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 10. See also Reno, 'The Preface to the *Avision-Christine* ex-Phillipps 128', and Dulac and Reno, 'The *Livre de l'advision Cristine*', in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook* (see n. 22, above), pp. 199–214.

[30] *L'Advision*, p. 6; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 13

[31] *L'Advision*, p. 16: *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 22

Christine could well have repatriated to Italy but has stayed in France.[32] Here we see, then, Christine's admission of foreignness cleverly establishes a persona in which steadfastness and generosity, combined with literary ability, make her the most appropriate envoy to the French princes, a point also acknowledged by Liliane Dulac and Christine Reno when they argue that '[t]he narrator, depicted as a foreign-born writer, is the most positive figure to emerge against the backdrop of social decay painted by Libera [...] the best hope for positive change'.[33]

In Book II, in which Christine discourses with Dame Oppinion, there is a brief return to this theme in Chapter 17 when, amid numerous examples of her influence on world events, especially wars, conquests, and rebellions, Oppinion boasts of her role in inciting civil unrest in France 'among the princes who are of one blood and naturally friends' (entre les princes, qui sont d'un sang et amis naturelment). Of most interest in this section is the relationship evoked between Christine and France, which Oppinion describes as 'the country where you live' (païs ou tu demeures). This ambiguous phrasing, which alludes to residency rather than belonging in her adopted polity, subtly destabilizes Christine's prior claim to representative membership at the end of Book I. This negation of Christine's power to influence events in France is reinforced soon after by Oppinion's portrait of France as a state where, due to Oppinion's supremacy, advisors 'dare not say a word or raise their eyes to under pain of torture' (n'osent sus peine d'estre batus tinter ne lever l'ueil).[34] Christine's ultimate condemnation of Oppinion's divisive power at the end of Book II, however, reasserts her vision of individual ethical certainty and national harmony and enlightenment.

In the third book, which is devoted to a highly autobiographical yet also clearly Boethian lament against Fortune's malevolence toward her, we see what appears to be a dramatic shift in the relationship between Christine and France. Despite the alignment of Christine and France in Books I and II, in Book III we see her repeatedly evoke her and her family's continuing allegiance to Italy. The only other instance of Christine casting her Italianness not only as a current (rather than past) character, but also as a straightforward ethnic identity unalloyed by Frenchness, would appear five years later in the prologue to *Le Livre des fais d'armes et chevalerie*, written in 1410. In this text she invokes her privileged

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[32] *L'Advision*, p. 49; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 52.

[33] Dulac and Reno, 'The *Livre de l'advision Cristine*', p. 207.

[34] *L'Advision*, p. 80; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 78.

relationship to Minerva by saying to the goddess 'I am somewhat connected with the nation into which you were born […] for I am, like you, an Italian woman' (je puis estre aucunement | consonnante a la nacion dont tu fus […] je suis comme toy femme ytalienne).[35] While the strategy in *Fais d'arms et chevalerie* is a relatively uncomplicated claiming of ethnic sisterhood with the goddess of arms and chivalry in order to assert authority to speak of these subjects, the strategy in *L'Advision Cristine* is more complex, and, indeed, ultimately undermines the notion that Christine is, in any straightforward sense, an Italian woman.

In Book III Christine describes in some detail first her father's then her entire family's removal from Italy to the French royal court at the behest of Charles V. This account establishes her family's multifaceted relationship to two of the great Italian cities. She stresses first of all that her father's relationship to Bologna — whose prosperity she stresses here, as in *Epistre Othea*, by referring to it as 'Bologna-the-Fat' (Boulogne-la-Grasse) — was both familial (he held ancestral lands there) and intellectual (he studied and later taught at Università di Bologna University). She also claims a strong connection to the Republic of Venice, where her father was much fêted and held civic office along with her grandfather Tommaso Mondino da Forlì; Mondino's daughter, who would later become Christine's mother, had been born there. Throughout this book Christine is, as elsewhere in her writings, at pains to underline not only her father's respect for Charles's court, but also, reciprocally, the high esteem in which the King held her father's learning and talents as an astrologer. Nevertheless — and this is a detail that goes unremarked in scholarship on the text — she mentions that her father, 'always hoping to return' (en esperant tousjours le retour)[36] to Italy, delayed his family's removal to France for three years. This differs notably from Christine's customary depiction of her father as loyal courtier, suggesting rather that his commitment to his post in the French court was secondary, if only temporarily, to his attachment to Italy. Finally, later in Chapter 12 of the same book, she

[35] This translation is taken from Charity Cannon Willard's *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea, 1984), pp. 183–84, and is drawn from Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 10476, fol. 4ʳ. Sumner Willard later translates the same passage as 'insofar as […] I in no way appear to be against the nation from which you came […], let me say that like you I am an Italian woman', in *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. by Sumner Willard, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), p. 13, but the earlier translation is more faithful and states Christine's Italian affiliation in more directly positive terms.

[36] *L'Advision*, p. 96; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 92.

describes Italy, and especially Lombardy, using the phrase 'my native land' (mon naturel païs).[37]

Conversely, the France in which she has lived most of her life is twice presented in Book III as a foreign and even hostile realm, within which she and her family are foreigners or, indeed, exiles. In Chapter 14 she presents herself as alone 'in a foreign country' (en estrange lieu),[38] while her father's household is presented in the same chapter as 'abandoned and in a foreign land' (delaissie et hors de son lieu).[39] These images of exile and desolation appear in the section of the text where she famously enumerates the troubles that besieged her after the deaths of her father and husband. The entire *complainte* in Book III cumulatively develops the image of a formerly welcoming France that now abandons the needy, and is punctuated by the theme of Christine's alienation within her adopted home.

Considered together, these repeated evocations of exile appear to present us with a conundrum, coming as they do from a writer who, from her earliest verse, has customarily praised France and declared her proud attachment to it, and, moreover, whose aim in this text is to anatomize the ills of the French kingdom in order to recommend their remedy. How does this autobiographical *complainte* allow her to position herself in relation to those she wishes to advise?

On first analysis, it might seem that Christine's avowed sense of alienation from France would in turn alienate her intended audience at the Burgundian Court, while her alignment of herself with Italy would disqualify her as a commentator on French affairs. Examining its nuances, however, we see that this topos offers her a number of significant strategic advantages. The first of these is that it allows her to create a persona whose didactic intent, however confronting or unyielding, appears to be mitigated by her liminality and vulnerability. Jacqueline Cerquiglini, Jennifer Monahan, and Mary McKinley are among those who have been concerned with establishing how Christine evokes — or indeed generates — images of her own marginality as a strategy for offering advice.[40] This approach to her self-fashioning has been focused, understandably,

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[37] *L'Advision*, p. 114; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 108.

[38] *L'Advision*, p. 116; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 110.

[39] *L'Advision*, p. 115; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 109.

[40] Jennifer Monahan, 'Authority and Marginal Status: Authorial Stance in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du Corps de policie* and *Livre de la paix*', in *Au champ des escriptures* (see n. 13, above), pp. 41–50; see also Mary McKinley, 'The Subversive Seulette', in *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Margaret Brabant (Boulder: Westview, 1992), pp. 157–69.

on her gender, and among the liminal female personae evoked by Christine that have received the most attention are her personae *femme passionnée*, *seulette*, and *femme a part*. Cerquiglini, in her essay 'L'Étrangère' (The Stranger),[41] is so far alone in expressly situating Christine's ethnicity within this broader self-representation as outsider:

> Christine de Pizan comes from elsewhere [...]. The daughter of the Bolognese astrologer is the writer of distance: distance from her mother tongue, her country, from others, from herself [...] it is this concept that allows us to understand the portrait she sketches of herself as a writer.[42]

When evoked in the context of political texts, this liminal didactic voice acquires the prophetic resonance of the *vox clamantis* who cries out, little heeded, from the edges of the society she loves. While Christine's most explicit use of this biblical topos will come later, in *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*,[43] it can already be detected in the ethnic marginality she has inscribed into her earlier political allegories and mirrors for princes. This point is taken up by Glenda McLeod, who, in a subtle reading of *L'Advision Cristine*, argues that Christine encourages readers to draw parallels between herself and the prophet Daniel, whom McLeod presents as both a Christine-prototype and a *vox clamantis*, 'an exile at a foreign court, gingerly administering policy to an intermittently mad king'.[44]

Arguably even more than strategic marginality and prophetic gravitas, the major advantage of the migrant voice for Christine is its apparent claim to disinterestedness or objectivity. Carine M. Mardorossian argues that exiled writers 'are often seen as better equipped to provide an "objective" view of the two worlds they are straddling by virtue of their alienation. They are ascribed the

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[41] While this essay is translated by Blumenfeld-Kosinski with the broader title 'The Stranger', in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan*, the notion of ethno-national foreignness that resonates in the word *l'étrangère* is important to Cerquiglini's argument, and should be borne in mind.

[42] Cerquiglini, 'The Stranger', p. 265.

[43] In this text she describes herself as a 'poor voice crying out in this kingdom' (povre voix criant en ce royaume); see *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile, 'Epistre de la prison de vie humaine', and 'Epistre a la royne'*, ed. and trans. by Josette A. Wisman (New York: Garland, 1984), p. 94; translation, p. 95.

[44] Glenda McLeod, 'Interpretive Essay', in *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, pp. 135–58 (p. 142).

status of neutral observers, a detachment on which [...] their authority rests.'[45] Although Mardorossian is speaking of contemporary critical responses to diasporic novelists, Christine certainly encourages such a reading in her *L'Advision Cristine*, as she presents herself as belonging to both places, yet also exiled from one and within the other.

On the other hand, by reminding her readers of her status as unheeded foreigner, she is ironically able to emphasize her Frenchness as a voluntary or willed identity. She repeatedly demonstrates that she has chosen France as her homeland, recounting in Chapter 11 her refusal of Henry IV's invitation to his court, and, even more pointedly in Chapter 12, her unwillingness to accept the Duke of Milan's offer of patronage, despite her vulnerability as an unprotected woman away from the country of her birth. In this we recognize a reminder of, and an affirmative response to, Libera/France's plea to Christine in Book I, Chapter 29, to remain loyal to France despite being 'requested elsewhere' and despite how thankless her recent life in France had been. The strategy of presenting Christine as replacing a primal loyalty with a nurtured devotion is thus begun in Book I but brought to fruition in Book III. It is this non-native and therefore volitional loyalty that authorizes Christine to speak of France with reverence and authority, and to be heard.

Christine's claims to voluntary Frenchness are, furthermore, reinforced in Philosophie's response to her *complainte*, which ultimately reintegrates her back into France by presenting her migration to France as destined and, moreover, as benevolent on the part of Fortune:

> Good friend, from what I can understand, in your case you complain a great deal about and think yourself discontent with Fortune who you say is and long has been the enemy of your prosperity and who, when she led your parents and you with them into France, was devising the snare of adversities into which she wished to lead you [...]. Reconsider for a moment even the great persecutions and deadly misfortunes that then existed and still exist, for there cannot be peace in the country of your birth, and think hard about whether God did you a great favor, despite your complaints about it, to remove you and your family from among the flames of those who are burning.

> (Belle amie, parce que comprendre puis en ton fait, moult te plains et tiens mal contens de Fortune que tu dis estre et avoir esté ja long temps ennemie de ta prosperité, et que, tres lors qu'en France conduisi tes parents et toy avecques eulx, ourdi le laz de tribulacion ou conduire te vouloiy [...]. Avises ung pou en toy miesmes les grans persecucions et mortelz inconveniens qui ont puis esté et encor sont, comme il ne puisse estre en paix ou païs dont

[45] Carine M. Mardorossian, 'From Literature of Exile to Migrant Literature', *Modern Language Studies*, 32.2 (2002), 15–33 (p. 16).

tu est ne; et penses a certes se Dieux te fist point grant grace, non obstante que t'en plains, d'oster toy et les tiens d'entre les flames de ceulx qui se bruslent.)[46]

By reminding her of her salvation in being transported from Italy to France, Philosophie (unlike Libera, who acknowledges Christine's hardship) reveals Christine's self-representation as exiled Italian to be understandable but misguided. So, paradoxically, Christine's evocations of Italianness in *L'Advision Cristine* help to direct the reader back to her Frenchness. From this we can see that she does not simply speak as an Italian living in France, but as a Franco-Italian migrant, and her voice is thus a migrant voice in the sense elaborated by Russell King and his co-editors: 'The migrant voice tells us what it is like to feel a stranger and yet at home, to live simultaneously inside and outside one's situation.'[47]

The reference to flames and unrest in Philosophie's depiction of Italian affairs echoes the 224-line discussion of Italy's internal strife in Book IV, Chapter 4, of Christine's lengthy 1403 allegory *Le Livre de la mutacion de fortune*. Here she presents Italy as a nation imploding with decadence, violence, and misrule, and makes repeated reference to the ongoing conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. In this chapter she appears to be distancing herself from her birth nation. Interestingly, however, she has already identified herself as Italian in Book I, Chapter 3. There is, however, an intriguing anomaly in Christine's self-identification in *La Mutacion* that indicates her awareness of the need to situate her migrant voice carefully. Although in Book I, Chapter 3, she does, as usual, indicate her proximity to Lombardy, her civic identity differs from that found in her other writings. The lines 'I was born near Lombardy, in a city of great renown — many pilgrims know its name!' (Je fu nez pres de Lombardie, | En cité de moult grant renom | Maint pelerins scevent le nom!), with their oblique identification of Venice as her birth city, are notable for their avoidance of the association with Bologna that Christine stresses not only in *L'Advision Cristine* (where the link to Venice is mentioned, but is secondary) but also in *Epistre Othea* and *Les Fais and bonnes moeurs*. This initially puzzling reorientation is easier to comprehend, however, when considered alongside her account of Italy in Book IV; for here we encounter both Christine's condemnation of Bologna, which quotes (in French translation) lines from Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*: 'O Bolognese! Fiery souls! You are destroying yourselves bit by bit' (O Boulongnois!

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[46] *L'Advision*, pp. 117–18; *The Vision of Christine de Pizan*, p. 111.

[47] See 'Preface', in *Writing Across Worlds: Literature and Migration*, ed. by Russell King, John Connell, and Paul White (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. ix–xvi (p. xv).

Ames de feu! | Vous vous destruirez peu a peu)[48] and her defence of Venice in lines 4755–56 as 'the rose among the thorns' ('la rose | Entre les espines'), the one haven from discord in Italy. Unlike the refugee from violence presented in *L'Advision Cristine*, then, the narrator in *La Mutacion* must evoke the status of the objective migrant advisor by aligning herself with the political stability and prosperity of Venice.

A fine example of Christine's double self-authorization can be found at the end of the verse allegory *Le Chemin de longue estude*. After a lengthy Dantesque odyssey through celestial and terrestrial realms, with the Cumaean Sybil as her guide, she finally arrives at the domain of Dame Fortune. Here, in the section of the text most clearly devoted to an analysis of contemporary events, she witnesses an exchange in which the four queens Wealth, Nobility, Chivalry, and Wisdom, adjudicated by Reason, debate the causes of strife on earth. After determining that a single ruler is needed to quell the chaos, and debating his ideal qualities, they finally agree that a French philosopher-king is the best prospect for reinstating world peace. Now all that is needed is an envoy to deliver their verdict to the princes of France, and the Sybil tenders Christine as the best candidate. Most pertinent here are the grounds on which she does so. While Christine later indicates that the Sybil enumerates her qualities (mes meurs, mon inclination [...] et m'affeccion), the primary qualification that is explicitly cited is her mixed ethnicity: the Sybil not only indicates that she earns her commission 'for she resides in France [...] she moved there as a little girl' (car en France demeure elle [...] moult jeunette y fu menee), but elevates Christine as a fellow Italian woman, saying 'like me, she was born in Italy' (comme moy [elle] fust nee | En Ytale). According to this formulation, her Franco-Italian status makes her uniquely fit for the task of delivering recommendations to those who control France's fate. As with the *Mutacion*, she buttresses this ethnic qualification by again associating herself with the maritime strength and harmonious affluence of Venice, using the Sybil's authoritative voice to remind her readers that she was born 'en cité amee | Ou mainte gallee est armee'.[49]

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[48] *La Mutacion de fortune*, II, 16, ll. 4657–58; translation mine. Christine's concurrence with Cecco d'Ascoli here is particularly striking given that in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (I. 9. 2) Christine and Reason roundly condemn him for his misogyny, which Reason claims is why he was burnt at the stake: see *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. by Richards, foreword by Marina Warner (New York: Persea, 1982), p. 22.

[49] *Le Chemin de longue étude*, ed. and trans. by Andrea Tarnowski, Collection Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Le Livre de poche, 2000), pp. 460–63.

Another quite ingenious self-authorizing use of Christine's migrant narrative can be found in *Les Fais et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage.* Here, the story of her family's move to France, already discussed in detail in *L'Advision Cristine* and more briefly in *Epistre Othea*, is reprised but with a significant difference: this time she represents her father's and family's migration to France as an act of translation commissioned by Charles V. Christine's description of her family as being 'translatez en ce reaume' inscribes their migration, as Lori J. Walters has perceptively argued, within Charles V's ambitious cultural programme of *translatio studii*, which was reflected in his commissioning of French translations of Latin patristic *auctores* and Italian humanist texts.[50] Given that Christine unequivocally commends this translation scheme throughout Part 3, Chapter 12, of the biography, proclaiming it one of the scholar-king's greatest policies, and of immeasurable value to the intellectual life of France, it is not difficult to infer that she is also suggesting by stealthy analogy that her own 'translation' to France has been beneficial to the kingdom. By presenting herself and, by implication, her writings, as an embodiment of translated Italian humanism, Christine can draw on her illustrious cultural ancestry and yet present herself as an integrated and, indeed, enlightening member of French society, despite her gender.

The persona of the Italian migrant provides Christine, then, with an unstable but potentially effective advisory voice; yet it is one she ultimately abandons. Although she would reprise her voice as 'femme ytalienne' more briefly and more superficially in 1410 in *Les Fais d'armes et chevalerie*, by October of 1405 — the same year in which she had developed her fullest articulation of her liminal Italianate persona in *L'Advision Cristine* — Christine appears to be already reconsidering the efficacy of invoking her Italianness as a politico-didactic strategy. *L'Epistre a la royne*, the letter in which she incites the Queen to intervene in her family's conflicts, a deliberate reintegration into the French body politic is evident. She is careful to stress that she writes 'not to beg you on behalf of a foreign land, but on behalf of your own land and natural heritage of your very noble children' (non mie vous supplier pour terre estrange, mais pour vostre propre lieu et naturel heritaige a vos trés nobles enfans).[51] Her identity as

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[50] Walters, 'Christine de Pizan as Translator', p. 31.

[51] *L'Epistre a la royne*, pp. 70–73. Adams points out that while Christine alludes here to Isabeau's foreignness, and the fact that the Queen had formerly been solicited by foreign lands, she also 'transforms the queen into a spokesperson for the French community [...] effacing the difference between Isabeau and the French people' ('*Moyenerresse de traictié de paix*', p. 190). I would add that Christine's address here also serves the function of naturalizing herself as French.

lachrymose widow in this epistle, while also drawing on the topos of liminality she will use for the rest of her writing career, is more readily amenable as a metaphor for France. This is also the case with her later epistles, which deploy the trope of the widow, and are unequivocal in their sympathy for France. Despite the ailing France she portrays in *Les Maux de la guerre civile* (1410) for instance, she still mentions the ongoing tension in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines as evidence of her Francophilic sympathies. Although she produces two more mirrors for princes, her alignment with France is reinforced in both of them through the critical comments she makes on public life in Italy which are untempered by any acknowledgement of her Italian background. We find, for instance, overt condemnations of Bolognese system of government in *Le Livre du corps de policie* and in *Le Livre de la paix*.[52]

The Italian Christine's Didactic Legacy

A number of commentators have suggested that Christine may have been right to figure the didactic pact as one liable to failure, for the political fate of France in the fifteenth century suggests that very few, if any, of her adopted compatriots took heed of her words, or were able to put them into practice. Blumenfeld-Kosinski argues that after *Le Livre de la paix* Christine essentially 'abandoned the didactic and polemic genres in favor of the consolation',[53] while Jennifer Monahan speculates as to whether the cessation of political writings, and indeed virtually of writing per se, reflects her loss of faith in advisory writing.[54] While there is no doubt that Christine's output of directly politico-didactic writing diminished after about 1413, three qualifications are needed here. First, one can argue in response to Blumenfeld-Kosinski that such later *consolatio* texts as *Le Prison de la Vie Humaine* and *Les Heures de contemplacion sur la passion de nostre seigneur*, which offer stoic instruction to female readerships on living in the wake of warfare, demonstrate Christine's continued faith in didactic literature, albeit of a more Boethian, moral flavour. Secondly, Christine's final work, *Le Ditie de*

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[52] Forhan summarizes Christine's political disposition toward Italy thus: 'Despite her familiarity with Italian republicanism, her clearly expressed preference was the French monarchy' (*The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, p. 80).

[53] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Christine de Pizan and the Political Life in Late Medieval France', in *Christine de Pizan: A Casebook* (see n. 22, above), pp. 9–34 (p. 19).

[54] Monahan, 'Authority and Marginal Status', p. 49.

Jehanne D'arc, written some fifteen years after *Le Livre de la paix*, can be read as Christine's celebration not only of France's (temporary) victory over the English, but also of the vindication of her own prophecies and advice to the French nation over the past decades. Thirdly, it must be remembered that Christine posthumously enjoyed wide international renown as a political advisor: extant manuscript and early book evidence, as well as library records, clearly indicate the continuing dissemination, translation, and production of texts such as *Le Livre des trois vertus*, *Le Livre de fais d'armes et chevalerie*, and *Epistre Othea* for consumption within English, Portuguese, Flemish, Savoyard, and other European royal and noble houses in the late-medieval and early-modern periods.[55]

This inevitably raises a final question: how notable is her legacy as an Italian writer? Has her Italianness had a lasting significance for those who read her work today? The answer, in brief, is so far not really. There are virtually no allusions to her Italian ancestry prior to her late-twentieth-century reception, and, as mentioned earlier, the allusions that do exist, important as they have been, have not led to a widespread reassessment of her status as a French writer.[56] Furthermore, as Gianni Mombello has discussed, her work suffered from a centuries-long history of neglect in her birth country, where her Italian origin has also long gone unacknowledged. Mombello's discussion of Giovanni Maria Barbieri's reference to 'Cristina con Castel' in his 1572 *L'Arte del Rimare* — probably the earliest Italian reference to her — presents us with an acute irony: not only does Barbieri mention Christine in a chapter devoted to French literature, but he also refers to her by her French husband's name 'de Castel', thus eliding the Italian heritage signified by her proud bearing of the name 'de Pizan'.[57] It seems, then, that her

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[55] For one important discussion of Christine's influence on the royal women of early-modern Europe, see Robert B. Bernard, 'The Intellectual Circles of Isabel of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy, and the Portuguese Translation of *Le Livre des Trois Vertus* (*O Libro dos Tres Vertudes*)', in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City*, ed. by Glenda K. McLeod (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991), pp. 43–58.
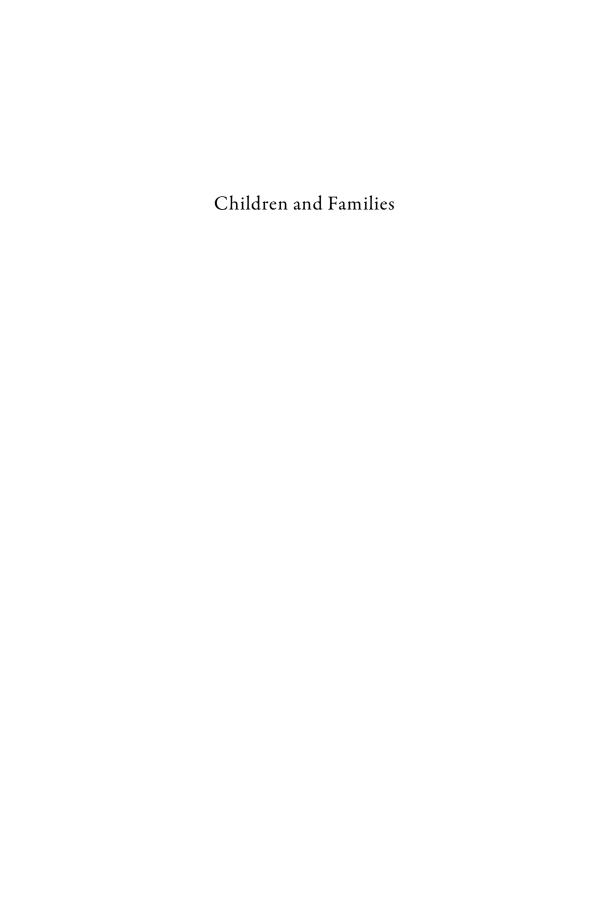
[56] Some reassessment has come from commentators interested in how Christine's use of French engages with a push for a 'vernacular humanism'. See, for instance, Thelma Fenster, '"Perdre son latin": Christine de Pizan and Vernacular Humanism', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (see n. 5, above), pp. 91–107.

[57] Gianni Mombello, 'Pour la réception de Christine de Pizan en Italie: *L'Arte del Rimare* de Giovanni M. Barbieri', in *Christine de Pizan 2000: Studies on Christine de Pizan in Honour of Angus J. Kennedy*, ed. by John Campbell and Nadia Margolis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 263–81. Another article by Mombello, 'Christine de Pizan and the House of Savoy' (trans. and ed. by Nadia Margolis), in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan* (see n. 11, above), pp. 187–204,

invocation of migrancy in order to underpin her claim to Frenchness was a more successful strategy than she could have anticipated, as her didactic self-identification with France has ultimately dominated her modern reception. In an intellectual climate more highly sensitized to the complexities of migrant and transnational authorship, however, and more conversant with the recurrent tropes and authorizing strategies of migrant literature, we today can re-examine the implications of Christine's Italian migrancy as a neglected weapon in her literary armoury. By better understanding her complex relationships to her adopted home and the place of her birth, and the significance of these relationships to her sense of herself as a political advisor to the princes of France, we can in turn arrive at a more comprehensive, not to mention more vivid, picture of her as a didactic writer.

demonstrates that some of Christine's politico-didactic works could be found in the libraries of the House of Savoy, but does not attribute this to her Italianness, concluding rather that it is principally a result of the interest of various princesses, as well as a by-product of the princes' renewed interest in Vegetius.

Children and Families

Vladimir Monomakh's *Instruction*: An Old Russian Pedagogic Treatise

Maria Nenarokova

Vladimir Monomakh (1053–1125), a Great Prince of Kiev, was one of the most remarkable people of the Kievan Rus'. He is generally known to history as a great political figure, a talented ruler, an author of a collection of laws, a lay philosopher, and a writer. These aspects, characteristic of his public life, to some extent relegate his comparable pedagogic gift to the background. Yet Monomakh also wrote a number of primarily didactic texts, now known collectively as his *Instruction*, which were intended to educate, exhort, and set an example.

The text of Monomakh's *Instruction* is found in a chronicle that was made by a monk named Lavrenty who, in 1377, made a copy of an older chronicle for Dimitry Konstantinovich, the Prince of Suzdal and Nizhny Novgorod.[1] In the Lavrentian text, the chronicle extends to 1304. According to M. O. Priselkov, the prevalence of the information concerning the Tver principality from the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries points to its being the chronicle of Grand Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver, who became a ruler of the Vladimir Principality in 1305.[2]

[1] In a colophon to the chronicle, Lavrenty indicates that this work was ordered at that time by Bishop Dionisy of Suzdal.

[2] B. M. Kloss, 'Predislovie k izdaniiu', in *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'*, ed. by E. F. Karskii, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, 1 (Moscow: 1926–28, repr. Iaziki Russkoi kul'tury, 1997), pp. G–N.

The history of the Lavrentian text is not well known, and information about Monomakh's *Instruction* is also scarce. In the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, the Lavrentian manuscript was probably kept in the Nativity Cathedral in Vladimir. In the eighteenth century it was held in the manuscript collection of Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod where it attracted the attention of collectors of antiquities. In 1765 it was copied in the Novgorod seminary; this copy is now in the Library of the Academy of Science (BAN, St Petersburg; shelf number 34.2.32). In 1791 the Lavrentian text was sent from Novgorod to Moscow with a number of other manuscripts and was bought by Count A. I. Musin-Pushkin, the Chief Procurator of Holy Synod. In 1793 Monomakh's *Instruction* was published by Musin-Pushkin as a separate text, and research on it began.[3]

The *Instruction* actually consists of three distinct parts: two letters and a prayer, all composed by Monomakh. The letters were private ones to his family: a letter to his children and another to Prince Oleg of Chernigov. It is not known whether the prayer was a part of another letter, or from what source it was copied into the chronicle. These three texts were eventually combined into one pedagogic treatise by a chronicler or chroniclers unknown; perhaps one chronicler compiled a treatise out of the two letters, while a second added the prayer. Thus while we may believe that the opinions expressed with regard to the problem of the feudal conflicts and the images of the ideal ruler and devout Christian delineated in the text are Monomakh's own, it was a chronicler (or chroniclers) who compiled a short pedagogic treatise out of three separate texts. Nevertheless, the *Instruction* essentially remains a first-person narration.

In terms of the construction of the text, it would appear that only the opening address in the letter to Oleg of Chernigov and the concluding formulas of both letters were removed, with the rest of Monomakh's text remaining unchanged. It is not easy, however, to identify precisely where one text links to the next, as the chronicler/s clearly endeavoured to make the combined texts flow together smoothly. The letters are now arranged not according to their dates (1125 and 1093 respectively), but by the principle 'first theory, then practice', because certain theoretical precepts that appear in the 'Letter to the Children' (1125) in fact first appeared in the letter to Prince Oleg of Chernigov (1093) where they were applied to and developed from an actual situation.

The outlook that imbues the *Instruction* is a medieval Christian one based on the Holy Scriptures; these provide Monomakh with a source in which he can find a code of behaviour that will render him a good parent and a model for his

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[3] Kloss, 'Predislovie k izdaniiu', pp. G–L.

heirs. According to the Bible, parents were obliged teach their children to fear God, make God's laws known to them, instruct them while they were still young, admonish them, and teach them to do good from their childhood. Good parents must be models for their children. Although the parental duty of punishment is not mentioned in the *Instruction*, in his daily life Monomakh must have punished his sons; yet these children to whom the *Instruction* is addressed are viewed as model ones: they fear God, they love and fear their aged father, they obey him, and listen attentively to his advice.

The advice communicated by Monomakh to his children is of two types: theological and moral (sourced from the Bible and church tradition), and conventional, secular knowledge, of the sort passed from generation to generation. There are three principal themes in the *Instruction* as we have the text today: Monomakh's theological views, his attitude towards feudal conflicts, and his strictures on the moral code of a Christian ruler.

The Moral and Theological Instructions

The *Instruction* abounds in quotations from Scripture (mainly from the Book of Psalms), and passages from church services and works of the Fathers. The Book of Psalms is fundamental to the formation of the Christian outlook in Monomakh's text. The structure of the passage in which Monomakh speaks of God as the Creator of the universe might be influenced by Psalm 104.[4] Certainly all the themes of the *Instruction* appear in the psalm in question, and the beginning of Monomakh's discourse reminds the reader of verses from this psalm (1, 31):

> Great art thou, O Lord, and wondrous are thy works. The reason of man cannot express thy miracles. And again we say: Great art thou, O Lord, and marvellous are thy works, and blessed and praiseworthy is thy name forever throughout all the earth.[5]

The lines 'Who fails to praise and magnify thy strength and thy great miracles and goodness that are made manifest on this earth' (p. 209) recall the refrains 'Be Blessed, O Lord!' and 'Marvellous are Your deeds, O Lord!', which are heard

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[4] Psalm 103 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[5] Translations of the *Instruction* are taken from *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, ed. and trans. by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), Appendix 1, pp. 206–15, Appendix 2, pp. 217–19; here pp. 208–09. Subsequent page references are cited in the text.

during the church service when Psalm 104 is sung. This psalm gives a detailed description of the Creation (Psalm 104. 2–3, 5–9, 19–22), which is reduced by Monomakh to the facts that amaze man: 'how the heaven was formed, the sun, the moon, the stars, the darkness of night and the light of day' (p. 209). Monomakh himself exclaims his wonderment at 'how the earth was set upon the waters, O Lord, through thy devices!' (p. 209; Psalm 104. 5–6).

Hunting was the Great Prince's favourite pastime. As an experienced hunter, he emphasizes that 'various creatures and birds and fishes were adorned by thy wisdom!' (p. 209; Psalm 104. 11–12, 14, 16–19, 20–21, 24–26). The verse 'By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches' (Psalm 104. 12) is developed into an observation about birds that is likely to have been made by a person who often watched them:

> We wonder likewise that the birds of the air come from far climes and to our own land first of all. Yet they remain not in one region, for both weak and strong, by divine commandment, fly over the whole earth, to populate the forests and fields [...] The birds of the air are inspired by thee, O Lord, and when thou ordainest, they utter their songs and make men glad in thee; and when thou ordainest not, they are silent, though they possess tongues. (p. 209)

In Psalm 104 people are mentioned only in passing ('Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening'; Psalm 104. 23), while Monomakh is more expansive about the wonders of human creation, amazed 'that thou hast fashioned man out of clay and created the various aspects of human countenances, so that, if the whole world should come together, all would not be of one likeness, but each person in his own aspect through the wisdom of God' (p. 209).

The fact that God feeds not only people, but all living creatures as well, is especially noted: 'All these blessings God has bestowed upon us for the delight, sustenance, and pleasure of mankind. Great, O Lord, is thy mercy upon us, for that thou hast created these delights for the sinner' (p. 209). In fact, Monomakh gives special prominence to God's mercy upon sinners: '[O]ur Lord, the ruler of life and death, suffers our sins to be higher than our heads, and yet he loves us all our lives as a father loves his son whom he chastens and then summons once more to his embrace' (p. 208). His comparison of God with a loving father is an allusion to the Book of Proverbs, a reference that the reader would have been expected to recall: 'My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord; neither be weary of His correction: For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth' (Proverbs 3. 11–12; see also Hebrews 12. 5–6). The reader is then expected to apply this knowledge to arrive at

Monomakh's unexpressed thought: 'Resign yourself to punishment because it will do you good.' Only by becoming humble can one reach the next stage of spiritual growth; this is 'the victory over our enemies' (p. 208) that comes about 'through three means of conquering and overcoming them: repentance, tears, and almsgiving' (p. 209).

Monomakh's model of humility is Christ:

> Our Lord is not a mere man, but God of the whole universe. Yet though he can, if he so desire, perform any miracle in the winking of an eye, he submitted himself to reviling, to spitting, and to blows, and even delivered himself up to death, though he was Lord of both life and death. (p. 216)

According to Monomakh, one's life depends on God's will entirely: 'Without fear of death, or war, or of wild beasts, do a man's work, my sons, as God sets it before you' (p. 215). Both life and death are given by God: 'no one can harm you and destroy you, unless that too be destined of God' (p. 215), and in all difficult situations it is best to rely on God's protection: 'the protection of God is fairer than the protection of man' (p. 215). Devotion to Mary is also reflected in the *Instruction*, as Monomakh addresses her in the following prayer: 'O sovereign Mother of God! Take away pride and presumption from my poor heart, lest I be exalted in this empty life by the vanity of this world' (p. 208).

Repentance is very important for Monomakh. He is now an elderly man and feels that he might die soon, an idea that is relayed in the opening metaphor: 'As I sat upon my sledge' (p. 206), which signifies a waiting for death. Under these circumstances he meditates upon what account of his life he will give to God: 'I reflect how I may stand before the dread Judge ere we have done penance and become reconciled with one another' (p. 216). What he means by this is that he hopes he should not die while in a state of enmity with the addressee of the second letter which is included in the *Instruction* — Prince Oleg of Chernigov.

Letters, being of limited length, do not allow the author the possibility of expressing his idea of repentance in full, and Monomakh uses the method, typical of medieval literature in general, of not copying out long texts, but rather quoting the beginning of one of the canticles that he and his readers might hear during church services: 'At the last judgment, I count myself without accusers' (p. 218).[6]

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[6] This canticle is the third of the Penitential Troparions, occurring after the third Kathizma to be found in the *Sledovannaya*, that is, the special Orthodox version of the Psalter with Continuations. This is divided into twenty sections, each of which consists of a selection of the psalms, followed by various troparions and prayers; it is designed for use in both the liturgy and private devotion.

Both Prince Oleg and other readers must use their own background knowledge to recall the canticle's content and understand what Monomakh wanted to say.

For Monomakh, praising God is not a duty but a need, because he believes that everything good in his life has been given from above: 'I praise God and glorify his memory because he guarded me, a sinful and a wretched man, for so many years in these dangerous vicissitudes, and did not make me inactive or useless for all the necessary works of man' (p. 215). He recommends to his sons the prayers that he himself reads every day:

> After rendering praise to God at matins, as you look upon the rising sun, render praise to God with gladness once again, saying, 'Thou hast lightened my eyes, O Christ my God, thou hast given me thy bright light. Grant me increase, O Lord, in the years to come, so that, as I repent my sins and order my life righteously, I may thus continue to praise God'. (p. 211)

Besides daily prayers, another important habit mentioned in the *Instruction* is reading the Psalter in various situations, particularly when difficulties arise. For example, Monomakh recounts to his children a talk he had with 'emissaries from [his] cousins' who wanted to wage war against one of the Russian princes:

> When I had dismissed the emissaries, in my sorrow I took up the Psalter, and when I opened it, this passage struck my eye: 'Why art thou cast down, my soul? Why dost thou disquiet me?' etc. [Psalm 42. 5].[7] I collected these precious words, and arranged them in order, and copied them. (p. 206)

According to Orthodox tradition, King David composed Psalm 42 in a similarly sorrowful mood; feeling deep sadness, he tried to overcome his passions. Monomakh cites this verse (Psalm 42. 5) twice, first because it gives direction to his thoughts, and then becomes a seed that produces a cento-prayer.[8] Monomakh's prayer consists mainly of the texts he not only read, but also heard during the church services, and thus learned by heart. His cento-prayer is compiled of passages from the Triodion, a service book used during Lent containing the texts of the church service from Septuagesima to Easter. It includes quotations from the

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[7] Psalm 41. 6 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[8] For the term see Dorothy Eagle, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 90. Centos are prayers composed of passages from other texts. Compiling prayers out of quotations from the Psalter and other sacral texts was a common practice in the Middle Ages; well-known examples of such prayers are the Psalters of St Monica and the Venerable Bede. Among the service-books brought to Old Rus' from Byzantium, the Psalter was especially popular. The text of the Psalter was divided into twenty parts, and each part ended with a prayer, containing lengthy quotations from the Psalms.

Psalter, Adam's Lament, the Great Canon by St Andreas of Crete, the Canon and Akathistos to the Holy Mother of God, an ancient prayer by St Joannikios the Great, and two other texts. These texts concentrate the speaker's attention on the state of his soul in order to be properly prepared for Holy Week and Easter. The prayer begins with a quotation from Adam's Lament:

> Master of wisdom, bestower of knowledge, chastiser of the thoughtless and protector of the needy, confirm my heart in wisdom, O Lord! Give me a fatherly word, for thou hast not hindered me from raising my cry unto thee, Merciful Father, have pity upon a weak mortal! (p. 218)

Together with Adam, the sinner who recites this prayer is heard and answered by God: 'Understand and see that I am God, who test your hearts and know your minds, who reveal your deeds, punish your sins, and render justice to orphans and to the poor and the needy.' The sinner then turns to St Andreas of Crete and the Virgin Mary and entreats them to intercede for him before God.

The majority of verses from Monomakh's cento-prayer are compiled from Psalm 37, which warns the righteous not to envy sinners because their time on earth is short (Psalm 37. 1, 9–23).[9] The prayer also cites Psalm 124, the main idea of which is that any man is doomed to perish if God does not protect him. Monomakh quotes the third verse, applying it to the whole of humankind: 'When men rose against us, they had swallowed us up quick; when their anger was kindled against us, then the waters had overwhelmed us' (p. 207; Psalm 124. 3).[10] This idea is supported by citation of the verses of Psalm 56 (2–3)[11] which are a first-person address to God: 'Be merciful unto me, O God, for man hath persecuted me, fighting daily he oppresseth me. My enemies have persecuted me, many were they who fought against me.' The quotations from Psalms 58 and 59[12] have the same function in Monomakh's prayer. Verses 11 and 12 from Psalm 58 serve as a proclamation: 'The righteous shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his hands in the blood of the sinner, so that a man shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily he is a God who judgeth in the earth' (p. 207), while the verses quoted from Psalm 59 render a more specific example: 'Deliver me from mine enemies, O God, and defend me from those who rise up against me. Deliver me from the workers of iniquity, and save me from bloody men; for they have set snares for my soul' (p. 207; Psalm 59. 1–2).

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[9] Psalm 36. 10–23 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[10] Psalm 123. 3 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[11] Psalm 55 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[12] Psalms 57 and 58 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

The next quotation is taken from Psalm 29, where King David admits that everything good is granted by God, and praises Him: 'His anger endureth but a moment and in his favor there is life; weeping shall resound in the evening, and joy upon the morrow' (p. 207; Psalm 30. 5).[13] The quotation from Psalm 63 links the petitions for protection and complaints about the numerous enemies with the conclusion of the prayer, containing expressions of gratitude and praise: 'Because thy loving kindness is better than life, my lips shall praise thee. I will bless thee while I live, and in thy name will I lift up my hands' (p. 207; Psalm 63. 3–4).[14] Although the next quotation again contains a petition for protection (p. 207; Psalm 64. 2),[15] two last verses induce the reader to praise God: 'Rejoice, all ye righteous in heart' (p. 207; Psalm 33. 1),[16] and 'I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall, etc.' (p. 207; Psalm 34. 1).[17] The abbreviation 'etc.' appeals to the memory of the addressees and other readers, since Psalm 34, composed by King David to commemorate his deliverance from misfortunes, is read daily during the evening church service.

The concluding part of the prayer might be Monomakh's own:

> Immaculate Virgin, who didst not know marriage, delight of God, guide of the faithful, save me as I perish and call upon thy Son. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy when thou shalt judge. Judge me not with fire nor accuse me in thine anger! The Holy Virgin, who bore thee, intercedes with thee, O Christ, in company with the angelic host and the army of martyrs. (p. 219)

The prayer then ends in a traditional way: 'Through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honor and glory, to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and forever, world without end!' (p. 219).

Thus, for the reader of the *Instruction*, a certain minimum amount of theological knowledge was assumed: this included the idea of God as Creator of the Universe and all that is good in a human life; of Jesus Christ, who suffered for the whole of mankind and stood as a model of humility; of the help given to a person by the Holy Mother of God and the saints; and of a person's duty towards God, namely to repent of one's sins and to express gratitude.

[13] Psalm 29. 6 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[14] Psalm 62. 4–5 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[15] Psalm 63. 3 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[16] Psalm 31. 11 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

[17] Psalm 33. 1 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

The Pedagogic Instructions

Monomakh's pedagogic ideas can be divided into two groups: theological concepts drawn 'from the Holy Fathers', and his own thoughts, given to him by God 'through the medium of [his] poor wit' (p. 209).

Bearing in mind the biblical model of an ideal parent, Monomakh teaches his children to fear God: '[F]or the sake of God and your own souls, retain the fear of God in your hearts, and give alms generously, for such liberality is the root of all good' (p. 206). Since the Holy Fathers understood the fear of God not as the fear of being punished, but rather as the fear of grieving God, almsgiving is a material sign of Christian love for people. It can be said that Monomakh's pedagogic programme is based on the evangelical principle of love for God and man.

Monomakh turns to theological texts while describing these areas of human behaviour. The following reference to the *Instruction of St Basil the Great* shows how one must behave oneself:

> He taught them to eat and drink without unseemly noise; to be silent in the presence of the aged; to listen to the wise; to humble themselves before their elders; to live in charity with their equals and their inferiors; to speak without guile, but to understand much; not to be immoderate in their language, nor to insult others in their conversation; not to laugh excessively; to respect the aged; to refrain from conversation with shameless women; to cast their eyes downward and their souls upward; to pass the foolish by and not stir them up. He taught them to set no store by the powers honoured of all men. If any one of you can render a service to another let him expect his recompense from God, and he shall thus enjoy eternal blessing. (pp. 207–08)

Monomakh proceeds from exterior things to interior ones. In the given passage he underlines the outward signs of good breeding, while he later turns to consideration of the spiritual constitution of the polite and well-bred man. The inducement 'to strive with pious effort' (p. 208) recalls various New Testament quotations (such as Matthew 5. 44, Colossians 3. 5). Among the quotations chosen to express the idea of 'the soul's upbringing', Monomakh typically includes passages from biblical texts traditionally read on church holidays, when all Christians would be present in church. Monomakh's declaration 'Destroy sin, free the oppressed, render justice to the orphan, protect the widow' (p. 208) is a paraphrase of Isaiah 1. 17. The passage from Isaiah ('Come, let us reason together, saith the Lord; if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow, etc.', Isaiah 1. 18) is read during the evening service of the Epiphany. It is typical that Monomakh adds 'etc.' after the quotation in question, as his readers should have been as familiar with the whole extract as he was. If the quotation stimulates his addressees to activity, the

verses that follow (Isaiah 1. 19–20) explain to them what they are to expect, should they either obey or ignore this inducement. The quotation, which serves as a conclusion to this extract, is taken from the Lent Triodion. This text was read during the church service on the Wednesday of the first week of Lent, when every Christian, even the ruler of the state, was required to be present in church. If in the passage from Isaiah the Lord promises to his believers to 'make [their sins] white as snow', the Triodion quotation shows how believers should act in this situation: 'The spring of fasting shall shine forth, and likewise the flower of repentance. Let us purify ourselves, my brethren, from every corporal and spiritual blemish, and, as we call upon our Creator, let us say, "Glory to thee, lover of mankind!"' (p. 208).

Turning from values common to all humanity to the image of an ideal ruler, Monomakh wishes his addressees to pay special attention to 'three means', which are 'not difficult of attainment' (p. 208) even for those invested with power, namely repentance, tears, and almsgiving. Monomakh says: 'through easy efforts may you thus obtain the mercy of God' (p. 208). According to Monomakh, an indispensable element of an ideal ruler's code of behaviour is prayer, including both penitential prayers and prayers expressing praise of God.

The image of an ideal ruler is created by Monomakh through a series of recommendations. The ideal ruler is to protect the poor ('Above all things, forget not the poor, but support them to the extent of your means. Give to the orphan, protect the widow, and permit the mighty to destroy no man'; p. 210) and must judge fairly and show forgiveness ('Take not the life of the just or the unjust, nor permit him to be killed. Destroy no Christian soul even though he be guilty of murder'; p. 210).[18] He must never break an oath ('When you speak either good or evil, swear not by the name of God, nor cross yourselves, for that is unnecessary. Whenever you kiss the Cross to confirm an oath made to your brethren or to any other man, first test your heart as to whether you can abide by your word, then kiss the Cross, and after once having given your oath, abide by it, lest you destroy your souls by its violation'; p. 210). He must respect the clergy ('Receive with affection the blessing of bishops, priests, and priors, and shun them not, but rather, according to your means, love and help them, that you may receive from them their intercession in the presence of God'; p. 210), be humble ('Above all things admit no pride in your hearts and minds, but say, "We are but

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[18] Abolition of the death penalty was very rare in medieval Europe: see Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, rev. edn (London: Penguin, 1997): 'Vladimir was also deeply conscious of the Christian law of mercy, and when he introduced the Byzantine law code at Kiev, he insisted on mitigating its more savage and brutal features. There was no death penalty in Kievan Russia, no mutilation, no torture; corporal punishment was very little used' (p. 79).

mortal; today we live and tomorrow we shall be in the grave. All that thou hast given us is not ours, but thine, and thou hast but lent it to us for a few days"'; p. 210), and treat his elders with deference and the young without arrogance ('Honor the ancient as your father, and the youth as your brother'; p. 210). He is required to manage his estate on his own ('Be not lax in the discipline of your homes, but rather attend to all matters yourselves. Rely not upon your steward or your servant, lest they who visit you ridicule your house or your table'; p. 210), to be prudent and cautious during war ('When you set out to war [...] [do not] waste your time in drinking, eating, or sleeping. Set the sentries yourselves [...] then take your rest, but arise early'; p. 210), and to protect the population of his land from the violence of his warriors ('When journeying anywhere by road through your domain, do not permit your followers or another's company to visit violence upon the villages or upon the fields, lest men revile you'; p. 210). The ideal leader should be chaste in soul and body ('Guard against lying, drunkenness, and vice, for therein perish soul and body'; p. 210) and attentive to his associates, because a ruler's reputation depends on his relations with other people ('Wherever you go [...] give the beggar to eat and to drink. [...] Honour the stranger, if not with a gift, at least with food and drink. [...] For travellers give a man a universal reputation as generous or niggardly'; p. 210). He should be merciful ('Visit the sick, and accompany the dead, for we are all but mortal'; p. 210), courteous ('Pass no man without a greeting; give him a kindly word'; p. 210), and maintain sensible family relations ('Love your wives, but grant them no power over you'; pp. 210–11). The prescription 'to hoard not in the earth' ('therein lies great sin'; p. 210) is rather interesting. The 'great sin' may imply the New Testament command to 'lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth' (Matthew 6. 19), which shows a lack of faith in the help of God, but may also refer to certain pagan rituals, incompatible with Christianity, that were commonly performed while burying treasures in the earth.[19] This code of

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[19] Although ideas of treasures and everything connected with them are mainly known from folklore that was written down in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Marina Vlasova, *Russkie sueveriia: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (St Petersburg: Azbuka, 1998), pp. 226–34), there are several features typical to all texts concerning hidden treasures. The treasure is hidden in the earth, often in a barrow. A special ritual is required while hiding the treasure. This includes charms and sometimes 'sealing' the treasure with the deaths of several people, which are necessary in order to find it in the future. The treasure is guarded either by a monster, a person who died without being given the Holy Communion and who is thus subject to the devil, or by a chthonic creature (snake, lizard, black cat, etc.). The notion that a treasure is materialized luck is preserved in the Novgorod region. It may go back to the period of the contacts between the Slavs and the Vikings, because there existed a Viking custom of burying the treasures one brought from war, so that luck, rendered

behaviour ends with the idea that opens the letter: 'This is the end of all things; to hold the fear of God above all else' (p. 211). As Christ is Alpha and Omega, so the fear of God, which is the fear of grieving God, must be the basis of man's every action.

In Monomakh's opinion, secular education is of great value to the ruler, because it is useful in the sphere of foreign politics: 'my father, though he remained at home in his own country, still understood five languages' (p. 211). Laziness is opposed to the wish to obtain knowledge: 'Laziness is the mother of all evil; what a man knows, he forgets, and what he does not know he does not learn' (p. 211).

These precepts in the *Instruction* are confirmed by examples taken from Monomakh's own life, in the tradition of the Holy Fathers. Monomakh took part in military campaigns ('Among all my campaigns, there are eighty-three long ones, and I do not count the minor adventures'; p. 214), made numerous peace treaties ('nineteen peace treaties'; p. 214), and was generous to his friends and merciful to the defeated. Thus when he advises his sons to protect the poor and manage their own estates, he uses his own experience as an example, rendering his *Instruction* the more influential.

Monomakh himself puts into practice the recommendation to 'protect the widow': he asks Prince Oleg of Chernigov to let the widow of his son Izyaslav, slain by Oleg, come to him in safety. As witnesses to their father's life, then, Monomakh's sons could see what he himself achieved by following these rules. Monomakh's life proved that his advice was correct: although Kiev was not a part of his domain, the Kievan people invited him to hold the Great Princedom of Kiev, regarding him as the most worthy among the rulers of that time.

The Political Instructions

The part of the *Instruction* that deals with Monomakh's political programme is the best known. Monomakh endorses unity throughout the Russian lands, based on alliances between princes and secured by treaties among them. It is not without reason that the chronicler combined into one treatise the letters to Monomakh's children and Prince Oleg, for the topic of feudal conflict is raised in both. Thus Monomakh recalls for his sons:

material in the gold and jewels, would not abandon them. Whatever the rules of treasure-hiding were in Monomakh's time, it is obvious that they were connected with the pagan past and therefore incompatible with Christianity. This could be viewed as a 'great sin' by Monomakh.

> [E]missaries from my cousins met me on the Volga with the message, 'Join with us quickly, that we may expel the sons of Rostislav, and seize their possessions. If you do not join us, we shall act for our advantage, and you may conduct yourself as you deem best.' I replied, 'At the risk of your wrath, I cannot go with you or break my oath.' (p. 206)

Monomakh's answer to the emissaries serves as a statement of his position which then receives further comment in the letter to Prince Oleg of Chernigov. This letter is illustrated by Gospel and Psalter quotations. In it, for example, Monomakh cites the rule of contraries, 'For if any man say, I love God, and love not his brother [...]', then comments unambiguously: 'it is a lie' (p. 215). The New Testament quotation 'If ye do not forgive your brother's trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you' (Matthew 6. 15) defines Monomakh's attitude towards his addressee who has offended him and broken treaties. Monomakh writes: 'I wish no ill, but I desire rather the good of my kinsmen and of the land of Rus'' (p. 218). He thinks that certain hierarchies should be observed in relations amongst the princes: a younger prince must send emissaries to an older one if there is a problem they need to solve together. That is why, he intimates, Prince Oleg should have turned to him as soon as the conflict between Oleg and Monomakh's son Izyaslav arose: 'Would that you, my cousin, had been the first to write, and had forestalled me in these utterances' (p. 217). As it was, Izyaslav's campaign against his uncle and godfather Oleg of Chernigov resulted in Izyaslav's death. Yet even having lost his son, Monomakh insists that the conflict should be ended diplomatically. This is not a concession to a more powerful adversary. Monomakh agrees to renounce other ways of solving the problem, if Oleg will repent of the sin of murdering his godson:

> If therefore you repent before God, you will make me of good cheer. Send me your messenger or a bishop, and write a letter with just intent. Then you shall receive your domain with my good wishes, you will turn our hearts toward each other, and we shall be better off than before. I am not malicious or revengeful. (p. 217)

The only condition to a peaceful settlement of the conflict is Oleg's voluntary moral rebirth, but Monomakh seems not to trust the Chernigov prince. For that reason Monomakh reminds Oleg of the Lord's Judgement: 'If one of you [Oleg or his brother] does not wish good or peace to Christian men, let him receive no repose for his soul at God's hand in the life to come' (p. 218).

The verse 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!' (p. 216; Psalm 133. 1)[20] thus presents the essence of Monomakh's domestic policy: as a united family, princes observe hierarchies, settle conflicts peacefully, admit

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[20] Psalm 132. 1 in the Russian Orthodox tradition.

their mistakes, and govern their patrimonies. These are the ideal relations within the Old Russian state. The letter to Prince Oleg of Chernigov is dated 1096. In the following year, Monomakh's policy was adopted as a standard for all Russian princes at the Lyubech congress. Thanks to this policy, Monomakh was later regarded as a supreme ruler, having autocratic powers, as indicated by the legend of the regalia sent to Monomakh from Byzantium ('the Crown of Monomakh').[21]

The Audience and Effect of Monomakh's 'Instruction'

While expressing his opinions on theology, pedagogy, and politics, Monomakh constantly keeps in mind the addressees of his *Instruction*. His invocations to his children concentrate the reader's attention on new topics that appear in the course of the narration. In the beginning of the letter to his children Monomakh discusses two possible attitudes to his advice. On the one hand, he asks his readers not to 'laugh' at him, but those 'whom it pleases' should 'take [his] words to heart', 'not be disposed to laziness', but 'labour zealously' (p. 206). On the other hand, he is prepared for the fact that 'this document [may] displease' some people. Such readers are asked not to laugh at him, but instead simply to pay no attention to his ideas: 'let [them] believe that, in my old age, I talked nonsense as I sat upon my sledge' (p. 206).

Nevertheless, Monomakh expects his children to be the first readers of his letter. New topics are introduced by an address to his sons: 'As you read these words, my sons, praise God who has shown us his mercy and admonished you' (p. 209); 'For God's sake, do not be lazy, I entreat you' (p. 208). The letter's central part is also framed by an address: 'Listen to me, if you will not accept the whole, accept a half at least',[22] and 'If you forget all my admonition, read this counsel frequently' (p. 211). The letter concludes with a new request 'not to

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[21] According to this legend, the ancient regalia of the Russian Crown were sent to Vladimir Monomakh from Byzantium because he was a grandson of the Byzantine emperor Konstantine IX Monomakhos, from whom he took his nickname 'Monomakh' ('one who fights alone'). These regalia were the jewelled and fur-trimmed crown known as 'Shapka (Hat) Monomakhova', and a kind of broad collar, made of gold and decorated with precious stones on a gold chain known as 'Barmi'. It was in 1498 that the crown was first called 'Monomakh's Hat'. The legend became especially popular during the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1530–84), the first descendant of Monomakh to obtain the title of tsar, at a time when Vladimir Monomakh was thought of as an ideal ruler of the united Russian state.

[22] My translation.

criticize' its author, and an inducement to good works: 'As you read this screed, prepare yourselves for all good works, and glorify God among his saints' (p. 215).

Although not all works of Old Russian literature of the pre-Mongol period (twelfth to thirteenth centuries) have survived to the present time, the preserved chronicles, lives of the saints, encomia, and later works based on oral tradition can show how Monomakh's numerous descendants put his advice into practice.

Vladimir Monomakh addressed his *Instruction* to his surviving sons: Mstislav, called the Great (1076–1132), Yaropolk (1082–1139), Vyacheslav (d. 1154), Yuriy (1090?–1157), and Andrey (1102–42). Four of these sons (excluding Andrey) became Great Princes of Kiev, which means that they reached the top of Rus's feudal hierarchy. His grandsons Vsevolod and Rostislav (called the Pious), Mstislav's sons, also came to the Kiev throne, while Rostislav's children made their mark in Russian history as well. These members of Monomakh's family must have known the letter dated 1125 (the one to the children) either directly (his sons), or indirectly (his grandsons and great-grandsons).

Monomakh's firstborn, Mstislav, his eldest son by his first wife, the Anglo-Saxon princess Gita, is mentioned in the text of the *Instruction*,[23] included in the Lavrentian Text of the Russian Primary Chronicle. It was he who sent a messenger to Monomakh and asked him not to avenge his younger brother Izyaslav (b. 1077, d. 1096 in the battle against Oleg of Chernigov), because God's 'Judgment has been visited upon' Izyaslav for illegally taking one of Oleg's towns. Mstislav wrote to his father: 'Let us not set ourselves up as avengers, but rather trust in God. The criminals shall stand before the bar of God. *But let us not bring ruin upon the land of Rus'*.' The letter to Oleg shows that it was Mstislav's 'humility' that influenced Monomakh, who otherwise might have treated his offender without mercy: '[I]n the fear of God, I said, "[...] he is humble and trusts in God, while I am a man sinful before all his fellows."' Mstislav, like his father, was interested first and foremost in strengthening peace in Rus'. He was Great Prince of Kiev for six years, and solved most feudal conflicts peacefully. He made great efforts to secure the Russian borders, fighting the Tchoud' and Lithuanians in the north-west and the Polovcians in the south.[24] He also ordered

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[23] D. S. Likhachev, 'Kommentarii k "Slovu Daniila Zatochnika"', in *'Izbornik': Sbornik proizvedenii literatury Drevnei Rusi*, ed. by L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Likhachev (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1969), pp. 728–30 (p. 728) (hereafter Likhachev, 'Kommentarii').

[24] *Kniga Stepennaia Tsarskogo Rodosloviia, soderzhashchaia istoriiu Rossiiskuiu s nachala onya do vremen gosudaria tsaria i velikogo kniazia Ioanna Vasil'evicha, sochinennaia trudami preosviashchennykh mitropolitov Kipriana i Makariia*, ed. by G. F. Miller, 2 vols (Moscow: V tipographii Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1775), I, 247 (hereafter *Kniga Stepennaia*).

churches to be built in Kiev and Novgorod.[25] The Old Russian sources have not preserved all aspects of Mstislav's personality, but the 'Encomium', which was usually included in church calendars (the Prologs) together with other lives of the saints in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, mention qualities that can be correlated with those advised in the *Instruction*. Mstislav was kind to his subjects ('extremely charitable to everyone');[26] not only did he not hoard any treasures in the earth, but he was not interested in wealth at all ('he did not take silver and gold in his hands, because he did not like wealth'),[27] and he was so pious that he was permitted by God to know the day of his death ('having known the day of his death, he ordered his servants to prepare a coffin for him').[28] Mstislav was the first of Monomakh's descendants to be canonized.

Monomakh's second son, Yaropolk, was known as 'more pious than others'; he liked to read 'divine books', respected the clergy, and often talked with learned clerics.[29] He tried to solve conflicts peacefully, sometimes even making compromises so that Christian blood was not shed.[30] But nobody could call him a coward, because 'in the battles against Rus's enemies he was terrible, and everybody was afraid of him and trembled'.[31]

We know less about Monomakh's youngest son by Gita, Vyacheslav. According to the Ipatian Text of the Russian chronicle, he said about himself: 'I did not like to shed blood from birth.'[32] The chronicler emphasizes his peacefulness: he was 'mild of heart'[33] and liked 'concord and [brotherly] love'.[34] Although he was

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[25] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 246; N. Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia (Obzor redaktsii i teksti)*, Prilozhenie (Moscow: Obshchestvo istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete, 1915), p. 48 (hereafter Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia*).

[26] Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia*, p. 48. All subsequent translations from the Russian are mine.

[27] Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia*, p. 48.

[28] Serebrianskii, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia*, p. 48.

[29] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 249.

[30] Makarii, Mitropolit Moskovskii i Kolomenskii, *Istoriia Russkoi Tserkvi*, 9 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Spaso-Preobrazhenskogo Valaamskogo monastyria, 1995), bk II, p. 271.

[31] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 249.

[32] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, ed. by A. A. Shakhmatov, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, 2 (1926–28; repr. Moscow: Iaziki Russkoi kul'tury, 1998), col. 437 (hereafter *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*).

[33] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 393.

[34] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 393.

obviously not inclined to fighting, his nephews, Mstislav's sons, respected him as their second father,[35] and he shared the Kievan Great Princedom with them.[36]

Not much is known about Andrey, called the Kind.[37] The Ipatian Text mentions that he, together with his brothers, took part quite successfully in the campaigns against the Polovcians.[38] The same chronicle recounts an episode that shows Andrey's loyalty to his father's political ideas. When Prince Vsevolod Chermnoy (of the Chernigov family, which was always opposed to Monomakh) became Great Prince of Kiev and, using his power, tried to send Andrey from Pereyaslavl to Kursk, Andrey answered him:

> It is better for me to die with my warriors on the land of my fathers and forefathers, than to take the Kursk princedom; my father was a prince not in Kursk, but in Pereyaslavl, and I want to die in my own land. If you do not have enough land, if all the Russian land is not enough for you, […] kill me and take it, but while I am alive, I won't go away.[39]

His governance was 'quiet and happy',[40] and the distinguishing feature of his character was scorn for envy.[41] He was loved by his subjects, and when the same Prince Vsevolod sent troops against Andrey, not only did his warriors defend Pereyaslavl, but the population of that city (both men and women) took up arms in defence as well.[42]

The early sources do not give a detailed portrait of Yuriy, Monomakh's elder son by his second wife. He was often the instigator of feudal conflicts, although he must have been a good governor of his own lands, concerned about the safety of their borders. He founded a number of fortresses, Moscow among them, and ordered a large number of churches to be built.[43]

Among Monomakh's grandchildren, St Mstislav's sons, St Vsevolod of Pskov and St Rostislav of Smolensk were the most prominent. St Vsevolod might have

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[35] See for example *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, cols 472–73.

[36] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, cols 430–31; O. V. Tvorogov, *Drevniaia Rus'. Sobytiia i Liudi* (St Petersburg: Nauka, 1994), pp. 26, 28.

[37] Likhachev, 'Kommentarii', p. 728.

[38] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 389.

[39] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 305.

[40] *Istoricheskii slovar' rossiiskikh gosudarei, kniazei, tsarei, imperatorov i imperatrits […]* (Moscow: v tipografii A. Reshetnikova, 1793), p. 12 (hereafter *Istoricheskii slovar'*).

[41] *Istoricheskii slovar'*, p. 12.

[42] *Istoricheskii slovar'*, pp. 12–13.

[43] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 250.

known his grandfather's *Instruction*. He is characterized as 'God-fearing in his deeds, truthful, merciful, gentle, mild'; he cared about widows and orphans,[44] and also about everybody who came to him: 'he had his heart open to all, and nobody left his house hungry.'[45] His attitude towards people of various social positions was defined as 'sincere love': 'in a word, he was compassionate with everybody, according to the Apostle's word.'[46] He felt great respect towards the clergy and gave generous donations to the church.[47] He observed fasts and prayed continuously.[48] St Vsevolod's distinctive characteristic was his care for the sick, a task spoken of in the *Instruction*: he 'cared about the sick, and provided them with food, and dressed their wounds, and carried them on his shoulders, he served them industriously, as a child-loving father'.[49] In addition, St Vsevolod was famous as a talented and courageous military leader, a participant of numerous campaigns: 'All his enemies from the West were afraid of him and did not dare to attack Pskov.'[50] It is not surprising that the whole city of Pskov cried at his funeral: men mourned him as 'the defender of Pskov', widows, orphans, and the sick as 'their Father, protector, benefactor and visitor', and the downhearted as 'their comforter and adviser':[51]

> [M]any of them writhed on the ground, and some on the pavement, and one could not hear the church choir because of their loud cries and wailing and soul's grief. [...] If there was anybody with a heart of stone, he, too, shed tears.[52]

St Vsevolod's shield and sword with the Latin inscription 'Honorem meum nemini dabo' (I shall yield my honour to no one) were kept at his tomb in the cathedral of the Pskov fortress.

Just as famous was St Vsevolod's brother, St Rostislav, called the Pious.[53] Although he had to take part not only in the campaigns against external enemies,

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[44] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 254.

[45] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 259.

[46] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 254.

[47] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 259.

[48] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 259.

[49] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 254.

[50] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 225, 259.

[51] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 260.

[52] *Kniga Stepennaia*, I, 260.

[53] 'Blagovernyi Rostislav-Mikhail, kniaz' Smolenskii', *Smolenskie eparhial'nie vedomosti*, 6 (1995), 55–60 (p. 55) (hereafter 'Blagovernyi Rostislav-Mikhail').

but also in the conflicts amongst the Russian princes, he tried either to reconcile the conflicting parties[54] or to end the battle with minimal losses.[55] He was known for his wisdom and good sense, and because of this he was often invited to solve conflicts in a diplomatic way. St Rostislav was highly respected by his brothers. For instance, his elder brother Izyaslav asked his advice in important political situations, and St Rostislav helped him, addressing his elder brother with proper deference.[56] The saint was not attracted to wealth. After Prince Vyacheslav's death, St Rostislav, being the heir to his uncle's riches, divided all his possessions into three parts: one part was given to the church and to the poor, Vyacheslav's servants received the two others; the heir himself took only a cross, brought from Greece.[57] The 'Encomium' to St Rostislav, written soon after his death (dated to the twelfth century) names the resumption of the ancient bishopric as his greatest service to Smolensk.[58] According to the author of the 'Encomium', God gave St Rostislav an hundredfold 'for his kindness' and let him 'govern the whole Russian land'.[59] St Rostislav's piety was also expressed in his wish to become a monk, although he did not manage to achieve this.[60]

St Rostislav's sons, St Mstislav of Novgorod (d. 1180) and Roman of Smolensk (d. 1180), were worthy of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. St Mstislav was so courageous a warrior that he was called the Brave. The Life of St Mstislav contains the words with which he addressed his warriors before battles: 'God and truth are on our side; whether we die today or tomorrow, let us die with honour';[61] these words resemble those from his great-grandfather's *Instruction*. Roman of Smolensk also showed qualities typical of Monomakh's family: he was 'humble, mild, forgiving, truthful, god-fearing,

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[54] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 365.

[55] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 357; 'Blagovernyi Rostislav-Mikhail', p. 58.

[56] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 365.

[57] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, ñol. 473.

[58] 'Blagovernyi Rostislav-Mikhail', p. 57; Y. N. Shchapov, 'Pokhvala kniaziu Rostislavu Mstislavichu kak pamiatnik literaturi Smolenska XIII v.', in *Issledovaniia po istorii russkoi literaturi XI-XVII vv.*, ed. by D. S. Likhachev, O. V. Tvorogov, and M. A. Salmina, Institut Russkoi literaturi (Pushkinskii Dom), Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi literatury, 28 (Leningrad: Nauka, 1974), pp. 47–59 (p. 59).

[59] Shchapov, 'Pokhvala kniaziu Rostislavu Mstislavichu', p. 59.

[60] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, cols 530–31.

[61] *Slovar' istoricheskii o sviatykh, proslavlennykh v Rossiiskoi tserkvi i o nekotorykh podvizhnikakh blagochestiia, mestno chtimykh* (St Petersburg: 1862; repr. Moscow: Istoki, 1990), p. 174.

friendly to all, had a sincere love for his brothers', and built monasteries and churches.[62] He was kind to his subjects, and, when he died, all the population of Smolensk mourned him, 'remembering his kind-heartedness to them'.[63] One more feature brings together Roman and Vladimir Momomakh: the Smolensk prince was fond of knowledge and encouraged education; he 'induced the young to study, organized schools and paid the teachers of Greek and Latin from his own money'.[64]

Monomakh and his *Instruction* thus had a great influence not only on his descendants, but through them, over the course of several generations, on Russian society in general. There are also certain common features between an ideal prince's code of behaviour as formulated by Monomakh in his *Instruction* and the figure of the governor in the 'Lay of Daniil Zatochnik' (twelfth century) which may have been addressed to Monomakh's sons — Yuriy or Andrey the Kind.[65] Similarly, such monuments of Old Russian literature as the 'Lay of the Host of Igor' and the 'Lay of the Ruin of the Russian Land' depict Monomakh as a political leader who wished Rus' to be united.[66] The earliest recognition of Monomakh's importance for Russian culture, expressed metaphorically, was one given by a contemporary anonymous chronicler who declared that Monomakh 'enlightened the Russian land as the radiant sun'.[67] This is a fitting epitaph for a man who combined his own rigorous sense of and expertise in moral political leadership with an ability to advise others in ways of replicating the same.

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[62] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 617.

[63] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 616.

[64] Cited in V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriia Rossiiskaia*, 8 vols (Moscow: Nauka, 1962–68; repr. Moscow: Nauchnyi tsentr 'Ladomir', 1994), III, 123.

[65] Likhachev, 'Kommentarii', p. 728.

[66] B. A. Rybakov, 'Pereputannye stranitsy. O pervonachal'noi konstruktsii "Slova o polku Igoreve"', in *'Slovo o polku Igoreve' i ego vremia*, ed. by B. A. Rybakov (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), pp. 25–67 (pp. 41–48).

[67] *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, col. 289.

Didactic 'I's and the Voice of Experience in Advice from Medieval and Early-Modern Parents to Their Children

Juanita Feros Ruys

It might seem obvious, and indeed natural, that medieval and early-modern parents would wish to advise their children regarding the path to a prosperous life on earth and the salvation of a life after death, and that some parents would turn author, enshrining this advice in writing. It might even seem natural that parents would press into service in this regard the insights hard-won from their own trials and tribulations in life, but in fact, this is an assumption that does not hold true. The notion of 'experience' was both under construction and a focus of contention from late antiquity into the early-modern period, and the emergence of personal experience as a pedagogic resource in didactic texts from parents to their children is part of a larger story of an epistemological revolution that took place in the course of the Middle Ages.

Experience had been a key factor in Aristotelian philosophy and had figured in classical didactic literature,[1] but the advent of the Christian era in the West had severely compromised the facility of the notion by aligning it with the pride

[1] See Walter Belardi, 'Il costituirsi del campo lessicale dell'*experientia* in greco e in latino', in *Experientia: X Colloquio Internazionale; Roma, 4–6 gennaio 2001*, ed. by Marco Veneziani, Lessico intellettuale Europeo, 91 (Florence: Olschki, 2002), pp. 1–61 (p. 33), where he argues that the Latin term *experientia* occurs in two senses: 1) experimentation, as used by Varro; 2) knowledge through experimental praxis, as used by Lucretius, Virgil, and the post-Augustans.

and human will to knowledge that had led to the Fall. The prime exponent of this argument was Augustine, who suggested that knowledge gained through human personal experience could only be knowledge of evil and that knowledge of good came from God and from following divine commands. He contrasted *prudentia boni* (discernment of good) with *experimentum mali* (experience of evil), and similarly contrasted *sapientia* (wisdom) with *experientia* (experience).[2] Jacqueline Hamesse notes that the Vulgate includes no instances of the term *experientia* and only nine of *experimentum*, while the terms *experientia* and *experimentum* prove more common in antiquity than in late antiquity.[3] She also cites Isidore of Seville on the contrast of *experientia* (which necessarily held implications of evil) with *scientia* (knowledge) which was only of good.[4] It would take the late-medieval scientific revolutions and the rise of mystical piety to begin to recuperate the idea of experience as a valuable and authorized mode of knowledge, until, as Paolo Ponzio notes, the concept of 'experience' would come to possess the same kind of valency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the term 'reason' would hold thereafter in the Age of Enlightenment.[5]

What this meant for parental authors from late antiquity to the later Middle Ages was that experience was not available as a didactic resource; what parents could use in their texts of instruction included *auctoritas* (citation from authoritative texts), traditional precept, and example (usually biblical).[6] This chapter will trace the growing awareness and application of personal experience as a pedagogic mode through the parent-child didactic literature of Western Europe in the medieval and early-modern periods. It will examine the rise of the didactic 'I' — the speaking voice that draws upon its own authority to teach — and

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[2] See Jean Pépin, '*Experimentum mali*: Saint Augustin sur la connaisance du mal', in *Experientia* (see n. 1, above), pp. 63–75 (pp. 67, 70–71).

[3] See Jacqueline Hamesse, '*Experientia/experimentum* dans les lexiques médiévaux et dans les textes philosophiques antérieures au 14ᵉ siècle', in *Experientia* (see n. 1, above), pp. 77–90 (p. 79).

[4] Hamesse, '*Experientia/experimentum*', p. 77, n. 2, citing Isidore of Seville, *Differentiae*, I, 186: 'Inter *Experientiam* et *scientiam*: Experientia in malo dici potest, ut poenas expertus, scientia autem in bono tantum.'

[5] See Paolo Ponzio, 'The Articulation of the Idea of Experience in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Quaestio*, 4 (2004), 175–95 (p. 175).

[6] See Ineke van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and the Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Disputatio, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 236: 'people are supposed to enact a pre-established narrative. The ultimate source for these repeated narratives is scripture.'

more significantly, the collocation of this 'I' with the parental voice, which helped render parenthood itself an authorized locus, and not merely a conduit, of advice.[7]

The parental didactic texts considered here represent both maternal and paternal authors, as well as both male and female recipients, and range from the early-medieval period (Dhuoda's ninth-century *Liber manualis*) to the early-modern period (James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron* of 1603 and a number of early-seventeenth-century maternal advice-texts).[8] This chapter is also concerned with the gender implications of the move towards experience. Anna Dronzek has theorized that in fifteenth-century didactic literature, the experiential mode was primarily directed towards girls.[9] Yet while Dronzek is clearly right that girls learnt about womanhood firsthand simply through being with their mothers or other influential women and undertaking domestic tasks, this kind of practical experience is not the same as the textual experientiality discussed here; indeed, this chapter will show that the more highly theorized experiential mode committed to writing was overwhelmingly a product of paternal authors, and directed primarily towards male children.

Dhuoda, 'Liber manualis'

There is no question that the first-person voice of the Frankish noblewoman Dhuoda is a major feature of the handbook of advice, the *Liber manualis*, she completed for her son William in 843. She names herself in the opening lines, gives a brief personal history of her marriage to Bernard of Septimania, speaks candidly throughout the text of her maternal feelings both for William and his unnamed baby brother, weaves her name into a number of acrostics, and even supplies William with the epitaph to use for her tomb; Peter Dronke speaks

[7] I take the concept of the authorial 'I' from the pioneering work of Leo Spitzer, 'Note on the Poetic and the Empirical "I" in Medieval Authors', *Traditio*, 4 (1946), 414–22; see also Evelyn Birge Vitz, 'The *I* of the *Roman de la Rose*', *Genre*, 6 (1973), 49–75.

[8] It is not possible within the scope of this chapter to treat all medieval and early-modern parental advice texts. Key parental didactic texts not discussed in this chapter include those by Albertano da Brescia, Christine de Pizan, Peter Idley, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

[9] Anna Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books', in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, Medieval Cultures, 29 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 135–59.

of the 'sensitive individuality' of her authorial presence.[10] Yet there exists a noticeable demarcation in her text between the personal and the didactic: Dhuoda does not explicitly teach from her own experience, but overwhelmingly through *auctoritates* and exempla. The 'I' of her text is not, on the whole, a didactic 'I'.

Much of her preceptive advice is straightforward: Dhuoda cites the Scriptures above all, with other references to a range of largely late-antique authors (Donatus, Isidore of Seville, Prudentius).[11] Exemplarity, however, is her key pedagogic resource. Throughout the *Liber manualis*, Dhuoda reminds William of the importance of learning by example: 'Pursue, retain, and faithfully observe in the present and the future the examples of virtuous men of the past, men who have proved pleasing to God and the world because of their faith and perseverance.'[12] She also offers him a host of specific biblical examples, such as Moses and David, to follow. In addition, Valerie L. Garver has shown that Dhuoda employs throughout her *Liber manualis* the monastic technique of *correctio*, an exemplary didactic mode.[13]

There are hints in Dhuoda's text of personal experience. Teaching her son about the transitory nature of human influence she quotes extensively from the Book of Psalms before adding: 'I think now of those whose stories I have heard

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[10] Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua († 203) to Marguerite Porete († 1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 36.

[11] This places her squarely within the *speculum*-tradition of the Carolingian Renaissance: see Lester K. Born, 'The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 12 (1933), 583–612, who describes this genre as 'almost an anthology of pertinent passages from Augustine, Isidore, *et al.* and the Bible' (pp. 595–96); and Martin A. Claussen, 'Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority: Dhuoda and the *Liber manualis*', *French Historical Studies*, 19 (1996), 785–809: 'these "mirrors" share a number of common characteristics: there is a ready appeal to the authority of church fathers such as Augustine and Isidore, a regular examination of biblical precedents and precepts for proper action' (p. 786).

[12] *Dhuoda, Handbook for her Warrior Son: Liber Manualis*, ed. and trans. by Marcelle Thiébaux, Cambridge Medieval Classics, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 131 (hereafter Thiébaux); Dhuoda, *Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. by Pierre Riché, Sources chrétiennes, 225 bis (1975; Paris: Cerf, 1997), IV. 1. 78–81: 'Exempla dignitatum maiorum in praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, qui Deo et saeculo per fidem placuere atque perseuerasse probantur, perquire, tene, et fideliter obserua' (p. 204); hereafter Riché.

[13] Valerie L. Garver, 'The Influence of Monastic Ideals upon Carolingian Conceptions of Childhood', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 67–85 (pp. 78–79).

and read, and I have seen members of my family, and yours, my son, whom I've known. Once they cut a powerful figure in the world, and then they were no more.'[14] On another occasion, however, when discussing the problem of those who rebel against their fathers, she specifically diminishes the value of personal experience in contrast with biblical *auctoritas*: 'I do not say this because I have seen this, but because I have certainly read or heard of it. You hear about it and I surely do.'[15] Indeed, adducing experience in such a circumstance could be dangerous, both because Dhuoda wants to make the idea of betrayal of one's father unthinkable,[16] and because in the current political climate, with the fratricidal infighting of the sons Louis the Pious over the remains of Charlemagne's empire, talk of personally witnessing sons turning against their fathers would be unwise. Dhuoda also resorts to a disingenuous citation of experience on another occasion, when advising her son that he must never show disloyalty to his sovereign lord. She declares: 'Such behavior never appeared or existed among your ancestors, they say; it does not exist at present, and never will in the future.'[17] Yet the reason that William was separated from his mother, necessitating her composition of the *Liber manualis* for him, was that his father Bernard was handing him as a political hostage to the Emperor Charles the Bald in reparation for Bernard's having wavered in his support for Charles in a recent armed conflict. Bernard would later be executed by Charles for treason. Dhuoda's apparent recourse to experience here, then, is in fact no such thing; it is rather a defiant — even desperate? — form of preceptive instruction: be loyal to your lord.

Yet if experience here is really precept, by the same token it has not been recognized until recently that exempla in Dhuoda's text also function in a quasi-experiential mode.[18] For example, when advising William to remain loyal to

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[14] Thiébaux, p. 67; 'Considero quos audiui legere, etiam et uidi aliquos ex parentibus meis tuisque, fili, qui fuerunt in saeculo quasi potentes, et non sunt': Riché, I. 5. 80–82, p. 110.

[15] Thiébaux, p. 87; 'Haec non ut uidissem dico, sed quia in aliquos legi, audiui, audis, audio certe': Riché, III. 1. 47–48, p. 138.

[16] Riché (p. 27) has described the *Liber manualis* as offering almost a religion of fatherhood.

[17] Thiébaux, p. 95; 'Quod in te tuisque militantibus futurum esse non credo; ars enim haec, ut aiunt, nequaquam in tuis progenitoribus non apparuit unquam, nec fuit, est, nec erit nec ultra': Riché, III. 4. 33–36, p. 150.

[18] See Claussen, 'Fathers of Power', pp. 791–92, especially p. 792: 'One upshot of this hermeneutic is to take as the measure of all narratives, whether scriptural or not, one's own history, and this is clearly what Dhuoda does.'

Charles, Dhuoda adduces Old Testament examples of faithful retainers: 'What shall I say of the actions of Joab and Abner and others gathered around King David? They took risks for him in many places, conscientiously wanting to satisfy their lord rather than themselves.'[19] Editors and translators have duly footnoted this statement (III Reges 2/II Samuel 2) without realizing its subversive polemical import.[20] Joab and Abner are anything but exemplars of faithful and selfless service. Abner enters the biblical story supporting the house of Saul, against Joab who champions the house of David. Abner kills Joab's brother Asahel in battle, but later comes to terms with David, because he is upset at the negative response he receives in his own camp when he takes one of Saul's concubines for himself, and he subsequently arranges to deliver to David leadership of Israel. Hearing after the event of Abner's cordial reception by David, Joab is incensed, lures Abner to a secret meeting, and slays him. David is outraged when he hears of Joab's deception and curses him and his family.

This is hardly a model of selfless retainership, as Dhuoda with her knowledge of the Bible would clearly have been aware. On the other hand, Joab and Abner, with their self-interest, blood feud, changing loyalties, and political jockeying, can aptly represent the dangerous intrigues current amongst the sons of Louis the Pious in which Dhuoda's husband Bernard was caught up at the time she was writing.[21] If we take into consideration as well the rumours that Bernard was

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[19] Thiébaux, p. 93–95; 'Quid dicam et de Ioab Abnerque et ceteros erga Dauidem regem, qui multis in locis propter eum angustias sustinentes, magis seniori quam sibi placere cupiebant adnisu': Riché, III. 4. 14–18, p. 148.

[20] Riché and Thiébaux pass over this citation without comment, as does Carol Neel, *Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for her Son by Dhuoda* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991). Edouard Bondurand proved a closer reader in his 1887 premiere edition of the *Liber manualis* but did not attribute to Dhuoda a deliberate strategy of dissimulation so much as a poor choice of model: 'Pour Joab, c'est un modèle moins irréprochable. Neveu de David, il assassina Abner par jalousie; il tua, malgré les orders de David, Absalon qu'il avait défait, et commit beaucoup de cruautés' (*L'éducation Carolingienne: Le Manuel de Dhuoda (843)* (Paris: Picard, 1887; repr. Geneva: Mégariotis Reprints, 1978), p. 91, n. 2).

[21] See Born, 'The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance': 'Later ambition, greed and jealousy tore the hard-made Empire asunder by the almost continuous quarrels and intrigues of the royal princes in alliance one against the other. Especially is this true of the sons of Louis the Pious' (p. 586). See also Claussen, 'Fathers of Power': 'The Franks [...] had been cast by their own historians into the role of the new chosen people, the new Israel. Dhuoda continues this historiographic tradition by linking the history of Francia from the time of Louis the Pious with the post-Davidic history of Israel' (p. 792).

involved in an affair with Charles's mother, Empress Judith, we can see even clearer parallels between him and Abner (and Saul's concubine). The casual exemplary allusion in Dhuoda's text to Joab and Abner, then, is not intended to be read as a simple model of faithful service, but rather meant to signify to William the problematic nature of loyalty to a sovereign lord in a time of ever-changing allegiances. When compared with the powerful and consistent model of filial piety adduced through the figure of Joseph,[22] it becomes clear that Dhuoda's apparently exemplary mode of instruction carries not a little of the immediate political context with it. Dhuoda might not be quite teaching from experience here, but experience informs the models she chooses so that William receives not just the overt message of the text (be loyal to your father; equally, be loyal to your sovereign lord), but also the message that she really wants to impart to him: loyalty to one's father must come before all.[23]

Perhaps the most interesting didactic image employed by Dhuoda is that of the mirror (*speculum*). This ancient figure of self-knowledge had been understood in the early Christian era, particularly in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine, as a pathway for the soul back to God.[24] Dhuoda adduces this conventional Christian understanding when she advises William to contemplate often the little book she is writing for him, for '[y]ou will also find in it a mirror, in which without a doubt you can fix your gaze upon the health of your soul'.[25] Yet she takes the imagery a step further, making her *speculum*/handbook reflect back to William not only the state of his own soul, but also her own self and her advice:

> And what more is there? Dhuoda is always here to exhort you, my son, but in anticipation of the day when I shall no longer be with you, you have here as a memento of me this little

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[22] Claussen, 'Fathers of Power', p. 805, notes that Joseph is Dhuoda's favourite biblical example.

[23] In this sense Dhuoda's exemplum subverts the primary function of exempla as outlined by Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990): 'the reader must draw forth from the name [of the example] an exhortative ethical message devoid of irony or contradiction. The various moments of the heroic life must each bear the same message defining the name and the life as a single, morally homogenous unity, thus making the name a kind of fetish object toward which the reader's responses will always be the same' (p. 27).

[24] See Einar Már Jónsson, *Le Miroir: Naissance d'un genre littéraire* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995), pp. 102–14.

[25] Thiébaux, p. 49; 'inuenies etiam speculum in quo salutem animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicere': Riché, Prologue, ll. 21–22, p. 80.

book of moral counsels. And you can gaze upon me as on an image in a mirror, by reading with mind and body and by praying to God, and you can find fully set out those obligations you are to render me. My son, you will have learned doctors to teach you many more examples [*documenta*], more eminent and of greater usefulness, but they are not of equal status with me, nor do they have a heart more ardent than I, your mother, have for you, my firstborn son![26]

This is a powerful declaration of the authority of a parent to advise on the basis of personal love. It does not yet represent an experiential didactic mode — the *speculum* genre being overwhelmingly an exemplary, not an experiential genre[27] — but it constitutes an important first step towards a personalized didactic mode.[28] Experience is present, but latent rather than explicitly cited as a resource. It would nevertheless be centuries before such a personal parental voice was heard again.[29]

[26] Thiébaux, pp. 69–71; 'Et quid plura? Ortatrix tua Dhuoda semper adest, fili, et si defuerim deficiens, quod futurum est, habes hic memoriale libellum moralis, et quasi in picturam speculi, me mente et corpore legendo et Deum deprecando intueri possis, et quid erga me obsequi debeas pleniter inueniri potes. Fili, habebis doctores qui te plura et ampliora utilitatis doceant documenta, sed non aequali conditione, animo ardentis in pectore, sicut ego genitrix tua, fili primogenite': Riché, I. 7. 15–23, pp. 114–16.

[27] See Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. by Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) (first publ. as *Speculum, Mirror und Looking-Glass: Kontinuität und Originalität der Spiegelmetapher in den Buchtiteln des Mittelalters und der englischen Literatur des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), chap. 3, especially p. 48: 'The bulk of well-known mediaeval writings with mirror-titles are of the exemplary type'). Born, 'The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance', indicates that Carolingian mirrors were exhortatory and admonitory; thus they are exemplary rather than experiential. See also Hampton, *Writing from History*: 'The image of the mirror [...] is a commonplace in discussions of exemplarity' (p. 21).

[28] Dronke notes that the *Liber manualis* is 'intensely personal — it is adapted at every turn to the problems and predicaments of one person, William' (*Women Writers of the Middle Ages*, p. 39). Compare this with Born's observation that the Carolingian *speculum*-genre as a whole is 'highly ethical in tone, abounding in the usual Biblical quotations, and applicable to any time or place, or to any prince, good or bad' ('The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance', pp. 593–94).

[29] See Karen Cherewatuk, 'Speculum matris: Duoda's [*sic*] Manual', *Florilegium*, 10 (1988–91), 49–64: 'Dhuoda creates a text far more autobiographical than any other Latin *manualis* or *speculum*. [...] Dhuoda's manual is the clearest example of the union of personal voice and purpose among the writings of early mediaeval women' (p. 55).

Peter Abelard, 'Carmen ad Astralabium'

A fundamental change in the understanding of experience began to take place during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While the Augustinian idea of experience as an experientially acquired knowledge only of evil continued to be influential well into the sixteenth century,[30] radical reconceptions of it were nevertheless underway as early as the eleventh century. In her study of religious interior formation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Ineke van 't Spijker has shown that new understandings of the religious subject began to coalesce around the idea of the individual's experience of the divine.[31] This was a development intimately connected with the rise of the individual, and one that would eventually lead to the primacy of personal religious experience in the mystical literature of the later Middle Ages. Van 't Spijker notes that this religious mode began to assume a didactic aspect:

> The pedagogical character of these texts is central to understanding their importance. They do not offer a description of monastic life so much as something comparable to a score of music: to be studied, practised and performed.[32]

This practical, pedagogic aspect of experience became evident by the twelfth century in the sermons on the Song of Songs delivered by Bernard of Clairvaux.[33]

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[30] For example, Marc Ozilou, '*Sapientia* et *experientia* dans les *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* de Saint Bonaventure', *Collectanea Franciscana*, 61 (1991), 513–33, shows that St Bonaventure (1217/18–1274) contrasted knowledge acquired by experience with true Christian wisdom. In her chapter in this volume, Ursula Potter reveals that Juan Luis Vives advocated an Augustinian suspicion of experience with regard to the teaching of young women in his sixteenth-century treatise *Instruction of a Christian Woman*.

[31] Van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life*. See also Hamesse, '*Experientia/experimentum*': 'dès l'époque chrétienne, la foi est suffisante pour arriver à la connaissance. Mais au 11ᵉ siècle, saint Anselme fait déjà remarquer que la connaissance a besoin de l'expérience pour être valable' (p. 80) (Anselm, *Epistola de incarnatione Verbi*).

[32] Van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life*, p. 14; see also pp. 146–47 on Richard of St Victor: 'More than once Richard appeals to the reader's experience and urges the reader to participate in the process: the epistemological process is not opposed to but subsumed within the reader's *experientia*. The reader constructs his experience in the process.'

[33] *On the Song of Songs*, trans. by Kilian Walsh, The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, 2–3, Cistercian Fathers Series, 4, 7, 31, 40, 4 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1971–80), Sermon 3: 'Today the text we are to study is the book of our own experience. You must therefore turn your attention inwards, each one must take note of his own particular awareness of the things I am about to discuss' (I, 16); *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq,

Peter Abelard was a brilliant scholar and schoolmaster at the forefront of dialectical and theological thinking in the twelfth century, yet the new and developing idea of experience appears to have been somewhat problematic for him, and he clearly wrestled with various epistemological permutations of it across a range of writings. Most significantly, the concept of experience is entirely absent from the poem of advice, the *Carmen ad Astralabium*, that he composed for his son Astralabe in the mid-1130s, where there appears instead a more traditional exemplary mode. While it is possible to use Abelard's first-person life narrative (or proto-autobiography), the *Historia calamitatum*, to read into much of the advice he gives his son the voice of bitter personal experience,[34] this is an extra-textual reading on our part. In the *Carmen* itself, the first-person voice is almost entirely absent, appearing on the whole only in impersonal, preceptive formulae such as *nolo* ('I don't want [you to do the following] ...'), *credo* ('I believe ...' [precept follows]), *miror* ('I wonder at ...' [negative example follows]), and *queso* ('I beseech' [following an instruction]).

The instruction of the *Carmen* remains resolutely conventional in format, relying, in conformity with late-antique and early-medieval culture, on precept and example.[35] This is encapsulated in the one-line instruction 'Pay attention to the precepts of teachers, the deeds of the good'.[36] Exemplarity is also deployed in the advice that Astralabe should look always to his betters for those qualities he

Charles H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols in 9 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), I. 1. 7–9: 'Hodie legimus in libro experientiae. Convertimini ad vos ipsos, et attendat unusquisque conscientiam suam super his quae dicenda sunt' (I, 14). Paul Verdeyen, 'Un théologien de l'expérience', in *Bernard de Clairvaux: Histoire, mentalités, spiritualité*, Sources chrétiennes, 380 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), pp. 557–77, argues that Bernard invented a third coming of the Lord in personal experience: 'On comprend que cette venue fréquente, même quotidienne, du Verbe, ouvre le champ de l'expérience personnelle' (p. 561).

[34] See Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Peter Abelard's *Carmen ad Astralabium* and Medieval Parent-Child Didactic Texts: The Evidence for Parent-Child Relationships in the Middle Ages', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (see n. 12, above), pp. 203–27 (pp. 216–17).

[35] See C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), who calls exemplarity 'a fundamental principle of eleventh-century culture' and adds: 'Truth is in the immediate presence of a model human being. His personality, his conduct, his bearing is the thing itself, is what study and learning are about. He himself, and not books and texts, is the lesson' (p. 189).

[36] Text and translation taken from Juanita Feros Ruys and John O. Ward, *The Repentant Abelard: Abelard's Thought as Revealed in his 'Carmen ad Astralabium' and 'Planctus'* (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming): 'Dictis doctorum, factis intende bonorum' (l. 325).

himself still lacks.[37] In good eleventh-century style, Abelard later commands his son to value the exemplarity of morals (the *cultus virtutum*)[38] over written learning (in precisely the way he had not done himself):

> Let the instruction of morals be of greater value to you than the instruction of books
> and let deeds be set by you before words.[39]

and even gives his son advice on how to employ exemplarity appropriately:

> No-one takes bad deeds as an example, but only good ones
> or, if anyone should do this, he would be held worthless.[40]

Abelard also encourages his son to transform himself into an example for others, an admonition that will become common in parental didactic literature:

> Beware all damage to your reputation
> so that you may be of profit to many as to yourself.[41]

That Abelard can so thoroughly espouse in this text the same older-fashioned, exemplary style of learning that he was himself, elsewhere in his writings, at the forefront of challenging,[42] underlines just how fundamentally conservative parental didactic literature can be.

In fact, the most significant first-person voice in the *Carmen* belongs not to Abelard, or the silent Astralabe, but to Astralabe's mother Heloise, who appears by means of Abelard's quotation of some lines drawn from her Ep. IV, written to him. In keeping with Abelard's reliance on the mode of exemplarity, Heloise is adduced as a specific example of the more general precept that there are some whom their sins delight so much that they cannot repent of

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[37] '[M]eliores aspice semper | In quibus atendas quid tibi desit adhuc' (ll. 100–01).

[38] Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, especially chap. 4. For a discussion of the transition from the eleventh-century oral pedagogic culture to the twelfth-century culture of literacy and textuality, see the chapter by John O. Ward in the present volume.

[39] 'Pluris sit morum tibi quam doctrina librorum | Factaque sint uerbis anteferenda tibi' (ll. 821–22).

[40] 'Nullus in exemplum mala ducit sed bona tantum | Aut siquis facit hoc, nullus habendus erit' (ll. 255–56).

[41] 'Detrimenta tue caueas super omnia fame | Vt multis possis et tibi proficere' (ll. 33–34).

[42] See Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 'Abelard came to the ethics of the old learning by betraying them. The language of the old learning occurs in the poem to Astralabe, and in all cases it occurs in the form of self-castigation. He [Abelard] argues against himself and warns against his own example' (p. 235).

them.[43] Heloise may have been cited here by Abelard as an example, but she enters the text and speaks with and from experience. In the section of her Ep. IV to which Abelard refers, where she confesses her continued sexual longings despite her monastic claustration, Heloise specifically cites her *experience* of pleasures as one of the reasons she cannot abandon her memory of them: 'that very passion of youth and the experience of the most delightful pleasures greatly kindle in me those goads of the flesh, those prickings of lust'.[44] While there is a conservative Augustinian sense here of experience as related to sexual sin, nevertheless, these lines as 'spoken' by Heloise in the *Carmen* create a strikingly personal note within a sea of otherwise rather impersonal preceptive advice:

> 'If, unless I repent of what I earlier committed,
>> I cannot be saved, no hope remains for me:
> so sweet are the joys of what we did
>> that those things which pleased too much, bring delight when
>> remembered.'[45]

Heloise may have been unwillingly pressed into service here by Abelard to teach her son as a (negative) example, but her words in fact rupture the text, adding to its conventional eleventh-century exemplarity a new twelfth-century voice of experience.

St Louis, 'Enseignements'

Concepts of *experientia* and *experimentum* (the two Latin terms not yet distinguished from each other)[46] began to appear in the writings of the European scientific revolution of the thirteenth century, with key thinkers such as Roger

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[43] 'Sunt quos oblectant adeo pecata peracta | Vt numquam uere peniteant super his; | [...] Est nostre super hoc eloyse crebra querela' (ll. 375–79).

[44] *La Vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame: Traduction du XIIIᵉ siècle attribuée à Jean de Meun; Avec une nouvelle édition des textes latin d'après le ms. Troyes Bibl. mun. 802*, ed. by Eric Hicks, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du moyen âge, 16 (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1991): 'Hos autem in me stimulos carnis, hec incentiva libidinis, ipse juvenilis fervor etatis et jocundissimarum experientia voluptatum plurimum accendunt' (p. 67, ll. 213–15).

[45] 'Si, ne peniteat me comississe priora, | Saluari nequeam, spes michi nulla manet: | Dulcia sunt adeo comissi gaudia nostri | Vt memorata iuuent, que placuere nimis' (ll. 381–84).

[46] See Jeremiah Hackett, '*Experientia*, *Experimentum* and Perception of Objects in Space: Roger Bacon', in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. by Jan Aertsen and Andreas Speer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 101–20 (p. 101).

Bacon employing them in systematic ways. References to experience in the writings of Aristotle were rediscovered and used in the West, and the influx of cutting-edge Arabic scientific and medical knowledge produced a new focus on the self and sensory observation as epistemological loci. Yet in comparison with this world of intellectual ferment, that of didactic literature seems to have retained far more conservative understandings of knowledge and experience. At around the same time that Roger Bacon was conducting his experiments, King Louis IX of France, known to history as St Louis, wrote two parental didactic texts: one for his son Philippe, later King Philippe III of France, the other for his daughter Isabelle, Queen of Navarre.[47] These texts allow us to gauge gender differences in the way that advice was given to male and female children. More importantly, the existence of the didactic treatise *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, commissioned from the Dominican Vincent de Beauvais by Louis's wife, Queen Marguerite, for the instruction of these same children, allows us to consider whether there were differences in the way advice was formulated for children by professional preceptors and by their parents, particularly with regard to personal experience.

Vincent's *De eruditione* appears to have been composed in the middle years of the thirteenth century and embraces an auctorial pedagogic system. The text's most recent editor, Arpad Steiner, has calculated that the treatise contains nearly nine hundred nonscriptural citations, and he describes it as 'an anthology of pedagogical *flosculi* from varied sources'.[48] Yet although Vincent makes nearly one hundred references to the writings of Hugh of St Victor, Richard of St Victor, and Bernard of Clairvaux, all of whom were key figures in the twelfth-century development of concepts of interiority and personal experience, Vincent's citation of these authors avoids all reference to such ideas. On the contrary, Vincent cites Augustine to the effect that a reliance on bodily senses for knowledge and communication are the properties of infancy and distract a child from proper knowledge of self and from an openness to admonition. He also embraces the eleventh-century ideal of the 'master of morals', advising that a teacher must be

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[47] David O'Connell argues that these texts are contemporaneous with each other, and composed in *c*. 1267; see *The Instructions of Saint Louis: A Critical Text*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 216 (Chapel Hill: University of Northern Carolina, Department of Romance Languages, 1979), pp. 58–62.

[48] Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. by Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938), p. xviii.

pre-eminent in both learning and morals.[49] The master is to lead as much by example as by verbal instruction, because, as Seneca notes, the pathway to learning through precepts is longer, the way through examples shorter and more effective.[50]

To this embrace of exemplarity as a pedagogic mode, Vincent adds an explicit criticism of experience. In Chapter 13 he cites Augustine on the lust of wanting to know by experiencing through the senses and refers to this form of knowledge as 'cupiditas' (desire), 'concupiscentia oculorum' (lust of the eyes), and 'turpis curiositas' (vile curiosity). In the section on the treatise devoted to the education of boys, Vincent instructs through *auctoritas* and precept, criticizing the acquisition of knowledge through experience. In the latter part of the treatise (Chapters 42 to 51), Vincent considers the instruction of girls, and a difference is immediately obvious. The exemplary mode becomes far more explicit, as, in addition to scriptural and patristic precepts, the girls are given biblical models to follow.[51] It is significant that the first example cited is Dinah, who through centuries of medieval exegesis figured the dangers (and for women, explicitly the sexual dangers), of curiosity; that is, of wanting to know by personal experience. Vincent's exemplary mode extends not only to learning from example, but also to advice on constructing oneself as an example to others. Finally, Vincent links the idea of example with the imagery of the mirror, advising girls that they should gaze upon the image of Mary's virginity, chastity, and virtue as if in a mirror.[52]

In comparison with Vincent's text, which is dense with *auctoritates*, Louis's *Enseignements* to his son and daughter (written a decade or two later) are simpler affairs, lacking explicit citation of authorities, and relying rather on straightforward precept. Scholars have argued that these texts are intensely personal, their precepts stemming from the vigorous active and spiritual life of Louis

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[49] Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, p. 8, ll. 1–2: 'Pueris ergo nobilibus eligendus est magister in ambobus, in sciencia ac moribus.'

[50] Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, p. 10, ll. 51–52: 'longum est iter per precepta, breve et efficax per exempla'; ll. 65–66: 'Et revera sicut exempla bona doctoris melius discipulos instruunt, sic et mala corrumpunt.'

[51] For example, statements like the following are common throughout this section of the treatise: 'habetur exemplum in beatissima uirgine maria de qua legitur [...]'; 'Aliud est exemplum in sara uirgine [...]'; 'sicut legitur de iudith in libro suo'.

[52] Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobiliorum*, pp. 193–94, ll. 97–100: 'ponit exemplum idem ambrosius in beata uirgine, dicens in 11° libro *de uirginitate*: "Sit uobis [...] in ymagine descripta uirginitas marie, e qua uelut speculo refulgeat species castitatis et forma uirtutis."'

himself,[53] but as with the earlier parental authors discussed in this chapter, Dhuoda and Abelard, this is a judgement that can be made only because we have extensive biographical information about the author: the text itself does not, on the whole, explicitly resource this personal experience. The *Enseignements* to Louis's son are significantly longer than those to his daughter, but many of the same precepts appear in both, including: love God with all your heart and might, suffer patiently any illnesses or persecutions sent by the Lord, give humble thanks for any prosperity granted by the Lord, confess frequently to confessors who are of holy life and sufficient learning to be able to instruct you, show mercy to the poor and those afflicted either in heart or body, care in particular for people of religion, be attentive at church and especially during Mass.

There are, however, obvious gender differences between the two advice texts as well: Philippe is given extensive advice on kingship, justice, and warfare,[54] Isabelle on choosing appropriate female companions, obedience to her husband and parents, and restraint in dress. The exemplary mode is muted in both texts. Only once does it appear in the *Enseignements* to Philippe where St Martin is adduced as an example that it is good to work for reconciliation in one's land.[55] More significant is Louis's instruction to his daughter that she should set herself as an example to others,[56] a precept increasingly associated with female recipients of advice texts through the medieval and early-modern periods.[57] There is only

[53] See O'Connell, *The Instructions of Saint Louis*: 'Louis seems to be summing up a lifetime of experience for the future benefit of his two oldest children' (p. 60); 'The main source of the Instructions is the very life of Christian action and meditation that Louis had already led before composing his work (p. 62).' See also Robert Folz, *Les Saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VIᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles)*, Subsidia hagiographica, 68 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984): 'les *Enseignements* transmettent la pensée propre de saint Louis, mûrie au contact des religieux et des juristes qui l'entouraient, mais si profondément personnalisée qu'on peut y voir le miroir à la fois de son âme et de l'idée qu'il se faisait de la royauté' (p. 151).

[54] Jacques Le Goff notes that '[l]es articles suivants s'adressent plus particulièrement au futur roi. Ils composent un petit "Miroir des princes" à l'intérieur du plus grand que constitue l'ensemble des *Enseignements*' (Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p. 425).

[55] *The Teachings of Saint Louis: A Critical Text*, ed. by David O'Connell, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 116 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972): 'et mes sires saint Martin nous a donné moult grant exemple, car il ala pour mettre pais entre les clers qui estoient en son arceveschié' (p. 59).

[56] *The Instructions of Saint Louis*: 'metés grant paine que vous soiiés si parfaite en tout bien que chil qui orront parler de vous et vous verront i puissant prendre bon example' (p. 80).

[57] Kate Cooper also notes this injunction in the conduct texts of late antiquity designated for women, such as the Latin *Handbook for Gregoria* (*Liber ad Gregoriam*) written in the early sixth

a single reference to personal experience, in the advice to Philippe, where it makes a striking contrast to the otherwise impersonal and conventional precepts. Instructing his son on the defence of his people and lands, Louis suddenly adds:

> [A]nd I would like to remind you here of a speech which King Philip, my grandfather, made, so one of his council informed me, who said that he had heard it. The King was one day with his Privy Council — and he was there who informed me of it — and some of his Council informed him that some clerics had done him a great wrong and they marvelled that he should suffer it […]. I remind you of this because you should not be quick to believe anything against the persons of the Holy Church.[58]

Although the precise significance of this recourse to experience has been questioned,[59] there is no question that it goes beyond the usual evocation of example[60] and seeks to teach Philippe by this genuine (or so it is claimed) experience. Moreover, Louis clearly understands that establishing the source of authority is important to any experiential claim, and so he emphasizes the veracity of his source: 'he had heard it', 'he was there'.[61]

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century for a senatorial *matrona*; see Cooper, 'Household and Empire: The Materfamilias as *Miles Christi* in the Anonymous *Handbook for Gregoria*', in *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 91–107 (p. 97).

[58] '[E]t je te vueil ci recorder une parole que dist li roys Phelippe, mes ayeus, si comme un de son conseil me recorda, qui disoit que il l'avoit oÿe. Li roys estoit un jour avec son conseil privé, — et y estoit cil qui la me recorda, — et le disoient cil de son conseil que li clerc li fesoient moult de tort et que l'en se merveilloit commant il le souffroit. […] Je te recort ce pour ce que tu ne soies pas legiers a croire nullui contre les personnes de sainte Yglise': *The Teachings of Saint Louis*, pp. 57–58; all translations from the *Enseignements* of St Louis to his son are mine.

[59] Alain Boureau sees it as a rhetorical ploy that allows the establishment of an absolutist stance with regard to the church — despite his own contention (p. 86) that '[o]n ne cherchera pas dans ce texte des effets de construction et de rhétorique' ('Les Enseignements absolutists de Saint Louis, 1610–1630', in *La Monarchie absolutiste et l'histoire en France: Théories du pouvoir, propagandes monarchiques et mythologies nationales; Colloque tenu en Sorbonne, les 26–27 mai 1986*, ed. by François Laplanche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 79–97 (p. 87); Le Goff detects in this advice 'une note d'ironie' (*Saint Louis*, p. 426).

[60] This is a distinction not noted by Le Goff: 'Sous son règne, on rapporte des anecdotes au sujet de Philippe Auguste et lui-même en racontait. Surtout, on a répété des paroles prononcées par son grand-père, à ses proches et meme à ses domestiques, et qu'il considérait comme exemplaires' (*Saint Louis*, p. 428 and p. 707).

[61] Le Goff does note an increasing trend in the thirteenth century to adduce examples that occurred within living memory: 'Dans les recueils d'*exempla* du XIIIe siècle, on note cette même tendance à accorder de plus en plus d'importance à ce qui s'est passé *nostris temporibus*, "de notre

In comparison with Vincent's didactic treatise for the royal children, then, Louis's *Enseignements* are clearly more personal and more imbued with experience, even if this is adduced explicitly on only one occasion. Indeed, as Louis's precepts are not backed by cited *auctoritas*, and on only one occasion by exemplum, wherein could their authority lie but the implicit authority of both parent and king, and his experience in the world?[62] This sense of the authority of the parent to teach, *qua* parent, is evident in the opening lines of Louis's instructions to his son, where Louis declares that he has written these instructions for Philippe, 'for I have heard you say several times that you will remember more from me than from another'.[63] Louis's two thirteenth-century parental didactic texts mark the first steps in a development through which the right of parents to provide their children with textual advice based on personal experience will come to be assumed.

Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry, 'The Book of the Knight of the Tower'

At the end of the fourteenth century, a French knight, Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry, wrote a treatise of advice for his daughters.[64] This text was conceived and executed primarily in exemplary mode, designed as a series of over a hundred entertaining but moralistic tales that would provide the Knight's daughters with both positive and negative examples of feminine conduct,[65] as he makes clear in

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temps". Le prince peut désormais se voir lui-même dans le miroir' (*Saint Louis*, pp. 416–17). A similar tendency can be found, for example, in the early-thirteenth-century *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach.

[62] In this regard, Folz compares Louis's *Enseignements* with the early-eleventh-century *Libellus de institutione morum* of King Stephen of Hungary, which is highly reliant on earlier *auctores*, arguing that 'on peut aussi noter l'archaïsme du texte de saint Étienne avec lequel contraste une autre "façon de sentir et de penser" au XIIIᵉ siècle' (*Les Saints rois du moyen âge en occident*, p. 154).

[63] '[C]ar je t'oÿ dire aucunes foiz que tu retendroies plus de moy que d'autrui': *The Teachings of Saint Louis*, p. 55.

[64] The Knight himself declares that he began writing the prologue in 1371, and editors have determined from internal evidence that the work was probably finished by the end of 1372: see *Le Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, ed. by Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: Jannet, 1854), p. xxviii.

[65] On the didactic efficacy of moralistic tales, see the chapters in the present volume by Albrecht Classen, Anne M. Scott, and Philippa Bright.

his prologue: 'wherfor they ought at begynnyng to be taught & chastised curtoisly by good ensamples & doctrines'.[66]

The exemplary mode is pervasive in the Knight's text: not only do many of the tales open or close with the Knight's admonition to his daughters that 'this is a fayre example' (Et pour ce est bel exemple); at times, in the midst of a tale, one of the characters will cry out to the other characters to take note of their example.[67] Yet despite the exemplary nature of the Knight's sources, personal experience also imbues the text. For instance, the Knight states that his primary motivation in creating this text is experiential: as a young man he was aware of the often deceptive behaviour of young men towards young women, and mindful of this, he intends to create a book of examples that will lead his daughters on the correct path.[68] While this didactic impulse remains somewhat conservative and traditional (leading from personal experience back to impersonal example), it is nevertheless a clear instance of a parent speaking in a first-person didactic voice, undertaking to teach his children at least *because* of his experience, if not yet explicitly *from* his experience.

This curious admixture of experience and example is evident throughout the text, bearing witness to the creation of this text at a time when the general understanding of experience was increasing, but when it had not yet attained

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[66] All English translations are from William Caxton's late-fifteenth-century translation, *William Caxton, The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, ed. by M. Y. Offord, Early English Text Society, s.s. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), here p. 11; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 2: 'Si les devoit l'en tout au commencement prendre à chastier courtoisement par bonnes exemples et par doctrines.' The Knight adds that wherever he found a good example, he extracted it for his book: 'là où je trouvay bon exemple pour extraire, je le fis prendre pour faire ce livre' (Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 4). John L. Grigsby has shown that many of the Knight's stories were drawn from the exemplary *Miroir des bonnes femmes*; see 'A New Source of the *Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry*', *Romania*, 84 (1963), 171–208 (pp. 172–73). Kathleen Ashley notes that this text 'consists of exempla of thirty-six bad women of the Bible and thirty good women, combined with non-biblical exempla and moralizations' ('The *Miroir des bonnes femmes*: Not for Women Only?', in *Medieval Conduct* (see n. 8, above), pp. 86–105 (p. 97)).

[67] For example Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 46: 'wherfore I pray yow my frendes/ that ye take ensample here at me'; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 60: 'Sy vous prye, mes amies, que vous prengniez icy bon exemple.' Note that in some medieval manuscripts and early printed books, the virgule (/) is used to fulfil the functions now performed by our comma.

[68] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 12; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, pp. 2–3.

the epistemological status that it would in the Renaissance.[69] For instance, in Chapter 14, the Knight tells a tale which he adduces as 'an Ensample' but which he tells from personal experience: 'Wherof I shal shewe to you an Ensample/ whiche I saw happen in a Castel/ wherin many ladyes & damoysels duelleden.'[70] In the telling, the Knight outlines his own part in the story in first-person verbs of speech and action. More significantly, when conflicting claims arise in the tale, they are resolved by one participant through reference to eyewitness testimony: 'And he said […] that suche one & suche one had sene it.'[71] This sense of locating the veracity of personal experience in eyewitness report is repeated elsewhere in the Knight's *Book*.[72]

While scholarship can show that most of the Knight's stories are drawn from written sources, he himself only rarely draws attention to these *auctoritates*. That is, it better suits his purpose to offer a tale to his daughters as a 'good example' than as an authoritative text;[73] and as many tales are introduced as events to which he himself was witness as are explicitly cited from authoritative sources. In his study of the Knight's sources, John L. Grigsby shows that the Knight quite often adds a tale based on personal experience to those drawn from other texts in order to emphasize his lesson, or recasts a written text as an example he has recently heard.[74] Written *auctoritas* and personal experience thus not only merge, but they seem also to be equally valid sites of didactic authority in the Knight's text, a notable change from earlier parental advice literature.

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[69] Note, however, that the development of the idea of experience was never linear, and with Renaissance humanism there also came a reinvigoration of the notion and value of the exemplary in didactic literature; see Hampton, *Writing from History*, especially chap. 1.

[70] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 29; 'Je vous en dirai un exemple que j'en vi. Il avint en un chastel, où plusieurs dames et demoiselles demeuroient': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 32.

[71] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 30; 'et il luy dist […] que tel et tel lui avoient veue': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 33.

[72] See for example Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 38; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 45.

[73] Indeed, *auctoritas* and exemplum appear to combine in his thought, as in his introduction to Chapter 134, p. 176: 'Fayr doughters I wylle telle yow one of the last ensamples of this book/ It is of a full good lady/ whiche is moche to be preysed/ And this ensample is reherced in the booke of Vitas Patrum'; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 266: 'Belles filles, je vous diray une des derrnières exemples d'une bonne dame qui moult fait à louer; il est contenu en la vie des Pères.'

[74] Grigsby, 'A New Source of the *Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry*', pp. 200–01.

Perhaps most interesting in terms of highlighting the growing intersections between *auctoritas*, exemplum, and personal experience in this period is the argument between the Knight and his wife related in the latter part of the *Book*, where all three didactic modes come into play. Arguing over whether their daughters should indulge in the game of courtly love, the Knight takes the case for noble play, his wife the case against it.[75] The Lady's argumentative strategies are significant: her first recourse is to speak from personal, parental authority: 'I wylle answere after myn aduys and Intencion/ For vnto our children we must hyde nothynge',[76] and thereupon she cites a number of examples, drawing attention to this mode of argument: 'wherof I shall telle yow an Ensample'.[77] When the Knight disputes her reasoning, she continues, bringing the argument closer to home, making of his own personal experience an example for their daughters: 'wherupon ye told me ones an ensample whiche I haue not forgeten which happed to yow of a lady'; she then draws general conclusions from his specific example: 'And certaynly Syre ye be not the fyrst/ to whome suche aduenture is happed [...]. Therfore it is good to euery woman vnwedded for to behaue her simply and clenely.'[78] As the Knight continues to contend with her, the Lady turns next to *auctoritas*:

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[75] Tracy Adams has shown that this contest is largely rhetorical, in that the Knight all along expects his wife to espouse the arguments that he himself has put forward by example throughout the *Book* up to that point: see 'Medieval Mothers and their Children: The Case of Isabeau of Bavaria in Light of Medieval Conduct Books', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (see n. 12, above), pp. 265–89 (pp. 273–75).

[76] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 164; 'puis que cest fait et cest debat vient en clarté devant noz propres filles, je vueil debattre contre vous le mien advis, et feablement, selon mon entendement; car à nos enffans nous ne devons riens celer': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 247. The Lady returns to this mode at the end of argument as well; see Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 174: 'For my entencion and wyll is not to ordeyne vpon none ladyes ne damoysels/ but yf hit be vpon myn owne doughters/ of whome I haue the chastysement and charge'; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 262: 'car mon entencion n'est point de en ordonner ne deviser sur nulle dame ne damoiselle, fors sur mes propres filles, sur qui j'ay mon parler et mon chastiement.'

[77] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 165; 'Dont je vous diray un exemple, que j'ay toujours ouy raconter': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 250.

[78] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 168; 'Dont une fois vous me deistes une exemple qui vous estoit advenue, que je n'ay pas oublié'; 'Si n'estes pas le premier à qui j'ay ouy dire et parler': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, pp. 253, 254.

> For as the clerkes say and the predycatours/ god beganne the world by maryage of man and woman/ And god hym selfe whanne he came in to this world/ he spake and treated at a sermon/ that he made of maryage [...]. This sayd god of his owne mouthe.[79]

Her final recourse, however, is to the example of her own personal experience, and she relates how she conducted herself in the face of a young man's sustained amorous importunity.[80]

The Lady's arguments (as rehearsed by the Knight) thus give important evidence of the state of flux in the understanding of parental didactic authority at the end of the fourteenth century.[81] *Auctoritas*, example, personal experience, and parental duty jostle and intersect throughout this text, one often flowing into and being transformed into another. Most notable, however, is the strength and power of the didactic 'I' that surfaces repeatedly throughout the text, with both the Knight and the Lady of La Tour-Landry prepared to offer their daughters advice in the voice of first-person experience.

Anne de France, 'Enseignements'

Anne de France's *Enseignements* for her daughter, Suzanne de Bourbon, were written in the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century,[82] at the height of the Renaissance renewal of interest in the exemplary mode as a key to virtuous action. Accordingly, Anne's text is primarily exemplary, with hints of teaching through personal experience, but without explicit reference to this experience. Like other parental authors before her, Anne adduces her own maternal authority as a site from which to instruct her daughter, formulating her precepts

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[79] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, p. 171; 'car, si comme disent les clers et les prescheurs, Dieu dès le commencemant du monde assembla homme et femme par mariaige, et dès lors commanda compaignie de mariage, et, après ce, quant il fut venu ou monde, il en parla en plain sermon [...]. Ainsi le dit Dieu de sa sainte bouche': Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, p. 258.

[80] Offord, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, pp. 173–74; Montaiglon, *Le Livre du Chevalier*, pp. 260–62.

[81] It is interesting that both Heloise and the Lady of the Tower, ventriloquized by their male author husbands within didactic texts designed for their children, speak in the voice of experience.

[82] See *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter*, trans. by Sharon L. Jansen (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 8–10, where Jansen proposes a composition date of 1497 or 1498 (in contrast to the earlier assumption that the text was written in the period 1503–05).

'[w]ith all the authority and power that a mother can and should have over a daughter'.[83]

Suzanne is warned to avoid frivolous behaviour through stories Anne tells of girls who acted too boldly and were the death of their mothers, to which Anne concludes: 'For this reason, my daughter, heed this example.'[84] Anne also continually reminds Suzanne that she should form herself as an example to others, as we have seen other parental authors advise their daughters in particular. Here Anne's exemplary advice is also backed by *auctoritas*:

> Noblewomen are, and should be, a mirror, a pattern, and an example for others in all things. On this topic, a certain philosopher says that there is no fault in any noblewoman so small that it is not very displeasing to all worthy people who see it. For this reason, my daughter, [...] never set a bad example for anyone.[85]

Anne particularly advises her daughter to set a good example to her own children: 'for this reason, be always sensible, setting them a good example'; and warns that she should ensure that they are not 'surrounded by those who are badly behaved so that the child will not follow a bad example'.[86]

Even more pronounced than this mode of exemplarity, however, is Anne's insistence on *auctoritas*. Throughout the text she cites her sources, often mentioning by name the key figures of philosophical, biblical, patristic, and scholastic authority: Socrates, Paul, Ambrose, John Chyrsostom, Boethius, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas. In comparison, Anne's recourse to personal experience is very muted. There is no term in her *Enseignements* that unambiguously adduces experience, although she does occasionally tell stories drawn from her own knowledge: 'One time I heard a noble woman of great rank

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[83] Jansen, *Anne of France*, p. 39; 'de toute l'auctorité et puissance que mère peult et doit avoir sur fille': *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France, Duchesse de Bourbonnois et d'Auvergne à sa fille Susanne de Bourbon*, ed. by A.-M. Chazaud (Moulins: C. Desrosiers, 1878), p. 31.

[84] Jansen, *Anne of France*, p. 42; 'Et pour tant, ma fille, prenez y exemple': Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, p. 43.

[85] Jansen, *Anne of France*, p. 49: 'Car, en toutes choses, elles sont, et doivent estre, le miroer patron et exemple des autres. Ung philosphe dit à ce propoz, qu'il n'est sur noble femme point de si petite faulte qui à tous gens de bien ne soit très-desplaisant à veoir. Pour lesquelles causes, [...] ma fille, faictes tousjours tant que nul n'ait cause d'y prendre mauvaix exemple': Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, p. 65.

[86] Jansen, *Anne of France*, pp. 62, 61; 'pour ce, mectez raison partout, en leur donnant exemple de bien en mieulx'; 'Aussi gardez bien que, autour d'eulx, n'y ait gens de maulvaix gouvernement, affin qu'ilz n'y preignent mauvais exemple': Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, pp. 106, 105.

tell about a knight she knew who […]'.[87] The clearest indication of experience in Anne's advice to her daughter is a certain pragmatism that would not entirely accord with purely moralistic advice. For instance, Anne advises her daughter that she should sweetly admonish others, reminding them always that the most important thing is to die well, but Anne then adds: '[A]lthough this subject may be necessary and appropriate, and something about which you should speak frequently and readily, especially to your friends, nevertheless it is not good to speak about it too often for fear of boring them, which you do not want to do.'[88] There is also a hint of personal experience in Anne's advice that, unfortunately, the sort of men who should be avoided do sometimes turn up in the best society.

There can be no doubt, however, that the exemplary and authoritative modes are far more prevalent and significant than the experiential in Anne's advice to her daughter. As we will see with the maternal advice texts of the early-modern period, and contrary to Dronzek's argument about the collocation of women and experience, it would appear that women writers are more inclined to turn to *auctoritas* than personal experience in advising their children.[89]

James VI and I, 'Basilikon Doron'

By the early sixteenth century, the experiential revolution was well underway. Leonardo da Vinci had uttered his famous dictum that 'wisdom is the daughter of experience',[90] and scientists such as Francis Bacon were developing the modern experimental method.[91] An increasing number of didactic texts began to appear

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[87] Jansen, *Anne of France*, p. 39; 'Car je ouys une fois raconter à une femme noble et de grant façon, qu'elle avoit congenu gentilhomme et chevalier qui […]': Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, p. 32.

[88] Jansen, *Anne of France*, p. 33; 'combien que le propoz soit neccessaire et propice, et de quoy l'on doit le plus souvent et voulentiers parler, par espécial, à ses amys, si n'est il pas bon de leur en trop parler, pour doubte de les ennuyer ce qui ne se doit pas faire': Chazaud, *Les Enseignements d'Anne de France*, p. 18.

[89] Indeed, Colette Winn argues that medieval women writing advice to girls created surprisingly androgynous texts that tended to reproduce the dominant masculine ideal; see '"De mères en filles": Les manuels d'éducation sous l'Ancien Régime', *Atlantis*, 19 (1993), 23–29 (p. 28).

[90] See *Leonardo da Vinci, Scritti letterari*, ed. by Augusto Marinoni (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1974): 'La sapienza è figliola della sperienza' (p. 69).

[91] See Ponzio, 'The Articulation of the Idea of Experience'; and Marta Fattori, '*Experientia-experimentum*: Un confronto tra il corpus latino e inglese di Francis Bacon', in *Experientia* (see n. 2, above), pp. 243–58.

in print bearing the words *Experience* or *Experiment* (or both) in their titles. Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell have signified this period as the dawning of the age of expertise, where didacticism and experience met in textual union.[92] It was within this context that James's advice to his son and heir Henry was written, first in a private copy (in Middle Scots, 1598; anglicized, 1599), then reissued with a 'Preface to the Reader' for public consumption in 1603,[93] just prior to James's accession to the English throne upon the death of Elizabeth I. One of the text's modern editors, James Craigie, has noted that the many unattributed citations of classical *auctores* in the private version of the text were made explicit in the public version through added marginal references, and he argues that these were intended 'to give an air of learning to the work in which they appear, and to commend it to its readers by adducing, or seeming to adduce, in support of its ideas and statements the support of classical authority'.[94] But while James may have gained, through this and other of his writings, a posthumous reputation for pedantry,[95] when compared with earlier parental texts, James's breathes with the freshness of personal experience and a voice that speaks directly to his son in the first person. The text is highly admonitory, but throughout James underscores the precepts of kingship he gives his son by adducing his own experience: 'But in this, my ouer-deare bought experience may serue you for a sufficient lesson'; '[a]nd for conclusion of this point, I may also alledge my owne experience'; 'I haue found by experience [...]'.[96]

James's primary modes of teaching are thus preceptive and experiential. Exemplarity is much less prominent, but does still figure. James instructs his son

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[92] See *Didactic Literature in England 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed*, ed. by Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), especially 'Introduction', pp. 1–18: 'the period that stretches from the expansion of vernacular printing in the mid-sixteenth century to the expansion of basic education in the early nineteenth century, was arguably an era in which "practical", "sensual" empirical knowledge assumed an unprecedented prominence, altering conceptions of what it was possible to know, and who could be permitted to know it' (p. 7); 'Moreover, expertise was to be understood not only as knowledge of a skill but also as experience of that knowledge. *Curricula vitae* were an important part of prefatory commentary, in which real (or idealized) authors set down their credentials for knowing of what they wrote' (p. 9)

[93] See *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, ed. by Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 'Introduction', pp. xv–xxviii (p. xviii).

[94] *The 'Basilicon Doron' of King James VI*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1944 and 1950), II, 95 (see also p. 21).

[95] *The 'Basilicon Doron' of King James VI*, II, 39, 57.

[96] *King James VI and I, Political Writings, Basilicon Doron*, pp. 1–61 (pp. 22, 23, and 25).

to remember that, as king, he will be an exemplar to his subjects: '[L]et your owne life be a law-booke and a mirrour to your people; that therein they may read the practise of their owne Lawes; and therein they may see, by your image, what life they should leade.'[97] Yet there remains throughout the text a certain blurring of precept, example, and experience. For instance, James establishes his own practice as a personal guarantee of the impersonal precepts he advises when he declares, 'always where I leaue, follow ye my steps' and '[l]et my example then teach you to follow the rules here set downe'.[98] There is also a lack of true differentiation between example and experience in the many family histories, drawn from James's own memory, that are adduced as examples. James argues for the efficacy of this practice by stressing the didactic value of the personal: 'wee are all of that nature, that sibbest examples touch vs neerest.'[99] This shading of one didactic mode into another bears witness to the unstable state in which didactic and epistemological modes stood as the late-medieval world shifted into the early-modern. The conclusion of James's text returns to the issue of exemplarity, but this time at the expense of personal experience:

> Thus hoping in the goodnes of God, that your naturall inclination shall haue a happy sympathie with these præcepts, making the wise-mans schole-master, which is the example of others, to bee your teacher [...]; eschewing so the ouer-late repentance by your owne experience, which is the schoole-master of fooles.[100]

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[97] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, p. 34; see also pp. 12–13: 'any sinne that ye commit, not being a single sinne procuring but the fall of one; but being an exemplare sinne, and therefore drawing with it the whole multitude to be guiltie of the same.'

[98] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, pp. 27 and 36.

[99] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, p. 39. See in this regard also Pier Paolo Vergerio, *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adulescentiae studiis liber* (*c.* 1402–*c.* 1403), in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. by Craig W. Kallendorf, I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 2–91: 'Quo in genere neque ex veteribus neque ex nostris ullum exemplum illustrius proponere tibi valeo quam parentem tuum. [...] et domesticis exemplis solent homines magis excitari' (p. 70); 'In this regard I am able to place no more illustrious example before you, either from the ancients or from our contemporaries, than that of your father. [...] and people are generally more inspired by examples from their own homes' (p. 71).

[100] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, p. 60. For earlier examples of this distinction see Desiderius Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis* (1509), in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, XXVI: *Literary and Educational Writings*, 4, ed. by J. K. Sowards (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985): 'Varied experience over a long period of time is, of course, quite useful, but only to the wise man who has been thoroughly imbued with the precepts of philosophy. Think of all the hardships and sufferings that have befallen people who have indeed, through practical experience, gained some

While it would appear, then, that James is willing for his son to learn by his
(James's) own mature experience and the experience of other family members,
he is very unwilling for Henry to learn by the trial-and-error of his own immature
experience. We could say, then, that James is willing to teach from experience,
but not for his son to learn from experience; or, to put this another way, he
would like his son to learn by the recounted experience of others, not by the trials
of his own. This is a fine distinction between modes of experience not witnessed
in earlier parental didactic texts and evidence of an early-modern refinement in
the understanding and application of this concept.[101]

Interestingly, there are almost as many invocations to experience in the 1603
Preface to the Reader (which runs to just under nine pages in the Sommerville
edition) as there are in the rest of the text directed to Henry (just under fifty
pages). This indicates that while James may have viewed personal experience as
one source of didactic authority by which he could instruct his son, he viewed it
as a far more significant tool with which to defend himself against the criticism
of anti-English sentiment that his text garnered when it first circulated
unauthorized, at a time when Elizabeth was still queen in England:

> But they will easily excuse me thereof, if they will consider the forme I haue vsed in this
> Treatise; wherein I onely teach my Son, out of my owne experience, what forme of
> gouernment is fittest for this kingdome: and in one part thereof speaking of the borders,

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measure of understanding, but only at the cost of great misery in their lives. [...] You might also
ponder the fact that philosophy can teach more within the compass of a single year than the most
diverse range of experience stretched over a period of thirty years. Moreover, the guidance of
philosophy is safe, whereas the path of experience leads more often to disaster than to wisdom'
(p. 311). See similarly Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children,
to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tong but specially purposed for the priuate brynging vp of
youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, [...]* (London: Printed by Iohn Daye, 1570): 'Surelie
long experience doth proffet moch, but moste, and almost onelie to him (if we méene honest
affaires) that is diligentlie before instructed with preceptes of well doinge. For good precepts of
learning, be the eyes of the minde, to looke wiselie before a man, which waie to go right, and which
not. Learning teacheth more in one yeare than experience in twentie: And learning teacheth safelie,
when experience maketh mo miserable then wise' (p. 18).

    [101] A text close to contemporary with James's *Basilikon Doron* which similarly bears witness
to a myriad of intersecting, and not always coherent, understandings of experience is Sir David
Lyndsay's Middle Scots *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour* (*c*. 1553). Although not
written as a parent-child text, it nevertheless raises issues of experience as a particularly parental
mode of advice-giving. I am currently preparing a study of the depiction of experience in this text
('Experience and the Courtier: Reading Epistemological Revolution in a Sixteenth-Century Middle
Scots Text').

> I plainely there doe excuse my selfe, that I will speake nothing of the state of *England*, as a matter wherein I neuer had experience.[102]

Similarly, James claims that a reference to his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was not intended to be political but was used only as a means of reinforcing a general and otherwise unremarkable conventional precept:

> But the drift of that discourse doth fully cleare my intention, being onely grounded vpon that precept to my Sonne, that he should not permit an vnreuerent detracting of his prædecessours; bringing in that purpose of my mother onely for an example of my experience anent Scottish-men, without vsing any perswasion to him of reuenge.

Experience here clearly allows James to excuse himself from the difficult political implications his text may have raised. He indicates that he spoke not with polemical intent but only from the (by implication, more innocent) stance of personal experience: a contrast is thus implied between the rhetoric of politics and the simple 'truth' of experience. This constitutes an early characterization of experience as a 'natural', as opposed to a political or rhetorical, mode of knowledge and authority. James also explicitly states his fitness for the task of instructing his son by reason of experience, declaring that only he can advise Henry of the particular difficulties of ruling Scotland, 'which it became me best as a King, hauing learned both the theoricke and practicke thereof, more plainely to expresse, then any simple schoole-man, that onely knowes matters of kingdomes by contemplation'.[103]

We can go much further, then, than Craigie's assertions that '[e]ven when James might seem to be drawing most on personal experience it often turns out that his is hackneyed advice'.[104] On the contrary, scholars have noted the originality of James's approach to political writing, describing James's combination of political theory with the practice of kingship as marking a significant shift in political writings in the British Isles.[105] I would add that James's text marks a revolution in parental didactic writing as well. His first-person voice speaks throughout, and James turns repeatedly to his personal experience in order to draw lessons for his

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[102] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, p. 11.

[103] *King James VI and I, Political Writings*, p. 10.

[104] *The 'Basilicon Doron' of King James VI*, II, 81.

[105] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 36–54 (pp. 36, 38, 43).

son. Experience is the fresh new mode that distinguishes both the political and parental foundations of James's text.[106]

Elizabeth Grymeston, 'Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives'; Dorothy Leigh, 'The Mothers Blessing'; Elizabeth Joscelin, 'The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe'

The first of the maternal advice-texts to appear in the early seventeenth century, forerunners of what would become a prolific genre, offer important counterpoints to James's text, indicating that the authority of experience was not uniformly available to, or able to be utilized by, all early-modern writers of parental didactic texts. Indeed, these women, of neither royal nor aristocratic blood, had to begin by finding a means of authorizing their writings at all, in each case locating this in their maternal status.[107] Thus Elizabeth Grymeston, writing in 1604, a year after the circulation of the public version of *Basilikon Doron*, claims:

> [T]here is no loue so forcible as the loue of an affectionate mother to hir naturall childe; there is no mother can either more affectionately shew hir nature, or more naturally manifest hir affection, than in aduising hir children out of hir owne experience, to eschue euill, and encline them to do that which is good.[108]

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[106] There is not sufficient room here to consider the potentially artificial or constructed nature of this apparently experiential 'I'. On this the *locus classicus* is Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); see also more recently Elizabeth Heale, *Autobiography and Authorship in Renaissance Verse: Chronicles of the Self* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), especially p. 63 on autobiographical 'I's and exemplary 'I's.

[107] See Patricia Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004), pp. 79–112: 'Maternity was a unique experience from which women claimed authority. [...] Maternal authority could be used beyond the household to justify intervention in the wider world' (pp. 101–02); and Edith Snook, '"His Open Side our Book": Meditation and Education in Elizabeth Grymeston's *Miscelanea Meditations Memoratives*', in *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 163–75: 'writing about faith and proffering advice to children were common forms in which women could transgress prohibitions against publication' (p. 163).

[108] Elizabeth Grymeston, *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives* (London: Printed by Melch. Bradwood for Felix Norton, 1604), A3.

Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing*, first published in 1616, similarly declares:

> BVt lest you should maruaile, my children, why I doe not, according to the vsuall custome of women, exhort you by word and admonitions, rather then by writing, a thing so vnusuall among vs, and especially in such a time, when there bee so manie godly bookes in the world […] know therfore, that it was the motherly affection that I bare vnto you all.[109]

Elizabeth Joscelin penned a text of advice for her unborn child against the possibility that she might die in childbirth (which text was published posthumously in 1624) in which she defended her act of writing:

> I may perhaps bee wondred at for writing in this kinde, considering there are so many excellent bookes, whose least note is worth all my meditations.[…] I write not to the world, but to mine own childe, who it may be, will more profit by a few weake instructions coming from a dead mother (who cannot euery day praise or reproue it as it deserues) than by farre better from much more learned.[110]

Yet even when these texts explicitly cite experience, they continue to teach through more traditional and conservative modes. Thus although Grymeston makes the appropriate 'modern' didactic gesture at the commencement of her text in acknowledging the importance of experience, she in fact employs throughout her text the more conventional pedagogic resources of *auctoritas* and example. The concept of experience, which she claims as so 'natural' a resource, hardly appears directly in the remainder of the text. Of the three sections into which her text falls, the 'Miscelanea' are largely citations from *auctores*, the 'Meditations' are pious songs, and the 'Memoratives' are impersonal precepts. Edith Snook argues that Grymeston imbues some of her apparently impersonal lessons with telling maternal metaphors and imagery that must have been drawn from her own life,[111]

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[109] Dorothy Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing, Or the Godly Counsaile of a Gentle-woman not long since deceased, left behind her for her Children* (London: Printed for Iohn Budge, 1616), pp. 3–4. This claim is backed by scriptural authority on the title page of the volume with a citation of Proverb 1. 8: 'My sonne, heare the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the lawe of thy mother.'

[110] *The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe/Elizabeth Joscelin*, ed. by Jean LeDrew Metcalfe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 61. Text cited from the 1624 second impression which continues on the odd-numbered pages. Joscelin suggests that if she does not die in childbirth, her text could then function as a mirror of her self: 'Nor shall I thinke this labour lost, though I doe liue: for I will make it my owne looking-glasse, wherein to see when I am too seuere, when too remise, and in my childes fault through this glasse to discerne mine owne errors' (p. 53).

[111] Snook, '"His Open Side our Book"': 'Twice Grymeston makes a woman's contemplation of death before childbirth an exemplary way to live' (p. 168).

but her text nevertheless largely lacks the didactic 'I' evident, for instance, in James's *Basilikon Doron*; in fact, it bears much greater resemblance to the equally learned and maternal, but not overtly experiential, *Liber manualis* of Dhuoda. If Grymeston teaches from any experience, it is the exemplary experience of Christ alone, and she concludes her text to her son:

> [L]et the Mount Caluarie be our schoole, the crosse our pulpit, the crucifix our meditation, his wounds our letters, his lashes our commaes, his nailes our full-points, his open side our booke, and *Scire Christum crucifixum*, our whole lesson.[112]

In comparison with such a textbook, it is clear that any quotidian human experience would simply lack sufficient authority or meaning.

Throughout their texts, Leigh and Joscelin similarly rely on precept and example. Indeed, Joscelin indicates that these are divinely ordained means of instruction, given by God: '[I]f thou wilt learne how to serue him as a good Scholler, he teaches thee an admirable way, both by rule and example.'[113] Joscelin characterizes herself at the outset of her text as a 'labourous Bee' gathering the honey of *auctoritas* to transmit to her children.[114] Throughout her text, she cites examples from the Bible and the classics, using Aeneas, for instance, as an example of filial piety. Leigh's text is also founded upon the idea of exemplarity, as she takes God's behaviour as a setting an example for all[115] and advises her children to form themselves as examples to others: 'shew her a pattern of all good vertues by thy godly and discreet life'; 'you must leaue an example to the Church, that you serue and loue God'; 'be an example to them, which would stay from the preference of God'.[116]

The experiential aspects of these texts are muted; Leigh's Epistle Dedicatory combines a reliance on *auctoritas* with a certain personal experience, for she claims her primary text will be the Scriptures, but that her selection of material will be guided by her own knowledge, which she has gained through experience,

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[112] Grymeston, *Miscelanea. Meditations. Memoratives*, D3.

[113] Joscelin, *The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe*, pp. 93–95.

[114] See Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England*: 'This "apian metaphor" is one of the most common humanist analogies for describing the imitation of classical authors' (p. 65). It is also commonly found in medieval women didactic writers including Dhuoda and Herrad of Hohenbourg.

[115] Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing*: 'Then also thou must rest the seuenth day, for so for thy ensample he rested' (p. 221).

[116] Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing*, pp. 55–56, 104–05, and 232.

of the skills and understanding required in the world.[117] There is a moment when Leigh does indicate that one can learn from experience; in a vignette that combines the modes of exemplarity, *auctoritas*, and experience, she cites the biblical instance of David who knew that he could take on Goliath because he had previously killed a lion and a bear.[118] Moreover, she does once teach from her own experience when she advises that 'euerie one of you shall haue neede of priuate praier, from the very beginning of your life, to the verie last houre of your daies, my owne experience teacheth me'.[119] Joscelin recounts and endorses precepts she has heard,[120] and there is a reference to the new concept of expertise in her advice that knowledge can arise from repeated action or practice: '[B]y practising what thou hearest, thou shalt binde it to thy memory, and by making it thine owne, make thy selfe most happy.'[121]

Scholars have noted the curious reluctance amongst these early-modern women writers to embrace fully the notion of experience as an authorizing didactic strategy even as they acknowledge its contemporary cultural valency.[122] Snook observes that 'Grymeston explicitly resists writing self-referentially about [...] experience',[123] but what is the reason for this? It is certainly not the case that women did not have the same experiential basis from which to teach. Pauline Matarasso makes it clear, for example, that Anne de France, as ruler of her realm for many years, had as active or indeed as 'masculine' an experience of the world as any male parental

[117] Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing*: 'I beeing troubled and wearied with feare, lest my children should not find the right way to heauen, thought with my selfe that I could doe no lesse for them, than euerie man will doe for his friend, which was, to write them the right way, that I had truely obserued out of the written word of GOD, lest for want of warning they might falle where I stumbled, and then I should think my selfe in the fault, who knew there were such downe-falls in the world, that they could hardly climbe the hill to heauen without helpe, and yet had not told them thereof. Wherefore I writ them the right and ready way to Heauen wel waranted by the scriptures of the olde and new Testament' (A2–A3).

[118] Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing*, pp. 201–02.

[119] Leigh, *The Mothers Blessing*, p. 109.

[120] Joscelin, *The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe*: 'I once heard a religious Preacher affirme (and I beleeued him) that [...]' (p. 95).

[121] Joscelin, *The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe*, p. 97.

[122] See Valerie Wayne, 'Advice for Women from Mothers and Patriarchs', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700*, ed. by Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 56–79: Grymeston 'claims that her work comes from "her owne experience", yet her text mixes paraphrases with verbatim and revised quotations from other authors' (p. 65).

[123] Snook, '"His Open Side our Book"', p. 172.

author (such as James VI and I) would have had, but simply did not choose to write from this authority.[124]

Do we see here an issue of gender, with women feeling less able than men, due to sanctions regarding modesty, to speak in public of and from themselves? Could it have been, in a more proactive sense, that women writers, and particularly the Protestant mothers of early-seventeenth-century England, were unwilling to give up for such a nebulous and relatively untried concept as personal experience the masculinized and rather more concrete right and ability, hard-won by women over many centuries, to read, cite, and teach from written authority such as the Bible, the Fathers, and Latin classics — although they remained prepared to acknowledge the emerging importance of the experiential mode in the liminal spaces of their works, such as the prefaces? We must after all bear in mind that experience as an epistemological mode was by no means settled in the seventeenth century, but remained a subject of debate.[125]

Raymond A. Anselment's study of maternal letters of advice from the seventeenth century that lay unpublished in their own time provides some insight into these questions. His research reveals a clear distinction between such texts written purely for private use and those intended for publication, with a much greater consciousness of authorizing strategies and traditional content and structure evident in the works of the mothers who were anticipating (or were at least aware of the possibility of) the public consumption of their texts.[126] He finds in the unpublished letters explicit references to personal experience and 'experiment' which would suggest that this was a mode that maternal advice-givers in the early seventeenth century were more likely to use in private than in

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[124] Pauline Matarasso, *Queen's Mate: Three Women of Power in France on the Eve of the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001): 'This woman of power who has held in her hand lines of communication running from Brest to Constantinople, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, whose *fiat* has moved armies and whose counsel in later years was sought by princes and their envoys, has nothing to say to her daughter on any issues other than domestic. [...] Madame's precepts and her practice seem to belong to different people or to different worlds' (p. 194).

[125] See Brendan Dooley, '*Veritas filia temporis*: Experience and Belief in Early Modern Culture', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), 487–504.

[126] Raymond A. Anselment, 'Katherine Paston and Brilliana Harley: Maternal Letters and the Genre of Mother's Advice', *Studies in Philology*, 101 (2004), 431–53. On the manifold authorizing strategies employed by the writers of published maternal advice texts, see Kristen Poole, '"The Fittest Closet for All Goodness": Authorial Strategies of Jacobean Mothers' Manuals', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 35 (1995), 69–88.

public texts.[127] We should also take into account publishers' concerns in the printing of maternal advice texts,[128] which again may have motivated a more traditional format, one founded rather upon the well-known texts of (masculine) authority than female experience.[129]

Conclusion

In her 1935 edition of Peter Idley's fifteenth-century *Instructions* to his son, Charlotte D'Evelyn states that the work embodies 'in intention, the natural desire of one generation to hand on its experience to the next'.[130] I hope this chapter has shown, however, that teaching by experience, like so much else related to didactic literature in the medieval and early-modern periods, is not at all 'natural' but social. Far from coming naturally to parent-advisors, it was a pedagogic mode that appeared only slowly and incrementally over the course of many centuries. As a result of developments in science and philosophy related to the epistemology of the self, parental authors of didactic treatises for their children began to trust in the authority of their own experience as a site from which to teach their children. This development was not natural, but learned.

There are manifest changes in the balance between *auctoritas*, example, and experience evident in parental didactic texts from the ninth to the early seventeenth centuries. There are also clear gender distinctions: female children are more likely than male children both to be taught by example and to be taught

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[127] See for example 'Katherine Paston and Brilliana Harley', pp. 437, 440, 441, 444, n. 24, and 447 — but these examples, dating from the 1640s, could also evince the rapid development of the concept of experience/experiment as a didactic force in the course of the early seventeenth century.

[128] See Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 266.

[129] Consider here especially Thomas Goad's appending of his 'Approbation' to Joscelin's text before it was printed; Metcalfe states: 'Goad implies, by attaching his "Approbation" to Joscelin's work, that the spiritual advice of a laywoman requires the approval of a male clergyman before it appears in print' (*The Mothers Legacy to her Vnborn Childe*, p. 24).

[130] *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. by Charlotte D'Evelyn, Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, 6 (Boston: D. C. Heath; London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 57.

to be an example to others.[131] Maternal authors are more likely than paternal authors to be very explicit about the authorities they are citing; paternal texts are certainly as reliant upon *auctoritas* for content, but not so much for didactic authority — that is, they are more likely to use the words of *auctores* without explicitly citing authors and titles, perhaps thus indicating their shared status in a masculine textual community that took familiarity with these texts and authors for granted. And despite popular or indeed 'natural' collocations of experience with the corporeal, the quotidian, and therefore female (domestic, familial) didacticism, in the period under discussion, experience is a resource much more commonly and explicitly employed by paternal writers, especially for male children.

Most significantly, personal experience is increasingly recognized through the medieval and early-modern periods as a valid source of parental didactic authority. From the early-medieval to the early-modern periods, we witness a relocation of didactic authority from remote texts and exemplary lives to the person, body, and experiences of the writing individual. For parental authors in particular, this move signifies the authorization of parenthood as a didactic locus, allowing parents to teach from their own personal knowledge, rather than simply replicating and transmitting traditional wisdom.

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[131] Sheila ffolliott similarly notes the importance of exemplarity in early-modern biographies of women, and suggests that 'exemplarity is gender specific, and exemplary characteristics cannot simply be gender neutral'; see 'Exemplarity and Gender: Three Lives of Queen Catherine de' Medici', in *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, ed. by Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 321–40 (p. 327).

'The world must be peopled':
Children and Their Context
in Renaissance Florence

Catherine England

Most literature in Renaissance Florence was didactic in one way or another. Moreover, literature was not a tool merely for those who could and did read it directly. A fourteenth-century compiler of one of the Florentine chapbook-type works called *zibaldoni* explained that 'those who are lettered' should attend carefully to the 'good examples' in literature. This was certainly so that they might do well themselves, yet also so they could correct others who did wrong and 'live[d] with disorder', and could protect society from 'deceivers'.[1] Literature from all genres, therefore, was meant to instruct, either at first or second hand, large numbers of the populace. Principally there was the Bible; even when not itself read, it still disseminated its message by informing most other forms of literature. There were also sermons, moral and instructive treatises by humanist thinkers and church figures, allegorical and moral plays and poems, biographies and saints' lives that were meant to provide good and useful

[1] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze (BRF), Ricc. 1088, fol. 3ʳ: 'Quelli che sono alletterati dovrebbono bene mettere la loro chura ne' buoni exempli de' detti che i filosafi iscrissero, onde amendare si dovessoro [*sic*] choloro che vivono disordinata mente. Molti filosafi e altri savi lasciarono scritture dopo la morte loro perché le genti si guardassero a diritto dagl'inghannatori che sono pieni d'iniquità.' See also fol. 14ʳ: 'che sia manifesto a tutti quelli che lecceranno questo libro s'elli lo 'ntenderanno bene ciò che qui è scritto sono tucte veritadi esperienze di veri e buoni exepli.' On the genre of the *zibaldone* see also Kathleen Olive's chapter in the present volume.

examples for living, and even entertaining tales, still instructive and with good examples, like a number in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

Such didactic texts often had something to say about children, or at least boys, and demonstrate the theories and ideals involving them that were taught and spread. More significantly, the ideas about children prescribed and discussed in didactic texts have clear counterparts in laws, the *capitoli* (rule books) written for lay religious confraternities, which were in fact read aloud at meetings, the Florentine personal record and account journals called *ricordanze*, and personal letters between members of families. Synthesizing the didactic literature with various other such available sources shows that the literature had a real connection with contemporaries' lived experience and interacted actively with it. Didactic authors, instructing society and contributing to its shaping, took their cues from the substance of society's functioning and from needs and concerns in people's thinking, beliefs, and practices.[2]

It was because of children's great importance to contemporaries that didactic authors endeavoured to explain and instruct about them. Florentines had deep desires to have children. One text designed to encourage men to marry and love their wives taught that 'the precious fruit of matrimony, that is sons and daughters', was one of the 'twelve things for which matrimony should be praised and confirmed, as a thing most useful and necessary to all those who want to live orderedly and well'.[3] Failing children produced legitimately, through marriage, illegitimate children, and even secret, unacknowledged ones could be welcome.[4]

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[2] For a sociological case study on the 'symptomatological' relationships between literature and society, see J. Finkelstein, 'The Novel of Our Times: Reading the Social in Bret Easton Ellis', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 27 (2004), 303–22.

[3] BRF, Ricc. 1354, fol. 43ʳ: 'Sedici cose che induchono ad amare il matrimonio: e altre dodici, per le quali il matrimonio dee essere laudato' (this from the Index, on verso of title page, no pagination); 'la decima chosa sì è il prezioso frutto del matrimonio, sichome sono figliuoli e figliuole i quali molte volte sancti e sancte.'

[4] Francesco di Matteo Castellani, *Ricordanze I: Ricordanze A (1436–1459)*, ed. by Giovanni Ciappelli (Florence: Olschki, 1992), p. 113, and Castellani, *Ricordanze II: Quaternuccio e giornale B (1459–1485)*, ed. by Giovanni Ciappelli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 79, 92, 115, 125, 127, 128, 142, 163, 193, 197, 220; 'The Diary of Gregorio Dati', in *Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence: The Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati*, ed. by Gene Brucker, trans. by Julia Martines (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 107–41 (pp. 112 and 134–35); Joseph P. Byrne and Eleanor A. Congdon, 'Mothering in the Casa Datini', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), 35–56; Anne Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 86–87. On secret children, see Giovanni

Florentines felt that children brought 'consolation' in earthly life,[5] and that 'of all the punishments God could send on a man, the greatest was the loss of his children'.[6] They emotionally loved their children, yet there was a great deal more that made them need and wish for this 'precious fruit' as 'consolation'. Florence was not, as has been suggested, a 'child-centered and child-dedicated society', and a 'child-centered culture'.[7] It was, rather, an adult society and a culture dedicated to replenishing and perpetuating itself in its people, functions, occupations, knowledge, honour, reputation, and hope of salvation. Children were wanted because they were needed to achieve these things. They were, indeed, valued or loved above all for their perceived usefulness for the adult world.

Florentines were conscious of children's most basic utility as the future of humanity, and hence the success, honour, and longevity of their city. The humanist artist, architect, and writer Leon Battista Alberti, discussing city design, advocated planning for increased population and defensibility, indicating that these were his priorities for a city. By comparison, he mentioned ornament and recreation only briefly, almost as an afterthought.[8] In practical terms, Florence, like any city, state,

Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. by Guido Waldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 177.

[5] Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, trans. by Renée Neu Watkins as *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, with an introduction by the translator (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 51 and 113. Giovanni Morelli, in his *ricordanze*, sections ed. and trans. by Richard C. Trexler, 'In Search of Father: The Experience of Abandonment in the Recollections of Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli', in his *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 111 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1994), pp. 171–202 (p. 201). 'Diary of Gregorio Dati', p. 115. Letter from Alessandra Strozzi to her sons Filippo and Lorenzo, 15 November 1465, Letter 29 in *Selected Letters of Alessandra Strozzi*, trans., with an introduction and notes, by Heather Gregory (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), p. 175.

[6] Vespasiano da Bisticci, 'Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459)', in *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs; Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. by William George and Emily Waters, introduction by Myron P. Gilmore (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 372–95, (p. 374).

[7] Louis Haas, *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence, 1300–1600* (New York: St Martin's, 1998), p. 23; Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), p. 288.

[8] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 100–01. See also Arnold Radtke, 'Rethinking The Medical Causes Of Infant Death In Early Modern Europe: A Closer Look At Church Registers And Medical Terminology', *History of the Family*, 7 (2002), 505–14 (p. 509);

or nation, required a population of sufficient size, health, and prosperity for work, defence, and taxation, and indeed for its sense of its own greatness. Ideologically, the human element in a city's greatness was vital. The strength of the Italian city was understood to depend wholly on its people. An active spirit and virtuous character were essential in a person, for the individual's usefulness, worth, and honour. Institutions, from governing councils to families, were known to be only as strong and as good as their lifeblood, the people who made them up.

In addition, in this as in most other areas of life, the earthly was fused with the religious. So one sumptuary law logically and sincerely said: 'women were created to replenish this free city [...]. For did not God himself say: "Increase and multiply and replenish the earth"?' The law's reference was to the command God gave Noah, after the flood that killed off all humanity save Noah and his family.[9] The humanist Marsilio Ficino argued in a letter to a friend that men without families 'are judged to be wholly unfruitful by human law, and like dry and barren trees by divine law', so 'if you wish to be men and lawful sons of God increase the human race legitimately, and, just as you are like God, so in the fashion of God, beget sons like yourselves'.[10]

The divine command was also echoed by Machiavelli in his play *Mandragola*; further, one of his characters even makes reference to the chapter and verses in which 'the daughters of Lot, believing that they remained alone in the world, did with their father; and because their intention was good, they did not sin'.[11] Here Machiavelli's example is actually of incest for the sake of procreation. If he were providing humour in exaggeration, still the belief that God demanded that humans reproduce and multiply themselves was real.

Anthony Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), especially pp. 26–28; Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, pp. 22, 69, 70, and 99.

[9] Document 84, 'Sumptuary Legislation' of 1433, in *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study*, ed. by Gene Brucker (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 180–81 (p. 181). See the King James Bible, Genesis 9. 1: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.'

[10] *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. by members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London, 7 vols (London: Shepheard-Walwyn, 1975–2003), III (1981), 69–71.

[11] Niccolò Machiavelli, 'Mandragola', in *Teatro: Andria, Mandragola, Clizia*, ed. by Guido Davico Bonino (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), pp. 63–137. See p. 106: 'io non crederrei, se io fussi sola rimasa nel mondo e da me avessi a risurgere l'umana natura, che mi fussi simile partito concesso'; and p. 107: 'Dice la Bibia che le figliuole di Lotto, credendo si essere rimase sole nel mondo, usorono con el padre; e perché la loro intenzione fu buona, non peccorono.' For the story of Lot's daughters, see Genesis 19, especially verses 30–38.

Children had more quite specific purposes in their own families. They were, of course, needed for the preservation and passing on of a family line and patrimony. It was a concern of such substance, at least amongst those families with any patrimony substantial enough to be concerned about, that it was institutionalized in the law. Thomas Kuehn's analysis of Florentine law of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries explains how it was designed to protect families' property and reputations: it viewed the child as responsible and obligated to the parent in all ways, while there was no firm obligation towards the child on the parent's part. Children could be a source of fears, related to concerns that bad children would result in loss of patrimonial property, loss of honour, and shame and 'ruin'. Above all, however, children were a source of hope for the future of the family and its patrimony.[12]

Other legislation catered for another more personal need for children, in requiring that children must care for aged parents. This need could be a worrying one, when families were often not well-supplied with surviving willing and able children. In the practice of everyday life, a sort of bargaining could go on even between adults and children who were not their own, to provide for this old-age care. Filippo Strozzi, as a young, budding merchant, wrote to his mother Alessandra of his father's cousins, who employed him and his brother Lorenzo:

> I cannot receive anything but benefits from them. They have a lot of business and need a lot of clerks, and they would rather trust people from their own family house than strangers. They would rather advance me, because they realize that when they are old, Lorenzo and I can look after them.[13]

This concern had its echo in didactic literature. Leon Battista Alberti wrote his pedagogical *Books of the Family* in the mid-fifteenth century. In Book I he concentrated on theories about children (or rather, boys) and their upbringing; the whole of the book appears ultimately to be an argument for men to marry, have sons and bring them up well, and so further their houses.[14] Alberti described poetically the social need for old-age care by children, saying that a father hoped that his child would care for him as 'a kind of fortress in his old age and a refuge in the weary and feeble years'.[15]

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[12] Thomas Kuehn, *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1982), pp. 46–47, 49, 53, and 62–66.

[13] As trans. and quoted in Crabb, *Strozzi of Florence*, p. 112.

[14] See Alberti, *Della famiglia*, Book I, especially pp. 90–91 (for details see above, n. 5).

[15] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 47; see also p. 41.

Beyond their practical needs for children, Florentines also had hopes of things less tangible, but equally important to them. In essence they sought a kind of earthly immortality, the perpetuation of their personal beings, through their children. Boccaccio's *Decameron* contains several suggestions of the hereditary nature of character, as well as of behaviours and aptitudes that were thought to attend noble or common birth.[16] Vasari, in his collection of biographies of artists, expressed a view that it was natural and usual for children to follow the same interests, skills, and career paths as their parents, because of 'hereditary' qualities.[17] Florentines were also fully aware that those who raised children could shape and form them, by education and example, as will be discussed further below. Children were therefore the product of both nature and nurture. This combined awareness of heredity and formation enabled Florentines to feel that their offspring were very much their physical extensions and own selves made new. As Marsilio Ficino put it:

> The duty of the father is to cherish his sons as branches of his own life which have taken root, and to try to keep them upright by his own best example as if they were parts of himself; of the sons, to follow their father as their root and head.[18]

Ficino also commented on the similarity of a son to his father in appearance and behaviour, and declared that a father aimed to leave in the world, through his son, some part of his 'substance, likeness, name and glory and memory'.[19] He stated that 'the son is a mirror and image, in which the father after his death almost remains alive for a long time'.[20] Similarly, Alberti wrote: 'If a man leaves such heirs [...] he need not consider himself wholly dead and gone. His children keep his own position and his true image in the family.'[21]

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[16] Boccaccio, *Decameron*, for example pp. 104, 107, 137, 141, and 143.

[17] Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. of the Temple Classics edition of 1900, ed. with introduction by William Gaunt, 4 vols (New York: Dutton; London: Dent, Everyman's Library, 1963), IV, 1.

[18] Ficino, *Letters*, II, 66. Consider also Alberti's parallel between 'fathers' and their 'offspring', and plants and trees, in *Della famiglia*, p. 49.

[19] Marsilio Ficino, quoted in Kuehn, *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence*, p. 59.

[20] Marsilio Ficino, quoted in F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 46.

[21] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 113.

Writing on the creation and formation of children, both Ficino and Alberti repeatedly used a language evoking the making of 'works of art'. Alberti mused over Florentines' feelings of attachment to their children:

> [A]lmost everyone loves his own works. The painter, the writer, and the poet all do. The father, I suppose, feels even more so, since the labour demanded of him is long and drawn out. [...] Certainly what has cost you much labour is all the more dear. But there is by nature something in a father [...] a kind of greater need, so strong is the desire to have and raise children and afterward to take delight in seeing them express his very image and likeness.[22]

Ficino likewise considered that a father naturally loved his son because his son was 'his own work'.[23] 'Like a true and generous sculptor', he said, 'he carves in his offspring a living image of himself.'[24] He explained too:

> It often happens that a father stamps his own image directly on his son so effectively that in seeing the son you have seen the parent too. [...] Of all the works of art only a book shares its name with 'child', as though it were a son, because it alone appears as a likeness of its author, certainly a better likeness than a picture.[25]

For both these writers, children were the works, indeed the 'works of art', as well as the raw 'substance' of their parents. One's child might amount to a form of self-image or portrait, and yet was better, indeed more substantial, than this, being a living self-perpetuation.

With all these expectations and demands on them, children themselves learnt that being and identity were not tied to individual self, but were part of a scheme of lines, connections, and alliances which extended backwards, sideways, and onwards, on both sides of the grave; and they gathered a conscious sense of connectedness, belonging, and responsibility to family.[26] Nonetheless, in this

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[22] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 47.

[23] Marsilio Ficino, quoted in Kuehn, *Emancipation*, p. 59.

[24] Ficino, *Letters*, III, 69.

[25] Ficino, *Letters*, VII, 54. The Latin word Ficino was using and referring to was *liber*, which can mean either 'book', or 'child, offspring'.

[26] Consider here Sharon T. Strocchia, 'Naming a Nun: Spiritual Exemplars and Corporate Identity in Florentine Convents, 1450–1530', in *Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by William J. Connell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 215–40 (p. 236); Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 'La Femme et le lignage florentin (XIVᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles)', in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Richard Trexler, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 36 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1985); Florentine State Archive (ASF), Manoscritti, 88, *Ricordanze* of Piero Masi, fols 140ʳ and 140ᵛ.

system the individual could not be umimportant, even as a child. Although children, both male and female, were desired to fit into a grand scheme of things Florentine, they should not be thought to have been accorded no personal being and identity.

Florentines had understandings of childhood as a quite distinctive period of life, and of children themselves as having their own distinctive natures and characters. The classic, generalized interpretation of medieval and Renaissance European childhood provided by Philippe Ariès was that before the seventeenth century children were treated simply as small, imperfect adults.[27] Ariès's conclusion has since come under some revision. There is evidence from even as early as the ninth century of the emergence amongst Western Europeans, especially churchmen, of some sense that children were in a state of being formed, and that they were different from adults precisely because they were unformed, as clay is rather different from formed and finished pieces of pottery.[28] By the fifteenth century in Florence, such ideas had developed into quite a sophisticated understanding of child psychology and growth. Childhood was indeed recognized as a distinct period of life in which thoughts and actions were ordinarily, and rightfully, different from those of adults, and there was considerable interest in studying, defining, and giving instruction about children in this light. There was, moreover, awareness that children were not all the same, needing and meriting the same treatment, any more than all adults were the same. As a category, they were different from adults; within the category, they were different from each other.

Phillip Gavitt has stated that children were believed by Alberti 'to have naturally good dispositions', and Richard Trexler, that children 'started out as innocents and ended up as "beasts"'.[29] Such interpretations are simplifications of

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[27] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. from the French (*L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime*) by Robert Baldick (London: Cape, 1962).

[28] Mary Martin McLaughlin, 'Survivors and Surrogates', in *The History of Childhood*, ed. by Lloyd deMause (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974), pp. 101–81 (p. 140, and p. 173, nn. 191 and 192). See also Klapisch-Zuber, 'Childhood in Tuscany at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century', in Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 94–116; Jenny Swanson, 'Childhood and Childrearing in Ad Status Sermons by Later Thirteenth Century Friars', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 309–31; *Childhood in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

[29] Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, p. 273; Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 368; see also Ilaria Taddei, '*Puerizia, adolescenza* and

contemporaries' really far more carefully considered attitude to children's characters. This attitude was partly derived from the teaching of St Augustine, who was influential amongst laypeople as well as clerics.[30] In the ideas of Alberti and other Florentines there are strong resonances of two fundamental Augustinian principles. For the first, Augustine had written that all people were born sinners, who must work all through their lives to be good. Since children certainly sinned, they were innocent, or at least less sinful than adults, only to the extent that they had had less time, opportunities, and strength than adults to commit sin. Augustine even reasoned from this that children could justifiably suffer and die, and their suffering warned parents to live good lives.[31]

The second principle was that children did not develop 'knowledge' or 'understanding', and the faculty of reason, until adolescence. They therefore could not think logically or assess anything appropriately. That they could not even properly tell right from wrong was another point to their being considered less sinful than adults: if they could not judge their actions, they could not be fully accountable for them. A child might act wickedly, but was not knowingly or deliberately wicked for it. It was simply the basic sinful nature of man. To govern this baser nature one needed to have attained effective understanding and reason, and then to choose to act rightly.[32]

With these understandings, Alberti never assumed that children were born with pure goodness as their innate, generic quality. In his view any child could have either good or bad tendencies, whilst upbringing would then influence him in some ways.[33] Some children were 'depraved and corrupted by their own native

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giovinezza: Images and Conceptions of Youth in Florentine Society during the Renaissance', in *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society 1150–1650*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 15–25 (pp. 21–22).

[30] Augustine had much influence in the confraternal movement. His sermons were widely accessible and considered relevant. BRF, Ricc. 1429, is a *zibaldone* that was compiled around 1464–65 by a woman, Benedetta, wife of Piero d'Antonio Nicholi (fol. 56ᵛ); the first text she copied into it was 'the sermons of the holy Saint Augustine, doctor and confessor, that are very masterful for our life' (fols 1ʳ–56ᵛ).

[31] Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St Augustine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 16–20 and 56–59; Richard B. Lyman, Jr, 'Barbarism and Religion: Late Roman and Early Medieval Childhood', in *History of Childhood* (see n. 28, above), pp. 75–100 (pp. 88–89).

[32] Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St Augustine*, pp. 15–16 and 58–59.

[33] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 36–38, 58, 62–63, 68–80.

inclinations'.[34] A child might well show 'evil inclination', in which case the father 'should staunch it by correction and seal it over by teaching better ways'.[35] In addition, Alberti implied that children were rather like beasts or animals when he observed that they have 'appetites', 'desires', and 'passions of the spirit', which they are nevertheless little able to hide, because they have not yet learnt the 'malice' of how to dissemble.[36] Considering reason, 'the youthful mind is given to burning and corrupt desires of lust, anger, or some kind of malicious opinion or idea much more than to true and unclouded reason.'[37] Matteo Palmieri, another humanist and didact, in his work on 'civic life', noted that the first 'two ages of the body, that is infancy and puerility, [... are] called ages of ignorance'. What followed them was 'adolescence, in which the soul begins to have knowledge of the vices and virtues, and according to the one of the two ways proceeds in his life by its own choice'.[38]

To learn how to reason, children had to be taught. They had to be carefully influenced, instructed, and guided as they grew, and bad children could be turned to good by careful and restraining parents. Heavy responsibility for their good growth and actions therefore lay on parents and guardians. Education and exemplary role models were essential for children in learning 'the way to gain fame and noble character', while 'intelligence and temperament' in the child could help.[39] On the other hand, even the 'most promising' children might be 'inspired to evil and wholly ruined by the bad conversation and customs around them', and turn out to be 'disgraceful people [...] through the negligence of those who did not restrain them'.[40] So a father must 'make his children educated and modest by the exercise of care and skill. The father of sons who do not behave well but go wild and vicious, therefore, is not without great guilt for his

[34] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 36.

[35] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 78.

[36] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 61–62.

[37] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 62.

[38] 'Infino a qui abbiàno parlato di dua età di corpo, cioè della infanzia et pueritia, le quali secondo l'altra divisione è chiamata età di ignoranzia. Ora seguita l'adoloscientia, in nella quale comincia l'anima ad avere cognitione di' vitii et virtù, et secondo l'una delle dua vie procede in sua vita per propria electione': Matteo Palmieri, *Vita Civile*, ed. by Gino Belloni (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), p. 33.

[39] Alberti, *Della familglia*, p. 34.

[40] Alberti, *Della familglia*, p. 36.

negligence.'[41] In Alberti's view, raising boys was a 'burden' of 'responsibility', yet a 'worthy and demanding task' for fathers. A father's success in the task would contribute to 'the well-being and honor of the family', and was thus a duty to the house. It brought a man 'his own reward and satisfaction in the results'. Conversely, failing reflected badly on the house, as well as its members, and could cause the family's downfall.[42] 'In the father's watchfulness', Alberti concluded, 'lies the son's character.'[43]

Accordingly, the father should be the ruler of the household, and children subordinate and obedient. Palmieri believed that after entering youth, and beginning to acquire knowledge and reason, offspring could start to be discerning about whether their fathers commanded them to do 'right and honest' things or 'ugly things', and therefore about when and when not to obey to them.[44] Alberti, though, was clear that the paternal task did not end when boys attained the age of reason: Battista and Carlo, who appear as characters in his treatise, are still deemed even at seventeen and nineteen years of age to require 'education and guidance' to help them 'become good men'.[45]

Alberti's teachings about children's natures were some of the most developed and thoroughly expressed, but they were not exclusive to him, nor indeed to pedagogues like him. If there was one well-known Florentine who has been thought to have viewed children as simply good and innocent, even to the point of saving the rest of humanity, it was the austere yet popular Dominican preacher of the late fifteenth century, Girolamo Savonarola. Certainly, as he showed in his treatise 'on the simplicity of Christian life', he thought young children demonstrated the natural simplicity that characterized God's works, free of man-made artifice. 'The acts and the words of children', he wrote, 'delight everyone, because they do not have in them any art or duplicity, but proceed naturally

[41] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 58, and see p. 56.

[42] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 33–34 and 38.

[43] Alberti, *Della familglia*, p. 38. See also Palmieri, *Vita Civile*, pp. 26–30, on the excellent character and example required of a child's master, as well as his teaching.

[44] See Palmieri, *Vita Civile*, pp. 33–34, 47–48, and 55–57. Consider also Augustine: 'A prisoner for a time, when learneth he to love aught, save what his parents have whispered in his ears? They teach him and train him in [wicked things ...]. But God hath given us when grown up knowledge of ourselves, that we should not follow the errors of our parents' (quoted in Deane, *Political and Social Ideas of St Augustine*, pp. 58–59). Alberti did note this as a problem, at least in bad fathers: *Della famiglia*, pp. 72–73.

[45] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 33.

from their very pure form.'[46] However, Savonarola did not express a belief that children are ideal in goodness. Rather, he showed he knew that children had to work to be good. Speaking to children directly he said: 'I tell you boys that *you have to be the good citizens* who will enjoy the good which God has promised this city.'[47] He also restated St Augustine's point that children were less sinful than adults merely because they had had less occasion to sin: 'I tell you, the Lord wants these boys. From among the elders he will take one here and there, [but] the others will be discarded, *for they have become old in evil*.'[48] In talking of children's natural simplicity, Savonarola was really echoing Alberti's point that children simply lack the knowledge of how to dissemble and deceive. Indeed, both men were suggesting that children are in effect honest, simple, and pure in their evil.

The influential yet little-educated, non-elite follower of Savonarola, Piero Bernardo, believed that it was wholly up to the children to save Florence, since only they had a degree of innocence that allowed them to grasp and effect God's plans. This appears to have been as far as any thought about children being good and innocent ever went. All the same, even Bernardo in one of his sermons to children lectured them to 'persevere' in living good lives, and gave them ten rules they had to follow to achieve these things.[49]

A century before, the merchant Giovanni Morelli was keeping his *ricordanze*. He intended it to give his own posterity information about him and his doings, some history of the family, and also general advice for living. In 1406 Morelli lost his eldest son, ten-year-old Alberto, to illness. A year later, still plagued by grief, he recounted a comforting vision he had of the dead boy. The account indicates what Morelli had come to think about children and sin. First, the visionary Alberto told Morelli that he had died because of 'our sin', meaning the sin of Alberto himself, and perhaps of his younger siblings, as well as any adults' sin. Secondly, just as Augustine had said that the pain and death of children could warn parents to live

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[46] 'Epistola di Frate Ieronimo da Ferrara dell'ordine de' predicatori sopra e' libri della simplicità della vita cristiana tradotti di latino in volgare da ieronimo benivieni fiorentino', in Girolamo Savonarola, *De simplicitate Christianae*, ed. by Pier Giorgio Ricci (Rome: A. Bellardetti, 1959), pp. 139–256 (p. 191–92).

[47] Quoted in Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence: Adolescence and Salvation in the Renaissance', in his *Dependence in Context*, pp. 258–325 (p. 310); emphasis added.

[48] Quoted in Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence', p. 310; emphasis added.

[49] Piero Bernado, 'An Epistle to the *Fanciulli*', in *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings on Literature, History, and Art*, ed. by Stefano Ugo Baldassari and Arielle Saiber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 266–70.

well, Morelli heard from Alberto that he should strive to be devout, good, and careful, for the sake of the well-being and happiness of his remaining family:

> If you pray God to watch over those [children] you have acquired, they will remain kind to you. [...] You ask if you will leave the world young or old: I counsel you to exert yourself to depart old. This would be your salvation and that of your family, and would please God.[50]

Morelli was fearful that his own 'sin' and 'negligence' could cause the deaths of his children.[51] Given this tension in his thoughts, it seems that Florentines were indeed troubled by the contradiction that children must, in being raised, learn goodness and virtues from adults who were themselves only struggling to be good, and who might be careless with children, or encourage them in 'evil' and 'ugly' ways.

In comprehending children and childhood, Florentines had a further perception that children and youths were often carelessly carefree, capricious, and even wild. This was related to the notion of children's lack of adequate reason, and it was because of both things that the young needed strict control. Giovanni Morelli referred to childhood as 'the times most delightful', when it was against the child's nature and ability to be worrying about finances, management, and organization.[52] Alberti wrote that children could not be set to systems because of their 'fluctuation of spirit' and 'uncertainty'. 'Youth', he said, 'pursues its desires with eagerness. The appetites of the young are vast and unstable', and a child 'changes from hour to hour'.[53] Niccolò Machiavelli, understanding Cupid the god of love, or 'Love', to be a boy, wrote to his friend Francesco Vettori, who had fallen for a girl:

> I remind you that those are afflicted by Love [and] who, when he flies into their bosoms, try to clip his wings or bind him [...], because he is a boy and unsettled, he digs out their eyes, their liver, and their heart.[54]

This indeed implies a nature more than sportive or impulsive: it suggests wilfulness, viciousness, and vindictiveness, with no idea of fair and decent limits.

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[50] Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 201–02.

[51] See Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 201 and 202; consider also Morelli's parallel with the death of Jesus, God's son, in ibid., pp. 189–92.

[52] '[T]empi più diletevoli alla natura': Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, *Ricordi*, ed. by V. Branca, 2nd edn (Florence: Le Monnier, 1969), p. 498.

[53] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 77.

[54] Niccolò Machiavelli to Francesco Vettori, 10 June 1514, Letter 148 of 'Familiar Letters', in *Machiavelli: The Chief Works and Others*, trans. by Allan Gilbert, 3 vols (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965), II, 883–1011 (pp. 944–45).

A few children were recognized as exercising reasoned thought, and even acting with serious constancy. Giovanni Morelli described with pride how his father, apparently at the age of about ten or twelve, 'drawn by his good nature, all by himself put himself in school to learn to read and write', and also arranged contracts with his teachers in order not to be beaten.[55] Morelli's very pride, however, rather implies that he thought this was quite remarkable. Vespasiano da Bisticci provided the example of Donato Acciaiuoli, who he said disregarded 'the pleasures which youth naturally seeks' and regulated his life himself to pursue learning, virtue, and religion: 'From his early youth he was a well-mannered and docile boy, and he was a model to all, whether old or young; he was of rare intelligence, very diligent, and one who never lost a minute of time.'[56] Against this, Vespasiano's 'illustrious' people more commonly owed the form of their lives, and their illustriousness, largely to the care, correction, and good instruction of those who raised and taught them.

Alberti considered that a child could have some positive and purposeful natural inclination, in leaning towards a particular career or profession. It was really in this context that he said children find it difficult to dissemble, to hide their 'appetites', 'desires', and 'passions of the spirit'. In his view, a child who showed inclination and promise for a particular field should be fostered in it. He consequently prescribed that a father should know his child by paying attention to him and investigating the signs and clues in the child's own 'ways' and 'desires'.[57] This was very like ideas advocated by the influential Dominican cleric Giovanni Dominici. Dominici wrote his *Rule of the Governance of Family Care* between 1400 and 1405; it was in direct response to four questions asked of him by one of his female correspondents, a widow with children, on how to 'conserve the soul and body and temporal goods and one's children to the the honour of God'. The treatise remained popular long after it was written. One copy of it was made for use in the sixteenth century by a succession of nuns and their convent, and they probably used it to advise laywomen like the one who originally inspired it.[58] Dominici argued that children's natural inclinations, abilities, and aptitudes

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[55] Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 176–77.

[56] Da Bisticci, 'Donato Acciaiuoli (1428–1478)', in *Lives of Illustrious Men* (see n. 6, above), pp. 276–96 (p. 277).

[57] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 56–62 and 76.

[58] Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del governo di cura familiare: compilata dal beato Giovanni Dominici fiorentino dell' ordine de' frati predicatori: testo di lingua*, ed. by Donato Salvi (Florence: Accademico della Crusca, Presso Angniolo Garinei libraio, 1860), p. 1; BRF, Ricc. 1414, fol. 3[r].

should be taken into account when fitting them for occupations, because, since a boy suited to one profession would be no good at a second, no one would benefit if he were made to do the second.[59]

Much later, in the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari echoed this reasoning in his accounts of the artists Alesso Baldovinetti, Brunelleschi, and Giuliano da Maiano, who he says turned to design and art of their own accord and were then permitted by their parents to follow the profession. Introducing his Life of Maiano, he argued that those who did not permit children

> to practise to the fullest extent the things which are most to their taste [...] run the risk of preventing them from excelling in anything, for it is always the case that those who do not like their work will never make much progress at it. On the other hand, those who follow the instincts of Nature usually become distinguished and famous in the arts to which they devote themselves.[60]

Even so, children's actual development and improvement towards profitability, virtue, or skill were generally understood to occur through the outside influence and guidance of fathers, teachers, and older advisors. Notably too, in 1453, when Paolo Niccolini's eldest son Piero determined at seventeen to become a monk, very much against his father's wishes, Paolo wrote:

> It was the will and pleasure of our Lord Jesus Christ that Piero my son should go to the Badia Settimo and make himself a monk. As he was very young, I wished to make sure that he had not taken this step lightly, without steadfastness.[61]

Paolo thus implied that the inclination was not so much Piero's own as that of the Son of God, calling Piero. Dominici had said in relation to all professions that '[t]he provident Lord of all to each gives his own office'.[62]

Although adults recognized and accepted that children were different from themselves, the nature and behaviours of childhood were not much valued. It was said of minors that they 'are not in perfect age'.[63] It was children's inadequacy to function independently, rightly, and properly in the adult world that made them children, needing careful guidance and supervision, and decisions to be made for

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[59] Dominici, *Regola*, pp. 182–83.

[60] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 328, and see pp. 270 and 358–59.

[61] G. Niccolini di Camugliano, *The Chronicles of a Florentine Family, 1200–1470* (London: Cape, 1933), p. 130.

[62] 'Dà il provido Signore del tutto a ciascuno l'ufficio proprio': Dominici, *Regola*, p. 183.

[63] '[E] detti figliuoli non sono in eta perfetta': ASF, Carte Strozziane (Strozz.), Series II, 16 bis, *Ricordanze* of Francesco Giovanni, fol. 15ʳ.

them. Adults strove to press and push children out of these imperfections of childhood into adulthood, for it was as good and useful future adults that children were wanted above all. Understandably, then, there was no culture specific to children. They were expected to live and learn with imitations, experience, and examples of the adult world as much as possible, in order to be fit for that world sooner rather than later. Didactic writers discussed these desires, and how to bring them to fruition. In doing so, they were again connecting with the concerns of many Florentines.

Even from the very birth of a child, individuals would have their eyes on the potential adult it would become, and on the use to which such an adult could be put. Fathers of newborns commonly expressed the hope that their babies would 'turn out well', be 'wise', or a 'virtuous and valiant man', or 'become a good man'.[64] When Filippo Strozzi had a daughter in 1469, his friend Marco Parenti wrote to him not to be at all disappointed that the child was not a boy: Filippo already had a son, and, since girls married at a much younger age than men, Fillipo would gain a 'fine' alliance with in-laws much sooner.[65]

If a child's birth could be a time of such anticipation, a child's illness was a time of wretched fear and despair, again on account of more than just the current child. When children fell ill, even to die, it was not parents' affection, but their ambition for them, that was noted. In 1400, the notary Lapo Mazzei wrote to a friend about the recent death of his sons from plague: 'God knows', he said, 'how much hope I had of the first, who already was a companion to me and a father to the others; and how quickly he had advanced at Messer Ardingo's bank.'[66] Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his Life of Pope Nicholas V, wrote that when Nicholas fell sick at the age of nine, his mother, 'perceiving that he was sick and having the highest hope in this son of hers, was in the greatest grief and

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[64] 'Diary of Gregorio Dati', pp. 112, 116–17, and 126–28. ASF, Strozz., Series II, 6, *Ricordanze* of Lapo Sirigatti, fols 19ʳ, 25ʳ, 42ʳ. Francesco di Matteo Castellani, *Ricordanze I: Ricordanze A (1436–1459)*, ed. by Giovanni Ciappelli (Florence: Olschki, 1992): 'acrescendolo sempre nella sua gratia bon suo servo virtuoso e valente homo' (p. 171). ASF, Strozz., Series II, 16 bis, *Ricordanze* of Francesco Giovanni: 'farlo buono e valente' (fol. 25ʳ)

[65] Quoted in Anne Morton Crabb, 'A Patrician Family in Renaissance Florence: The Family Relations of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi and Her Sons, 1440–1491' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington University, 1980): 'Parmi che avendone uno maschio, e visto tanto quant'egli è, che non meno ti debbi rallegrare di questa, sendo femina, che se fussi maschio, cioè ne farai prima un bello parentado' (p. 163, n. 49).

[66] Quoted in Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, p. 293.

anxiety'.[67] Similarly, Alberti, in discussing generally fathers' pleasure in their sons and fear of losing them, used a language of 'promise' and 'hopes', pride, and ambition.[68]

As already seen, children's training, through instruction and good example, was supremely important in making them good. To contemporaries, it was also vital for making good and profitable adults from good children. Education of children comprehended all things for their acculturation and socialization, as well as employment training, to fit them for their adult life in the society; indeed, moral and social education were considered at least as important as any vocational training. In their discourse about education, therefore, didactic authors blended together their ideas for instilling morality and desirable behaviours, along with skills. Alberti, his focus primarily on making children virtuous through education, fitted in his points on preparing them for professions amongst his more extensive guidelines on teaching them how to live. For him, the process of their having to learn, in order to aquire skills, also contributed to their moral development.[69] Vespasiano, in his lives of the 'illustrious', often stressed the value and significance of the training of his subjects, for all of conduct, religion, and careers. Palmieri emphasized that a child's master must have excellent character and provide a fine example, as well as teach the necessary formal lessons.[70]

Formal or career training itself was not for ongoing personal development, but only to fit children for their practical places in the adult world. The Florentine school system particularly was structured to support this. Teachers in schools taught curricula of three main divisions: Latin reading, writing, and literature (beyond which, more profession-specific education was obtained at university), vernacular reading, writing, and literature, and business mathematics. No single school catered for all three, nor even for two. Rather, a child did his schooling in blocks, which were put together according to the skills and knowledge he would need in his adult career. Children who would need no Latin learnt little or none;[71] children who would need no commercial mathematics

[67] Da Bisticci, 'Pope Nicolas V (1398–1455)', in *Lives of Illustrious Men* (see n. 6, above), pp. 31–58 (p. 31).

[68] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 47–48, 49, 50, and 51.

[69] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 38 and 56–84.

[70] Palmieri, *Vita Civile*, pp. 26–30.

[71] See, however, the chapter by Olive in the present volume.

likewise did not train in it; and children who would need little or no literacy, if intended, for example, for service or manual labour, received little or no schooling, but simply went early into situations of employment and apprenticeship.[72] Systematically, then, children were to be trained in things useful and advantageous, yet only in what was specific to their expected adult placements.

Ideally too, children's training was to fully occupy them. Didactic writings show that beyond formal lessons, play and pastimes were also to educate and edify, and no moment was to be spent in idle enjoyment. The emphasis was on making any play usefully instructive and formative, not on making lessons fun. Giovanni Dominici acknowledged that children needed to play, move, and fantasize, yet described how parents should turn this to advantage, 'to raise [the children] to God'.[73] He said that a child could be conditioned for the nature of his adult life with pictures and sculptures, with toys and games that imitated implements and activities of that way of life, or even with a type of food. He advised in particular teaching and encouraging 'virtuous' and religious morals, ideals, and behaviours, not least for the good of children's souls, through the appropriate environment and activities.[74] Alberti echoed Dominici, indicating that time not used for learning skills or training the intellect was to be spent in physical strengthening, instruction, and studying examples for good conduct and morality, and the inculcation of religion. He gave no attention to any sort of recreation for the sake of recreation.

Children's companions must also be those who would set them the most suitable and useful example for their instruction and formation. Alberti did not believe that, with all their imperfections, children should be kept out of adults' way. Rather, suitable adults should go out of their way to help and guide children to follow their lead and example.[75] Boys especially should not be left alone, in leisure, or indeed to spend time amongst girls; rather, 'Young boys should, from the first day of life, be accustomed to life among men. There they can learn virtue rather than vice.'[76] Children themselves should 'gladly submit to the guidance of

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[72] Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 77–78; Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 106–08.

[73] '[V]olendo dargli quello gli bisogna, pensa in questa parte si parle come si debbe allevare a Dio': Dominici, *Regola*, p. 145.

[74] Dominici, *Regola*, pp. 131–33 and 145–51.

[75] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 36–39.

[76] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 62.

men of judgment and age'. Ideally, the child would accept and value the guidance of his elders, without attempting to live or learn for himself; for 'fortune can hound the years of weakness and the inexperienced minds of young people without guidance and help'.[77]

The merchant Morelli included in his *ricordanze* pedagogical sections on how to take charge of oneself in growing up. He believed that the best associates for a boy were adult males, and preferably the boy's own father. A boy, he said,

> will receive from the father good lessons at every hour and for every situation; vices will be forbidden to him; he will be schooled in virtue. [...] You are instructed by your father. He will either charge you: 'Do this, and bear yourself in such and such a way', or you will be with him, and will see his manner both of speaking and operating, and you will learn quite a bit.[78]

If 'you' are an orphan, however, lacking this most desirable parental tutelage, you should aim to learn as much as you can yourself to be able to take care of yourself independently, and you should also

> exert yourself to be domestic with one or with more excellent man [*sic.*] [who is] sage and old and without vice. And watch his modes of operating in words, in counsel, in the way he orders his family and his things. Take his lead, imitate him, and thus follow him and try to make yourself like him [...] . And thus as you take example from a live man, you can in the same way or just a bit less, take example from a capable Roman or another capable man whom you have studied.[79]

Morelli's latter bit of advice here, to learn from exemplary literary characters, corresponds with the opinion of the *zibaldone* compiler mentioned at the outset of this chapter, that those who could read should make excellent use of the 'good examples' in literature.

If children did learn well and mature comparatively early, they were certainly noted and admired. Presumably they were also thought of as wholesome examples for other children to follow. As a general rule in biographies, subjects' childhoods received relatively little attention before the authors moved on to the important adulthoods; but if they were presented it was to show how they were characterized by studiousness and maturity. Marco Parenti, merchant and humanist, wrote a chronicle of events occurring in Florence in the 1460s. He thought it worth reporting how Federigo, second son of the King of Naples,

[77] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 39–43.

[78] Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 184–85.

[79] Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 185–86. See also Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 68–69, on surrogates for fathers unable to do the job.

deported himself when he was sent to Milan by his father to meet his elder brother's new wife, daughter of the Milanese duke, and take her to Napoli. When the boy passed through Florence in mid-1465, he was 'about thirteen years of age, but of handsome and gracious appearance, of gravity and maturity of words suited to every prudent man'.[80] The boy completed a serious state task, and demonstrated mature character and capable association with adults while he did so.

Morelli, in writing of his son's academic prowess, particularly stressed Alberto's eagerness to attend his lessons and learn, which contributed to him making fine and fast progress. It was Alberto's own keen efforts as much as anything else that made him 'smart and admirable in his boyhood' in both skills and behaviour, thus according his parents great joy and satisfaction in him.[81] Alessandra Strozzi also wrote in March 1469 to her son Filippo, who was in Naples, about the precocity Filippo's baby son Alfonso. She gave an enthusiastic explanation of her efforts to teach the little boy, then just fifteen months old, to read:

> You shouldn't be surprised that Alfonso is so advanced for his age, and that I am teaching him to read. I must tell you that if you saw him he'd strike you as even more advanced than I've said. I promise you, you don't need to tell him anything more than once for him to understand it. One evening I said to him 'Daddy is in Naples'. I didn't need to say anything more to him about it because when he was asked he said 'Dada in Nape'. He is like that with everything and it shows he has a good memory. I know you will laugh at what I've written and say I'm a fool, but it gives me pleasure and comfort and will make you want to see him even more.[82]

Alessandra was particularly delighted to be able to say that her grandson was brilliant, thoroughly able and precociously so, and she was certain that knowledge of Alfonso's ability would not only please his father hugely, but also make Filippo more eager to see his son. A month later, Lionardo Strozzi also wrote to Filippo with similar news of the little boy. Alfonso, he said, wanted to 'know and try everything', and 'speaks like one of four years'. 'When you return', he added, 'you will have of it that consolation you want.'[83]

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[80] '[D]'eta allhora circa anni tredici, ma d'aspetto bello et gratioso, di gravità et maturità di parole conveniente a ogni prudente huomo': Marco Parenti, *Ricordi Storici, 1464–1467*, ed. by Manuela Doni Garfagnini (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002), pp. 74–75.

[81] Morelli, trans. by Trexler, 'In Search of Father', pp. 187 and 198.

[82] Alessandra Strozzi to Filippo, 4 March 1469, Letter 33 in Gregory, *Selected Letters*, p. 207.

[83] '[C]he mai vedi j fanciullo di tale età chonosciere e ghustare più ogni chosa quanto fa lui […] parla [come] j di 4 anni. Chomincia hora a volere andare; quando tornere[ti] n'arete quella

The patrician merchant Giovanni Rucellai was Alberti's patron, and he wrote his *Zibaldone quaresimale*, as Morelli wrote his diary, principally for the enlightenment of his own offspring. Rucellai, and Matteo Palmieri as well, gave attention to practices that might give children a head start towards much-valued early maturity, and indeed literacy. They told how an infant could be taught to read, and not dislike it, by being shown letters made out of 'fruits, cakes, sweets, and other puerile foods'.[84] There was more to this advice than giving a young child the skill. In Palmieri's view, such diligent parental instruction would put children two years ahead of others their age in their studies and might bring them to the age of reason earlier.[85] An early literacy lesson was part of a whole educative programme which set children in competition with their peers, as well as with themselves. The goal was not only to be good, but also to stand out as better than everyone else.

Didactic authors, therefore, sustained what was clearly widespread support for an inspirational, even productive *agon* amongst children.[86] Alberti extolled it, writing: 'Let the father gladly teach his sons to pursue excellence and fame. Let him encourage them to compete for honor, and celebrate the victor.'[87] Biographers indicated it was a significant part of the childhoods of their admired and exemplary subjects. Vasari referred several times to the competition between art students which brought out their best and made them brilliant masters.[88] Alamanno Rinuccini, in an account of Lorenzo de' Medici, commented that as a boy, Lorenzo had

> an intelligence so pliable and versatile that, in boyish things, whatever he set his mind to he learned and mastered better than did others [...] dancing, bowmanship, singing, riding, playing games, performing on musical instruments, and many other things.[89]

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chonsolazione vorre[s]ti': Letter from Lionardo Strozzi to Filippo, 8 April 1469, ASF, Strozz., Series III, 145, fol. 58ʳ.

[84] Palmieri, *Vita civile*, p. 24; *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo zibaldone: I, "Il zibaldone quaresimile"*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1960), p. 14.

[85] Palmieri, *Vita civile*, pp. 24–25.

[86] On *agon*, and positive competitiveness and constructive conflict, see Jacob Burckhardt, *Greichische Kulturgeschichte*, ed. and trans. into English as *History of Greek Culture* by Palmer Hilty (London: Constable, 1963), especially pp. 6–7, 12–14.

[87] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 65–66.

[88] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 215–16; III, 121, 151, 163, 188.

[89] Trans. and qtd in F. W. Kent, 'The Young Lorenzo, 1449–69', in *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, ed. by Michael Mallett and Nicholas Mann (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1996), pp. 1–22 (p. 1).

Vespasiano da Bisticci had a similar type of praise for a girl, Alessandra de' Bardi. Indeed there are several very strong parallels between the more abundantly expressed attitudes to the raising of boys and Vespasiano's account of that of a girl. Alessandra's mother, he said, 'began her training as soon as she was born'. This had two benefits: it gave her an early excellence in the adult skills and behaviour she was to require in her adult life; and this in turn brought her, her family, and even her city recognition and praise. In 1428, 'when Alessandra was fourteen years old she was known for her good manners and carriage; she had a beauty both of body and of mind unequalled by any young girl of her age, everyone spoke of her and everyone praised her.' At a public event held that year to honour foreign ambassadors, Alessandra was able to act 'as to the manner born, showing how carefully she had been trained by her accomplished mother, who had taught her well even in the smallest things'. She performed her skills and duties with the appearance of a natural grace and ability, 'as if she had never done anything else in her life'. For this she was admired by everyone and privileged over the other girls at the event.[90]

Vespasiano attributed Alessandra's extensive accomplishments, and her precocity in attaining them, to the highly attentive and excellent nurture and education she received from her mother. He added that her mother 'would never allow her to waste her time, for she knew that for men and for women alike there is no worse ill than idleness'. He also praised Alessandra herself, however, for her own diligence: 'She was seldom seen either at the window or at the door, because she found her pleasures in more useful matters.' More generally too for Vespasiano, those worthy of the adjective 'illustrious' were those who in youth were not only well trained, and able, but also supremely hard-working. Donato Acciaiuoli, he said, 'was of rare intelligence, very diligent, and one who never lost a minute of time'; Donato disregarded 'the pleasures which youth naturally seeks' and went about his studies and duties with 'seriousness'.[91] Vespasiano also greatly admired Tommaso Parentucelli, later Pope Nicholas V, who was 'of humble parentage', yet was 'determined to continue his studies' and did so with hard work to both pay and study his way through.[92] As parents in

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[90] Da Bisticci, 'Alessandra de' Bardi', in *Lives of Illustrious Men* (see n. 6, above), pp. 445–62 (pp. 445–52).

[91] Da Bisticci, 'Donato Acciaiuoli (1428–1478)', p. 277.

[92] Da Bisticci, 'Pope Nicolas V (1398–1455)', pp. 31 and 32–33.

their turn, illustrious people would inspire and value such virtues in their children, as Palla Strozzi did in his son Bartolomeo.[93]

Another biographer, Antonio Manetti, was particularly fascinated by Filippo Brunelleschi and his work.[94] In his life of the artist, he reported that as a child, Brunelleschi had great natural talent in art, but he progressed at an above normal rate and became 'a perfect master' primarily because of his own obedience and docility, fear of shame and desire of honour, and great industry in learning. For this diligence and precocity he was admired, and indeed 'marvellous'.[95] Giorgio Vasari likewise admired a number artists for similar qualities and expressed it in similar language. One was 'anxious to learn, [...] and his natural ability, his desire to learn, competition, and the good style of his master would have rendered him excellent'.[96] Vasari also, moralistically, spoke against artists who displayed a lack of diligence and industry, holding themselves back from reaching their potential.[97] Even with a God-given talent, therefore, and the very best training for it, a child still must and should work at it.

It was understood that good and virtuous children would, for their own honour and future, be eager to pursue their training towards maturity and ability with dedication and diligence. Yet in addition, those responsible for such children might benefit and would be pleased with them for it. Alberti believed a father should want and appreciate a boy with 'a manly spirit [...], ready, eager, and ardent to appear among men', and 'delight in having sons who are quick and eager to merit praise and love'; boys could 'win praise and great honor by their industry and exertion'.[98] In speaking of their diligence, Alberti emphasized respect for elders, who were inevitably wiser and more knowledgeable, and said: '[T]ry to satisfy your fathers and all your elders by your character in general, and particularly by doing things which bring praise and fame to you, and, to your

[93] Da Bisticci, 'Palla di Noferi degli Strozzi (1372–1462)', in *Lives of Illustrious Men* (see n. 6, above), pp. 235–45 (p. 237).

[94] See Antonio Manetti, *The Fat Woodworker*, trans., with an introduction and notes, by Robert L. Martone and Valerie Martone (New York: Italica, 1991); Antonio Manetti, *Vita di Brunelleschi*, trans. by Catherine Enggass, with an introduction, notes, and critical text edition by Howard Saalman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970).

[95] Manetti, *Vita di Brunelleschi*, pp. 38–39, and 40–41.

[96] Vasari, *Lives*, III, 151.

[97] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 215–16 and 224; III, 121, 151, and 285; IV, 1

[98] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, pp. 62–63 and 65–66.

kinsmen, happiness pleasure, and delight.'[99] In Alberti's view, as children were drawn 'toward virtue' and became 'every day more learned and more charming', they would at the same time become 'more loved, and more valued'.[100] That this was actually so in practice has been seen, above, in the examples of Alberto Morelli and Alfonso Strozzi. Thus children were admired, praised, and even loved for their will and striving to improve and succeed, and their steady and ambitious advancement to full adult capacity.

However much Florentine thought recognized children's own characteristics and needs, as a group and even as individuals, the understandings about them were not entirely flattering and were certainly not sentimental or overly kind. Adults wanted children, needing children for their own good and perpetuation, and for the good and perpetuation of so much that was important to them. Yet they understood that producing children meant a great deal of effort, care, work, and responsibility. Ultimately, it would seem, however great were the fears and the difficulties in having children, the one greater fear was not having them. To say that children were valued, supported, and even loved for adults' need and use of them may seem detached from the humanity of the people, indeed, almost as though to deny that they had any. It must be stressed that people's need and use of children resulted from matters fundamental to their humanity. These matters included survival, salvation, mortality, order, contribution, honour, and aspiration, which were often at least as important to people as human life or love. A study of contemporary didactic literature about children assists greatly in understanding these concerns for Florentines; yet these concerns emerge in their fullness only when the literature's prescriptions and discussions are placed, and seen, in their social as well as their intellectual context.

[99] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 41; see pp. 39–44.

[100] Alberti, *Della famiglia*, p. 38.

Women, Teaching, Gender

WOMEN TEACHERS IN EARLY BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHY

Stavroula Constantinou

H agiography is the didactic literature par excellence of the Middle Ages,[1] as all hagiographic genres derive from the writers' desire to teach the faithful through narratives commemorating the heroes and heroines of Christianity. As Thomas Head puts it, hagiographers 'wrote not simply to record and preserve the past, but to influence the present, holding up their stories of holy men and women as examples of Christian conduct'.[2] The edifying character of hagiography is made quite clear at the very opening of hagiographic texts. Medieval hagiographers undertook in their prologues to emphasize the beneficial and instructive function of their texts and to present this function as the main

[1] Despite the overt didactic character of hagiographic literature, there are almost no studies examining this issue. One example that focuses on the didacticism of Byzantine hagiography is Pierre Maraval, 'Fonction pédagogique de la littérature hagiographique d'un lieu de pèlerinage: l'example des Miracles de Cyr et Jean', in *Hagiographie: Cultures et sociétés IV–XII siècles; Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), pp. 383–97. Other relevant studies are Peter Brown, 'The Saint as an Exemplar in Late Antiquity', in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe; Papers of the 16th Annual Conference of the Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Richard C. Trexler, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 36 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1985), pp. 183–94; Demetrios Constantelos, 'Lives of Saints, Ethical Teachings and Social Realities in 10th Century Byzantine Peloponnesos', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 30 (1985), 297–310; and Philip Rousseau, 'Antony as Teacher in the Greek *Life*', in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 89–109.

[2] *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. by Thomas Head (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. xvii.

reason for writing saints' stories. For example, in the prologue of Matrona's Life, a Byzantine Greek text composed around the middle of the sixth century, the anonymous hagiographer writes:

> The books entitled *Paradise*,[3] which are indeed paradise, have passed on to us the lives of men and women who have practiced monasticism, both in communities and in solitude, including those whose light shone forth in Egypt. It is fitting, however, to add to these the *Life*, full of benefit for our souls, of the blessed and holy Matrona, a woman who [...] displayed the traits of holy men in the midst of monastic men and mastered the feats of accomplished solitaries.[4]

The anonymous editor of the Greek alphabetical collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* compiled around the end of the sixth century writes in the prologue of the collection:

> This book is an account of the virtuous asceticism and admirable way of life and also of the words of the holy and blessed fathers. They are meant to inspire and instruct those who want to imitate their heavenly lives, so that they may make progress on the way that leads to the kingdom of heaven. You must understand that the holy fathers who were the initiators and masters of the blessed monastic way of life, being entirely on fire with divine and heavenly love and counting as nothing at all that men hold to be beautiful and estimable, trained themselves here below to do nothing whatever out of vainglory.[5]

Apart from the hagiographers' opening statements advertising the didacticism of their texts, the roles of disciple and the teacher undertaken by the saints themselves within the course of the narrative also belong to the teaching project of hagiography. In the early stages of their religious careers, the protagonists of hagiography become the disciples of other pious men or women by whom they are taught the principles of Christianity and the ways of attaining Christian virtues, such as humility and obedience. Hagiography's heroes and heroines appear to be exemplary disciples surpassing their religious instructors in piety. These heroes and heroines are not only instructed by their spiritual fathers or mothers, but also by hearing or reading the stories of previous saints whose way of life they strive to imitate. St Augustine resolves to abandon his secular career

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[3] Here the hagiographer refers to collections of stories about Egyptian monks, such as Palladios's *Lausiac History* and a collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* whose title is *Paradise*.

[4] The translation is by Jeffrey Featherstone in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. by Alice-Mary Talbot, Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), p. 18.

[5] The translation is by Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, Cistercian Studies Series, 59 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1984), p. xxxv.

after hearing the Life of Antony (*Confessions*, Book VIII, Sections 15–17). According to her Life, the Byzantine St Irene of Chrysobalanton reads constantly the Life of St Arsenios whose ascetic practices she imitates.[6] Just as the stories of previous saints inspire the protagonists of hagiography, so the audiences of hagiography are in turn expected to be inspired by hearing or reading the stories of individuals attaining sainthood through the imitation of other saints. Addressing the monastic audience of his text, Gregory the Cellarer writes in the prologue of Lazaros's Life composed in the second half of eleventh century:

> He Who fashioned our hearts alone, Who understands *all* our *works* [...] has consented in His goodness that contemporary authors should set down in writing the lives, the deeds of contest and asceticism, and the extraordinary and most marvelous achievements of the saints [...]. Such authors have left their accounts like living icons or clean and very clear mirrors for subsequent generations in order that when, as the Apostle says, we *consider* their lives and *their behaviour* through these stories, we may *follow their faith*, and in order that whatever path someone desires to travel he may do this easily and without stumbling, finding his guide therein.[...] Who again would not have his soul set aflame when hearing of the torments of the martyrs and of the rackings and scourgings and slaughters that they endured for the love of Christ and learn to bear his tribulations nobly for Christ and not to fear the temptations brought against him by his enemies? Who, once again, when hearing about the angelic and superhuman life of the ascetics [...] would not be roused to follow the same way of life and would not incite himself to imitate it so as to *leave everything* and eagerly *follow* Christ?[7]

The protagonists of hagiography, to a greater or lesser degree, appear to teach other persons of the narrative through both their pious conducts and their words. A martyr, such as the learned and wise Catherine of Alexandria, eloquently teaches Christian religion to fifty pagan philosophers who, under the strong influence of her teachings, convert to Christianity.[8] Catherine's cruel tortures and her steadfastness in faith lead many of her martyrdom's spectators to renounce idolatry and adopt Christianity. An old ascetic, such as Antony, who possesses the knowledge of the Scriptures and has the experience of the life in the

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[6] *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, ed. by Jan Olof Rosenqvist, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 1 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986), p. 16, l. 17–25.

[7] The translation is by Richard P. H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion, an Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint*, Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, 3 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), pp. 75–76 (his italics; these note citations from holy texts).

[8] See Stavroula Constantinou, 'The Authoritative Voice of St. Catherine of Alexandria', *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, 2 (2003–04), 19–38.

desert, becomes an influential teacher of Christians and pagans, monks and laymen. In his Life, Antony is surrounded by a group of men admiring his way of life and wishing to be edified by his Christian teachings.[9] Both Antony's holy life and his teachings inspire many men who follow his example and withdraw to the desert.

This chapter will focus on the saint's role as a religious teacher of certain persons and of larger anonymous audiences situated within the narrative, and it will examine how the teacher's role is enacted by holy women who have a number of disciples and admirers. The importance of the teacher's role in the narrative, how this role determines the structures of the examined texts, and how in one case it raises questions of genre will also be discussed. As will be shown, the teacher's role is an integral part of the heroines' religious lives. Their ability to be an exemplary instructor is presented as a virtue that a saint should possess.

For the purposes of this chapter two monastic Lives of holy women composed in the early Byzantine period will be examined. These texts are the Life of Macrina and that of Synkletike.[10] Both texts present in their largest part the heroines' extremely successful teachings. Macrina and Synkletike appear to devote their lives to the spiritual uplifting and salvation of members of their families and of every human being they encounter during their lives. As the following analysis will demonstrate, apart from emphasizing the importance of the teacher's role undertaken by their protagonists, these two texts theorize religious instruction in an interesting way; they define the exemplary religious teaching and they talk about who should teach and how.

The Life of Macrina is the oldest text venerating a holy woman that has come down to us. It was written around AD 382/83, two or three years after Macrina's death witnessed by her brother and hagiographer Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa. Like Antony's Life, the earliest surviving Life of a male saint, Macrina's Life appears

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[9] See Rousseau, 'Antony as Teacher in the Greek *Life*'.

[10] Life of Macrina, in *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. by François Halkin, 3 vols, 3rd edn (Brussels: Bollandists, 1957), no. 1012; subsequent references to the Life of Macrina are from *Grégoire de Nysse: Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. by Pierre Maraval, Sources chrétiennes, 178 (Paris: Cerf, 1971); English translations are from Kevin Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina by Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa* (Toronto: Peregrina, 1987). Life of Synkletike, in *BHG*, no. 1694; English translations of the *Life of Synkletike* are from Elizabeth A. Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius: The Life and Activity of the Holy and Blessed Teacher Syncletica', in *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, ed. by Vincent L. Wimbush (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), pp. 265–311.

in the form of a letter addressed to a friend of Gregory.[11] As Gregory himself notes in the prologue of the text, his writing cannot be seen as a typical letter, since it exceeds the limits of a letter and reaches the length of a historical narrative (*Life of Macrina*, §1. 1–4).

According to her Life, Macrina was the first of ten children born to a wealthy Christian family from Pontus. Three of Macrina's brothers, Basil, the aforementioned Gregory, and Peter, were bishops who acquired the status of holiness. Basil and Gregory were two of the most important theologians of the fourth century. Macrina's parents, Basil and Emmelia, were also saints. From an early age Macrina showed her eagerness to dedicate herself to God. Nevertheless, when she reached the age of marriage her father betrothed her to a young man who died before they could marry. When Macrina was asked to marry another man she refused to do so. After her father's death, Macrina managed to convince her mother to transform their house into a nunnery and to adopt the life of the ascetic. Macrina's way of life was a model for both her mother and all the women who entered her nunnery. When Macrina became seriously ill and her death was approaching, she was visited by her brother Gregory, who admired her for her piety and wisdom. Her burial was prepared by Gregory assisted by the nuns who were close to her during her lifetime. Gregory saw the death of his sister as a great loss. In his eyes, Macrina was a true philosopher, that is an individual who is both an ideal ascetic and a teacher of Christian wisdom.[12] She taught through her words and acts not only her nuns, but also her own mother and some of her brothers including Gregory himself.

The anonymous hagiography of Synkletike written at some point in the fifth century tells the story of a woman born to a wealthy and pious family, who leads a religious life from an early age. She rejects marriage and upon the death of her parents she sells all the family possessions, gives the money to the poor, and cuts

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[11] There is no concordance amongst the manuscripts concerning the name and office of the addressee of Gregory's letter relating the story of his sister. In some manuscripts the addressee is a bishop whose name is not always the same. In some cases he is called Hierios, in others Euprepios, and in others Eutropios. In a number of other manuscripts the addressee is a monk called Olympios; see *Grégoire de Nysse*, p. 136, n. 1.

[12] For a detailed presentation of the meaning of the term *philosopher* in Byzantine literature, see Franz Dölger, 'Zur Bedeutung von Philosophos und Philosophia in byzantinischer Zeit', in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, ed. by Franz Dölger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 197–208; and Anne-Marie Malingrey, *'Philosophia': Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVᵉ siècle après J.-C.*, Études et commentaires, 40 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1961).

off her hair as a sign of her renunciation of the world. Afterwards she withdraws with her blind sister to a relative's tomb. At some point she is visited by a number of women wishing to be edified by her words and way of life. Synkletike starts educationg the women, and her teachings, which have the form of the Desert Fathers' sayings as reported in *Apophthegmata Patrum*, take up more than two-thirds of the whole text. When she finishes her teachings, Synkletike is no longer young and healthy. She is eighty years old and suffers from an incurable illness. The illness is presented as an attack of the devil against Synkletike. Despite her great bodily sufferings, Synkletike does not give up her spiritual struggle and she goes on educating her disciples until she dies.

A Teacher on Teaching

One of the issues raised by Synkletike in her teachings addressed to a number of female disciples refers to religious instruction. Synkletike teaches that one is legitimized to instruct after having experienced ascetic life. According to Synkletike, what a teacher says to disciples should accord with his or her own deeds. When, for instance, the teacher talks about fasting, vigils, prayers, and the acquisition of Christian virtues, he or she should be a living example of all these. If this is not the case, such teachings will prove disastrous for the disciples. As Synkletike herself formulates it:

> It is dangerous for the one who has not been led by means of a life of activity to endeavour to teach. For just as, if someone has an unsound house and receives strangers hospitably into it, he injures them in the fall of the house, just so such ones who have not first built themselves up securely, they destroy the ones who have come with them. They summoned to salvation with words, but rather they injured the ones gathered to them by the evil of their habits. For the unfortified exposition of words is like letters composed from colours that easily fall off, dissolved in the least amount of time by gusts of wind and drops of rain; but the teaching that is practised all eternity cannot dissolve. For the word, carving out substantial things on the soul, bestows forever an image of Christ in the faithful.[13]

Here Synkletike's theory on exemplary teaching, that is the instruction determined by the teacher's piety and ascetic experience, emerges from a vivid presentation of its exact opposite, namely dangerous teaching. Only the last three lines of the above quotation refer to exemplary teaching, whereas the rest deals with dangerous teaching. Synkletike juxtaposes these two types of instruction in

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[13] Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius', p. 297.

such a way as to emphasize the dangers caused by the absence of an exemplary pedagogue, with the intention of teaching her disciples and the audience of her hagiography that the educator's role is a difficult task from which emerge also great responsibilities for the disciples. Therefore, one should not attempt to instruct others before acquiring the needed qualities.

Much earlier in the narrative, when the hagiographer talks about Synkletike's religious life, he describes the heroine with the following words:

> [S]he was [...] trained sufficiently in sufferings. [...] Just as people who are about to make a journey first give thought to their provisions, just so she, having prepared herself with provisions — with long sufferings — she made the journey toward heavenly things without restraint. For, having put away beforehand the things for the completion of the house, she made for herself the most secure tower. And whereas the work of dwelling places is usually constructed from external materials, she did the opposite thing. For she did not bring with her external materials, but rather she poured out internal things.[...] She built up her house upon the rock from which the tower was splendid and the house free from storms.[14]

Obviously, when Synkletike employs the metaphor of the 'unsound house' to define the opposite of the ideal teacher, she has already built her own 'secure tower' through ascetic training. In fact, what Synkletike teaches about exemplary teaching corresponds with her own role as an exemplary instructor; she is the living example of the ideal teacher she talks about.

Synkletike's transformation from an 'unsound house' into the 'secure tower' of faith is a difficult procedure taking considerable time. As already stated, Synkletike starts her religious life at her parents' house from a very early age. At first she undertakes the disciple's role. She listens attentively to the words of wise people and takes the first female martyr, St Thecla, as her model. Like Thecla, she rejects marriage and has Christ as her suitor. Following Thecla, Synkletike fights bravely for Christ's love and her struggles, according to her hagiographer, prove even greater than those of her model. Thecla fights only against bodily sufferings whereas Synkletike has also to subdue her own thoughts. As the hagiographer puts it:

> I understand the gentler sufferings to be Thecla's, for the evil of the enemy attacked her from the outside. But with Synkletike he displays his more piercing evil, moving from the inside by means of opposing and destructive thoughts.[15]

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[14] Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius', pp. 271–72.

[15] Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius', pp. 269–70.

While living in the world, Synkletike manages to resist worldly temptations by 'closing up all her senses'.[16] As a result, precious stones and clothes do not seduce her eyes. Music, the tears of her parents entreating her to marry, and the exhortation of her relatives do not deceive her hearing. She neglects her bodily needs and fasts secretly. In the hagiographer's words, 'she struggles bravely while escaping the notice of many.'[17]

Synkletike enters the second phase of her religious career after her parents' death, which enables her to devote herself entirely to God. She gets rid of the family property, abandons the family house, and enters a relative's tomb where she leads the harsh life of an anchorite for which she prepared herself while she was under her parents' control. In her new life, Synkletike undergoes more severe sufferings than before: she mortifies her flesh, fasts, and drinks only a small amount of water. Like all ascetics, Synkletike is attacked by the devil and defends herself with prayer and fasting. She gradually progresses in virtues and leaves behind all human passions. Synkletike's spiritual battles are so great that she surpasses all solitaries of her time. Having achieved such spiritual perfection, Synkletike is ready to enter the last and most important stage of her religious career, that is the time when she becomes a teacher. Now the holy heroine, following Christ's example, undertakes to lead others to salvation.

In her loosely structured teachings, Synkletike advises her disciples to undergo painful ascetic practices, to fight against temptation armed with prayer, faith, and asceticism, to acquire virtues such as chastity, voluntary poverty, and humility, and to renounce human passions such as memory of past injuries, pride, envy, and love of fame and money. All her teachings lie in full accordance with her own way of life. Her words find their first application in her own deeds. The appearance of her ascetic body and her behaviour constitute striking manifestations of the life she asks her disciples to lead. The teachings of such an exemplary instructor have, of course, a great impact on her disciples who are inspired with divine zeal and desire ascetic life.

Synkletike's influential teachings appear as more important than the holy woman's life which is presented schematically at the beginning and the end of the narrative. The biographical information provided by the hagiographer concerns only Synkletike's early and late years when she becomes ill and dies. The chronological void of Synkletike's middle age is covered by her teachings which

[16] Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius', p. 270.

[17] Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius', p. 270.

lie at the middle of the narrative, between the presentation of the heroine's early years and a detailed description of her illness occurring three and a half years before her death. This suggests that from her youth and until the time of her death, Synkletike, unlike most protagonists of Byzantine hagiography, does nothing but teach, a fact which underscores the great importance she attaches to the teacher's role. Her interest in this role is also indicated by her teachings on education quoted above and by the fact that she does not cease instructing others when she suffers a very painful illness. In an attempt to stop Synkletike's teaching project, the devil strikes her tongue and she loses her voice. Synkletike, however, does not cease to cure the souls of her disciples who are edified and spiritually lifted by the sight of her unbearable sufferings and the way she endures pain.

It seems that the information concerning Synkletike's biography appears in the text because it is strongly related to her role as a teacher. The description of Synkletike's austere religious life through which she transforms herself into a 'secure tower' aims at justifying her undertaking of the instructor's role. As for the presentation of the heroine's painful illness at the end of the narrative, it is also associated with her teaching project. As the hagiographer informs us, the devil causes this illness because he aims at destroying her ability to instruct. Eventually, even her suffering body becomes a powerful means of edification.

The emphasis on Synkletike's role as an instructor is also underscored by the high proportion of her teachings in the text. They occupy a much larger narrative space than the heroine's biography, with 886 of the edited text's 1185 lines devoted to them.[18] The focus on Synkletike's teachings is also achieved by the fact that they lie in the very middle of the narrative. The importance given by the hagiographer provides the text with a hybrid status, and as a result its classification into one particular genre is difficult, if not impossible. The text has a typical beginning and end of a saint's Life, but what it has in between belongs to the genre of *Apophthegmata Patrum*.[19] Consequently, Synkletike's hagiography is neither a Life nor a collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum*, but both.

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[18] See the edition of the text by Labrini G. Abelarga, *The Life of Saint Syncletica: Contribution to the Research and Study of the Early Ascetic Literature*, Byzantine Texts and Studies, 31 (Thessaloniki: Byzantine Research Centre, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002).

[19] For the hybridity of Synkletike's hagiography see Constantinou, 'Generic Hybrids: The "Life" of Synkletike and the "Life" of Theodora of Arta', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 56 (2006), 113–33.

A Disciple on Teaching

The Life of Macrina can be read as a literary attempt by Gregory of Nyssa to portray the exemplary teacher embodied by the individual who raises 'herself through philosophy to the highest limit of human virtue'.[20] As this text reveals, what is exemplary is not only the instructor leading a life that lies in accordance with his or her own teachings, as suggested by Synkletike as well, but also one who 'explains everything clearly and logically, [in a] speech flowing on with complete ease as water is borne from some fountain-head downhill without anything to get in its way'.[21] Taking into consideration that both teacher and disciples are involved in the project of (religious) instruction, Gregory does not fail to describe how precepts should be formulated so that they prove comprehensible and convincing for the disciples. For Gregory, the exemplary teacher is not just clear and persuasive, but also an excellent rhetor whose words 'delight' the listeners' hearings (*Life of Macrina*, §22.2–3).

Such a teacher is Gregory's own sister Macrina. Gregory also portrayed Macrina as an influential teacher in another of his works, the dialogue *On the Soul and Resurrection*. In this dialogue, which is modelled on the Platonic *Phaedo*, Macrina is depicted as a female Socrates who, in a conversation with Gregory just before her death, explores the relationship between the body and the soul, and talks about the soul's condition after its separation from the body at death.

Macrina is not treated by her brother as a woman, despite her female sex. Like other authors of holy women's Lives, Gregory suggests that the individual who reaches the 'highest limit of human virtue' ceases to be a woman.[22] As Gregory himself formulates it in the prologue of Macrina's Life, 'it was a woman who prompted our narrative, if, that is, we may call her a woman, for I do not know if it is appropriate to apply a name drawn from nature to one who has risen above nature'.[23] Gregory is reluctant to call Macrina a woman for yet another reason: the role of the exemplary teacher she undertakes is one traditionally reserved for wise men following the example of Christ.

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[20] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 1.

[21] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 18.

[22] See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women,* Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 9 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2005), pp. 90–91.

[23] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 1.

Having a personal experience and knowledge of Macrina's teachings, for he sees himself as one of her disciples, Gregory undertakes to relate her story, which refers almost entirely to her role as an instructor. Macrina's hagiography talks mainly about her teaching project, since teaching is what she is preoccupied with during her life. As is the case with Synkletike, Macrina's means of teaching are both her words and her example. Her disciples are directed to philosophy by following her words and by imitating her pious way of life.

Of course, like Synkletike, Macrina is a disciple of others before becoming a teacher herself. Her mother Emmelia provides her with preliminary Christian education and St Thecla becomes her model. Following Thecla, Macrina rejects marriage and devotes her virginity to Christ. As happens with Synkletike, who, as already mentioned, is another disciple of Thecla, Macrina starts teaching and leading others to the philosophical life after gaining mastery of spirituality. The instructor's role adopted by both Macrina and Synkletike is one performed also by Thecla, the only female apostle and the first Christian woman teacher. Thus the two heroines imitate Thecla in her role as an exemplary teacher as well.

Macrina's teaching project, like that of Synkletike, unfolds in the narrative after the presentation of her birth, education, and private religious life. In the narration of the various events that follow this presentation, each of which constitutes a short story having as its protagonist a member of Macrina's family, Gregory illustrates how Macrina directed her brothers and mother to virtuous life and how she solved their personal problems by becoming their counsellor and instructor. Macrina appears to intervene in the lives of those beloved by her at a time of crisis when help is needed most.

As soon as her father dies, Macrina assists her mother with everything concerning the household and helps with the upbringing of her younger brothers and sisters. She undertakes to raise on her own her newborn brother Peter and in so doing she assumes both the mother's and the father's role. As Gregory puts it, she 'becomes everything for the child, father, teacher, guide, mother [and] counsellor in every good'.[24] Through Macrina's great influence, Peter is directed towards the spiritual and ascetic life. He renounces profane education and devotes himself entirely to religious study. Eventually he becomes an exemplary ascetic and enters the sphere of sanctity.

Gregory suggests that even the holiness of their famous brother, Basil the Great, may be attributed to Macrina. As he recounts, when Basil comes back home from his studies in rhetoric he is extremely proud of his acquired skills,

[24] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 12.

self-absorbed, and preoccupied with worldly matters (*Life of Macrina*, §6). Without losing any time, Macrina undertakes to cure Basil's vanity and to save his soul. She manages through her example and teachings to lead him both to the adoption of the ascetic's life and to holiness.

Macrina becomes a religious teacher not only to her brothers but also to her own mother for whose holiness she is also responsible. As Gregory declares:

> [T]he life of the maiden becomes for her mother a guide towards the philosophical, immaterial way of life. Turning her away from all she is accustomed to, she leads her to her own standard of humility.[25]

Having introduced her mother to the ideal of philosophy, Macrina persuades her to transform their house into a nunnery and to share a common life with all their female servants, who are now treated as equals. In the nunnery created and led by Macrina there is

> no anger, envy, hate, arrogance [...]; the desire for foolish things of no substance, for honour, glory, delusions of grandeur, the need to be superior to others, and all such things have been eradicated. Self-control is their [Macrina's, her mother's and her nuns'] pleasure, not to be known is their fame, their wealth is in possessing nothing and in shaking off all material surplus, like dust from the body; their work is none of the concerns of this life, except in so far as it is a subordinate task. Their only care is for divine realities, and there is constant prayer and the unceasing singing of hymns.[...] [It is] a community whose way of life lies at the boundaries between human nature and the nature which is without body. The time spent in such a way of life is not short and their accomplishments increase with time, since philosophy always grants them an abundance of help in the discovery of good things which lead them on to greater purity.[26]

Despite her perfection in virtue acquired through the example and instruction of her daughter, Emmelia undergoes a moment of crisis when she is informed about the sudden death of her son Naucratius. She loses her self-control and in Gregory's words, 'she becomes breathless and speechless and faints away on the spot, reason giving way to grievous shock.'[27] It is Macrina again who takes immediate action:

> In this tragedy the excellence of the great Macrina becomes clear. Placing reason in opposition to passion, she keeps herself from falling and, by becoming a support to her mother's weakness, she draws her back again from the depths of her grief. With her firm, unflinching spirit she teaches her mother's soul to be brave. Consequently, her mother is

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[25] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 10.

[26] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, pp. 11–12.

[27] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 9.

not swept away by her sorrow [...] she endures the attacks of nature with calm, resisting them with her own reasoned reflections and with those suggested by her daughter in order to heal her pain.[28]

Apart from her mother, Macrina also teaches her brother Gregory how to deal with the death of his beloved when he visits her a few days before her own death. When, during one of their last conversations, Macrina and Gregory mention their brother Basil, who has died in the meantime, Gregory becomes sad and tears fall from his eyes. Then Macrina manages to dispel Gregory's sorrow by explaining 'the divine providence hidden in sad events and [by] recounting in detail events of the life to be hereafter'.[29] Later when Gregory shows his sadness over approaching Macrina's death, Macrina lifts his spirits again both with her charming philosophical teachings and her bravery towards her painful illness and death. Macrina's approach to death leads Gregory to the conclusion that his sister does not belong to the world of human beings, but to that of angels, a fact which edifies him and helps him to accept his sister's loss. Gregory describes his experience in the following way:

[O]n the one hand, my nature was heavy with sadness, as is understandable, in the anticipation that I would no longer hear the voice of hers; but, on the other hand, in so far as I did not yet grasp that the glory of our whole family was going to leave this human life, my soul was divinely inspired, as it were, by the things I saw and I suspected that she had transcended the common nature. For not even in her last breaths to feel anything strange in the expectation of death nor to fear separation from life, but with sublime thinking to philosophise upon what she had chosen for this life, right from the beginning up to her last breath, to me this seemed no longer to be part of human realities. Instead, it was as if an angel had providentially assumed human form, an angel in whom there was no affinity for, nor attachment to, the life of the flesh, about whom it was not unreasonable that her thinking should remain impassible, since the flesh did not drag it down to its own passions.[30]

Gregory is Macrina's last disciple since he receives her wise teachings and is edified by her way of life shortly before her death. In comparison with the episodes presented so far, which concern Macrina's teachings addressed to other members of her family, the episode of Gregory's last visit to his sister is narrated in great detail: all Gregory's meetings with his dying sister are presented and his inner thoughts and feelings are described. As a result this episode takes up the

[28] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, pp. 9–10.

[29] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 17.

[30] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, pp. 21–22.

largest narrative space. Of course, it is no wonder that the episode referring to Gregory's experience with Macrina is more detailed. In this case the protagonist and the narrator of the story are the same person, a fact which makes possible a full description of what happens and of the hero's personal thoughts and feelings. Gregory narrates this autobiographical short story after all the others and by so doing he follows the chronological sequence of Macrina's life. Macrina's teaching project addressed to her family, which was interrupted after her brothers Basil and Peter left the family house and upon the death of her mother, is now revived due to Gregory's visit.

Lying seriously ill on the ground, Macrina welcomes Gregory, whom she has not seen for eight years, and engages in a philosophical discussion with him. Gregory admires the way in which she, despite her bodily weakness, expounds her ideas about the soul and talks about other philosophical matters. When Gregory complains about the problems he had to face in the last years, Macrina advises him to forget all these issues, which she considers trivial, by thinking of all the good things that occur to him in life. Gregory is so captivated by his teacher's words that he 'keeps wishing that the day could be lengthened'[31] so that she might not stop talking.

Macrina's role as a teacher is exalted also by her nuns who, overcome by grief upon her death, exclaim:

> The lamp of our eyes has been extinguished; the light to guide our souls has been carried off; our life's security dissolved; the seal of incorruptibility taken away; the bond of our community torn down; the support of the powerless crushed; the care of the weak taken away. With you even the night was illumined like day for us by your pure life. But now even the day will be changed to utter darkness.[32]

To the qualities of the exemplary teacher personified by Macrina, which have been seen so far through Gregory's perspective, another is now added, expressed by a number of disciples who have a different experience of Macrina, since they are members of the monastic community she created who have shared a common religious life with her. According to her nuns, Macrina was the light allowing them to see, the light illuminating their lives, and the light showing them which path to follow. Through her way of life and teachings, Macrina transformed the darkness of her nuns' primary ignorance into the light of Christian knowledge. Macrina's loss has now brought a deep darkness into her nuns' lives. As one may

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[31] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 21.

[32] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 26.

assume from the nuns' words, the idea that their teacher was their light is very central in their understanding of Macrina's role in their lives. The repeated metaphor of light is dominant in the nuns' cries which start and end with this very metaphor.

Moreover, while Macrina is her nuns' light metaphorically during her life, upon her death she is transformed literally into a shining light. Dressed in a dark mantle, which can be viewed as a symbol of the darkness that her death engenders, Macrina 'shines': 'Rays of light seem to shine out from her beauty.'[33] Of course, the light deriving from Macrina's body constitutes a sign of her holiness.

Now the teacher as person has gone forever; the disciples will not see Macrina and will never hear her voice again. However, Macrina's personality and teachings remain alive in her disciples' memories who despite her death will continue their monastic lives according to the rules set by her.[34] Remembering Macrina's teachings concerning the management of grief, her nuns try to control their sorrow upon her loss. Nevertheless, they reach a point at which their suffering overcomes them and they give themselves over to lamentation. Their cries affect Gregory too, who, against Macrina's teachings, loses his self-control and starts weeping. When at some point he gazes at the dead woman, Gregory recalls her teachings and shouts loudly to the nuns:

> Look at her and remember the precepts she taught you, that you conduct yourselves in an orderly and graceful fashion in every circumstance. One proper occasion for our tears her divine soul prescribed when she bade us weep only at the time of prayer.[35]

With these words the nuns recover their self-control and are reminded that from now on they will always have to bear in mind Macrina's teachings in order to go on leading the philosophical life into which they were introduced by Macrina.

Being graphically commemorated in her Life, Macrina's teachings survive even the memory of her disciples which lasts as long as these individuals live. Through Gregory's text, Macrina the teacher remains alive for ever. The same is true for Synkletike, the other female teacher discussed in this chapter, whose teachings appear both in her hagiography and in collections of *Apophthegmata*

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[33] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 31.

[34] For the function of memory in the *Life of Macrina*, see Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 110–32.

[35] Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, p. 27.

Patrum compiled after the hagiography, and in fact taken from her hagiography.[36] Synkletike is one of the three women (the other two are Theodora and Sarah) whose teachings have been included in the collections of *Apophthegmata Patrum* containing the sayings of 128 male ascetics. Originally addressed to the monastic circles of Egypt for the monks' instruction and spiritual uplifting, the popular *Apophthegmata Patrum* along with her hagiography kept alive the memory of Synkletike's teachings, and praised her exemplarity as a teacher.

     What brings together the two women discussed here, Macrina and Synkletike, is the fact that both devoted their entire lives to teaching. Neither ever attempted to commit her teachings to writing, yet these teachings exist as written texts. In fact, it is mainly due to the exemplarity and influence of their teachings that their hagiographers decided to commemorate them, as is attested by the important role that teaching plays in the examined narratives. In order to stress Synkletike's teachings, her anonymous hagiographer provides his text with a hybrid status. As for Gregory, he writes a narrative consisting mainly of episodes referring to Macrina's role as a teacher. These texts reveal an important tradition in Byzantine culture of women teaching other women, and men too, by both word and example. They disclose a tension over the idea of rhetoric, with a sense on the one hand of a true eloquence that comes from exemplary piety, and that can be achieved by women, compared with the sort of worldly rhetorical competence learnt by young men in schools. More importantly, these Lives show female teaching as a continuum passed from a teacher to her disciples, who study to become teachers in their turn. These hagiographic, didactic texts thus give evidence of a female world of learning and teaching that held a valued place in Byzantine culture.

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[36] See *Patrologiae cursus completus [...] Series Graeca*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 161 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), LXV, 421–28, and *Les Apophtegmes des Pères: Collection systématique*, ed. by Jean-Claude Guy, Sources chrétiennes, 387 (Paris: Cerf, 1993), pp. 138, 168, 210–12, 324–26, 350–56, 416.

Thomasin von Zerclaere's *Der Welsche Gast* and Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*: Two Middle High German Didactic Writers Focus on Gender Relations

Albrecht Classen

Medieval didactic writers such as Wernher von Elmendorf, Guiot de Provins, Thomasin von Zerclaere, John of Salisbury, Hugo von Trimberg, Matfre Ermengaud, and Vincent de Beauvais were not only moralists and teachers, mostly highly conservative,[1] but through their criticism and admonishments they also shed significant light on the ideals espoused by themselves and their audiences, and they indicated quite clearly what they perceived to be deviations from those ideals in areas such as chivalry, men's treatment of women, people's relationship with God, and social interactions within society in general.[2] Focusing on two closely related issues for the purpose

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[1] Bernhard Sowinski, *Lehrhafte Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Sammlung Metzler, Section D: Literaturgeschichte, 103 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971); Ingeborg Glier, 'Allegorische, didaktische und satirische Literatur', in *Europäisches Spätmittelalter*, ed. by Willi Erzgräber, Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, 8 (Wiesbaden: Athenaion, 1978), pp. 427–54. All translations are mine.

[2] For a broad introduction, focusing on examples in Middle High German literature, see Bruno Boesch, *Lehrhafte Literatur: Lehre in der Dichtung und Lehrdichtung im deutschen Mittelalter*, Grundlagen der Germanistik, 21 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1977); for a wide range of most recent studies on this topic, see *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, Medieval Cultures, 29 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); also useful is J. W. Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: A Study of Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985). Most recently, Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Peter Abelard's *Carmen ad Astralabium* and Medieval Parent-Child Didactic Texts: The Evidence for Parent-Child Relationships in the Middle Ages', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift*

of this chapter, these authors also have a lot to say about contemporary concepts of the family, how they wanted their readers to regard this institution, and how they viewed gender relations in its public manifestation, but also specifically within the framework of the family.[3] In this sense, they reflect in numerous ways a certain degree of social reality hidden behind their moralizing and criticism, like all writers who address their audience through sermons, guidebooks, and similar genres. Indeed, conservative critics in general often reveal as much about the social conditions of their time through their protests or criticism as they project their own ideals about necessary improvements.

Medieval literature includes a large number of didactic authors, two of whom will be discussed in this chapter. Cultural historians have examined their works intensively and cited their opinions as indicative of fundamental structural aspects in their societies.[4] Joachim Bumke, for instance, has, like many cultural historians before him,[5] culled much information both from Thomasin's *Der Welsche Gast* and Hugo's *Der Renner* for his seminal *Höfische Kultur* (1986), fully aware of the prescriptive, normative focus of their works.[6] As Jutta Goheen observes with remarkable clarity, 'Gnomische Dichtung baut aus Wissen und Erfahrung des Dichters die Fiktion einer Antithese von idealer und realer Verhaltensweise des Menschen auf, der in seinem Ordnungsgefüge steht und handelt. Sie hat damit eine deutliche soziologische Dimension, die einen repräsentativen Ausschnitt aus der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft einschließt'

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in the History of Mentality, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 203–27, offered a specific case study of the relevance of didactic-poetic literature for a socio-literary analysis.

[3] For a wide range of discussions of gender relations in medieval German literature, see *Manlichiu wîp, wîplich man: Zur Konstruktion der Kategorien 'Körper' und 'Geschlecht' in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. by Ingrid Bennewitz and Helmut Tervooren, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 9 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999). Didactic writers, however, were not considered here. See my review in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 101 (2000), 604–06.

[4] Mary Paul Goetz, *The Concepts of Nobility in German Didactic Literature of the Thirteenth Century*, The Catholic University of America Studies in German, 5 (1935; New York: AMS, 1970); *Didactic Literature in England: 1500–1800: Expertise Constructed*, ed. by Natasha Glaisyer and Sara Pennell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

[5] Alois Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, 2 vols, 2nd rev. edn (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1889).

[6] Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986), I, 28 and 268; II, 413 et alibi. For an English translation, see *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).

(Gnomic literature creates, out of the knowledge and experience of the author, the fiction of an antithesis between ideal and real forms of behaviour characteristic of people who live and act within an organized structure. Hence this literature contains a clearly sociological dimension which includes a representative aspect of medieval society).[7]

At first sight, however, medieval moralists seem to be rather suspect as historical authorities, especially because of their vested interests in the discussion of particular aspects of their society. By the same token, the fact that their documents have survived until today in multiple manuscripts strongly indicates that they reached their audiences effectively and were recognized as sharp observers and critics of their respective societies. For instance, many writers in the High Middle Ages voiced serious concerns about the growing importance of money as the only relevant measure of social rank. This new theme in public discourse obviously indicates a fundamental transition from a feudal to a pre-capitalistic society, otherwise the critics would not have had occasion or reason to raise this issue.[8] These moralists were dominant participants in the public discourse of their time, whether they pursued a conservative or a progressive agenda, and whether they hailed from a religious organization or belonged to a secular social group. Sermons, for instance, cannot be treated as direct mirrors of social conditions, but they certainly indicate what the moral and religious authorities were concerned about and tried to correct through public admonishment.[9] This also applies to monastic rules, educational treatises, and other didactic texts specifically addressing female audiences, which Alexandra Barratt discusses in her chapter in the present volume. The moralists treated here explicitly addressed mixed audiences of men and women, and specifically appealed to the nobility, being

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[7] Jutta Goheen, *Mensch und Moral im Mittelalter: Geschichte und Fiktion in Hugo von Trimbergs 'Der Renner'* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), p. 9.

[8] Albrecht Classen, 'The Role of Wealth and Money in Medieval and Late-Medieval German Literature', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 101 (2000), 415–28; Albrecht Classen, 'Die Bedeutung von Geld in der Welt des hohen und späten Mittelalters: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Zeugen der mittelhochdeutschen Literaturgeschichte; Walther von der Vogelweide bis Sebastian Brant und *Fortunatus*', *Studi Medievali*, 42 (2001), 565–604; *Geld im Mittelalter: Wahrnehmun—Bewertung—Symbolik*, ed. by Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).

[9] A careful reading against the grain of didactic literature for women, for example, can yield far-reaching insights about male concepts of women, their own fear of women's transgression, and the public discourse about women; see Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamdon: Archon, 1983).

part of the aristocratic courts themselves. Thomasin, for instance, identified his own work as 'hovezuht lere' (teaching of courtly manners), and the same applies more or less to Hugo as well, except that he treated a much wider range of encyclopedic knowledge and seems to have had an urban audience (both clerical and secular) in mind.[10]

Recently the question has been raised as to whether statements by didactic writers can be used as reflections of the civilizing process, or whether they only wrote about normal conditions of their time, reminding their audiences of traditional values and ideals.[11] Normally it would be extremely difficult to decide whether we are dealing with prescriptive or reflective documents, literary mirrors or norm-setting guidelines. Writers such as Thomasin von Zerclaere and Hugo von Trimberg seem to have pursued both goals, to teach and to reflect on the current discourse, providing guidance and direction for their audience, while they concurrently also reflected the critical issues hotly debated at their time, taking side or opposing certain developments and attitudes.

In this chapter I want to examine what these two authors — undoubtedly two of the most important contributors to the genre of didactic writing in medieval German literature — had to say about marriage and gender relations. These topics gained tremendous interest from the late Middle Ages onward, as is reflected in the vast number of Shrovetide plays, verse novellas, prose novels, and other related genres that deal with them.[12] But the family as a social unit and the performance of each of its members were also of great importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[13] otherwise these didactic writers would not

[10] Thomasin von Zerclaere, *Der Welsche Gast*, ed. by F. W. von Kries, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 425, 4 vols (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1984–85), I: *Einleitung, Überlieferung, Text, die Varianten des Prosavorworts* (1984), l. 916. All citations of *Der Welsche Gast* refer to this edition and are hereafter cited parenthetically in the text by line number.

[11] *Zivilisationsprozesse: Zu Erziehungsschriften in der Vormoderne*, ed. by Rüdiger Schnell (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004).

[12] Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, Volksliedstudien, 5 (Münster: Waxmann, 2005).

[13] For medieval marriage, see David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); see also Michael M. Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. by James K. Farge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Gudrun Pamme-Vogelsang, *Die Ehen mittelalterlicher Herrscher im Bild: Untersuchungen zu zeitgenössischen Herrscherpaardarstellungen des 9. bis 12. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, 20 (Munich: Fink, 1998); *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.*,

have turned their attention to the institution itself. Gender conflicts are staple topics in world literature, but they were obviously treated in much greater detail from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards with the rise of courtly society and the development of a leisure class, not to mention the rapid establishment of new and further development of old urban centres.[14]

Thomasin von Zerclaere

Thomasin was a cleric at the court of Wolfger von Erla, Patriarch of Aquileia, erstwhile Bishop of Passau, and hailed from Friuli, in the vicinity of Venice; he was of Italian descent and his real name was Tommasino dei Cerchiari. Nevertheless, he wrote his work, *Der Welsche Gast* (The Italian Guest), in Middle High German, completing it during the winter of 1215–16. Serving the Patriarch in administrative duties, he was also a canon of Aquileia. We do not know much else about his life and can only assume that he was born around 1185 and probably joined Wolfger's court in about 1205.[15] His reasons for composing this voluminous work are not quite obvious, but we can assume, based on a number of brief comments in the text, that Thomasin was deeply concerned with the moral and ethical decline of his time and felt impelled to write down in rhymed verses what all members of his society needed to keep in mind and to practise in order to lead a virtuous life. The early thirteenth century was, moreover, a time of deep crises in the German Empire, and the moralist Thomasin complains strenuously about the social and ethical decline.

Thomasin was one of the earliest poets to advocate a new approach to the concept of nobility, propagating the principle of the nobility of the soul, meaning that only those who had received a thorough moral education could be regarded as true aristocratic members of the court.[16] *Der Welsche Gast* attempts to provide

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ed. by Constance M. Rousseau and Joel T. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval Culture, 37 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1998).

[14] This has been discussed from many different perspectives and does not need any further confirmation, but see Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 BC–AD 1250* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985; repr. 1997).

[15] For a broad introduction of the poet and his work, see Daniel Rocher, *Thomasin von Zerclaere: Der Wälsche Gast (1215–1216)*, 2 vols (Lille: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1977).

[16] Volker Honemann, 'Aspekte des "Tugendadels" im europäischen Spätmittelalter', in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. by Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann, Germanistische Symposien Berichtbände, 5 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1984), pp. 274–88; Klaus

the reader with fundamental values and practical advice on how to organize and structure one's life, how to avoid evil, and how to acquire philosophical and religious knowledge.[17] Thomasin's work enjoyed considerable popularity, as documented by the survival of twenty-three manuscripts, thirteen of which are also illustrated.[18]

Scholarship has mostly focused on the literary, didactic, political, ethical, and moral issues broadly discussed by Thomasin, whereas the topics of gender relations and the family seem to have been of surprisingly little concern.[19] Of course, medieval didactic texts, such as *Der Welsche Gast*, mostly address burning social issues, especially the rapid loss of public morality and ethical standards, the collapse of the political system, problems regarding criminality, education, schooling, virtues, the soul, and other aspects of greatest relevance for both the learned and unlearned audience.[20] But at a time when courtly love was receiving probably its most intensive public attention, we could also expect a didactic writer to address such common phenomena as marriage and gender relations, affective bonds between parents and children, and respect for elders. As we now know, children played a major role within the framework of the family and were

Schreiber, 'Bildung als Norm adliger Lebensführung', in *Zivilisationsprozesse*, pp. 199–237 (p. 237); for a broad introduction to Thomasin, see Albrecht Classen, 'Thomasîn von Zerclaere', in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), p. 757.

[17] See the introduction to Thomasin von Zerclaere, *Der Welsche Gast*; see also *Der Welsche Gast*, secondo il Cod. Pal. Germ. 389, Heidelberg con le integrazioni di Heinrich Rückert e le varianti del Membr. I 120, Gotha (mit deutscher Einleitung), ed. by Raffaelo Disanto, Quaderni di Hesperides, Serie Testi, 3 (Trieste: Parnaso, 2001).

[18] Michael Stolz, 'Text und Bild im Widerspruch? Der Artes-Zyklus in Thomasins "Welschem Gast" als Zeugnis mittelalterlicher Memorialkultur', in *Wolfram-Studien*, XV: *Neue Wege der Mittelalter-Philologie: Landshuter Kolloquium 1996*, ed. by Joachim Heinzle, L. Peter Johnson, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe (Berlin: Schmidt, 1998), pp. 344–72; the contributors to *Thomasin von Zirklaere und die didaktische Literatur des Mittelalters,* ed. by Paola Schulze-Belli, Studi tergestini sul Medioevo, 2 (Trieste: Associazione di cultura medioevale, 1995), offer a range of generic interpretations.

[19] For an overview, see Michael Resler, 'Thomasîn von Zerclære', in *German Writers and Works of the High Middle Ages: 1170–1280*, ed. by James Hardin and Will Hasty, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 138 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994), pp. 133–40.

[20] Daniel Rocher, 'Thomasin von Zerclaere: ein Dichter … oder ein Propagandist im Auftrag?', in *Wolfger von Erla: Bischof von Passau (1191–1204) und Patriarch von Aquileja (1204–1218) als Kirchenfürst und Literaturmäzen*, ed. by Egon Boshof and Fritz Peter Knapp, Germanische Bibliothek, 3; Reihe: Untersuchungen, 20 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), pp. 325–43.

mostly treated as what they were, as children, quite contrary to the traditional assumptions espoused by those scholars who followed Philippe Ariès's lead.[21] While the perception of children played a significant role in Thomasin's treatise (1189–92),[22] topics such as marriage and family life also attracted his interest. Our first task, then, will be to examine to what extent Thomasin explored the world of private life and opened it up for the public discourse, focusing here, above all, on gender relations.[23]

Although Thomasin seems to investigate generic moral issues throughout his work, we can gain much insight into his perception of gender roles by examining thoroughly his viewpoints on how men and women ought to behave. Whereas men are supposed to command a wide range of skills and talents (1457), women are encouraged to concentrate on polite speech and chaste minds (1452), especially since they are not expected to rise to the rank of a ruler (1456), even though the opposite was quite often the case.[24] Women ought to refrain from strategizing and manipulation in their public role: 'daz ein vrowe habe niht vil list' (a woman should not employ much cunning; 1459),[25] whereas a straightforward

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[21] *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.*

[22] James A. Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 82, 94, 97, 102, 217, still argued that Thomasin viewed children basically as young adults, whereas he ignores the specific function of this treatise as an educational, moral, and ethical guidebook, helping children, but especially young adults to grow into full members of courtly society.

[23] *A History of Private Life* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987–94) ed. by Georges Duby, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, II: *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. by Georges Duby (1988), offers a wealth of important information about private life in the Middle Ages, but many times the claims about gender relations, and other aspects, continue to border on the mythical and find no confirmation in the sources, or else these are terribly misinterpreted. Thomasin is not mentioned once. Boesch, *Lehrhafte Literatur*, does not even consider the category of gender. Some of the contributors to *Medieval Conduct* explore women's roles as circumscribed by authors of didactic and primarily devotional texts, but the focus then rests on fashion (Roberta L. Krueger), mother-daughter relationships (Ann Marie Rasmussen), education (Anna Dronzek), and the construction of the female subject in devotion (Robert L. A. Clark).

[24] *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (1993; New York: St Martin's, 1998); *Frauen des Mittelalters in Lebensbildern*, ed. by Karl Rudolf Schnith (Graz: Styria, 1997).

[25] The opposite could well be the case, if we think of Isolde in Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan*; see for example Hartmut Semmler, *Listmotive in der mittelhochdeutschen Epik: Zum Wandel ethischer Normen im Spiegel der Literatur*, Philologische Studien und Quellen, 122 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1991), although he does not mention Thomasin's argument at all.

and upright mind is most laudable in them (1461), as long as they abstain from wrong love, 'unminne' (1464). Meanwhile the emphasis on good 'sinne', a clear and honourable mind-set (1463 and 1470–80), applies to both men and women. Thomasin encourages women, above all, to balance external beauty with clarity of mind: 'ziret si den lip und niht den sin, | si zieret sich uof ungewin' (if she beautifies her body and not the mind, she gains nothing but false profit; 1501–02).[26] Nevertheless, he then expands his argument and addresses all people, urging them to improve their honour and mind-set, without drawing any particular gender distinctions.

Deceptive behaviour, however, hurts women more than men (1583–84), whereas men are expected to show more generosity than women if they want to gain public respect (1587–88). Both men and women are strongly advised to embrace humility (1589), even though women would profit from it more than men since their virtue is better exhibited by humility than men's is (1591–94). By contrast, knights shine through their boldness (1595), a public display, whereas women succeed through their loyalty and truthfulness (1596). Cowardly knights are as contemptible as untruthful ladies (1597–98). Nevertheless, gender difference finds its expression in the varied negative evaluation of deceptiveness on the part of knights (1601), and inconstancy (1602), disloyalty (1603), and arrogance (1604) on the part of ladies.

Shallow female beauty proves to be worth nothing (1606–07), whereas women's loyalty, constancy, and a friendly attitude deserve to be praised (1625). As C. Stephen Jaeger, and after him Otfrid Ehrismann, have amply demonstrated recently, in line with older research, these are the fundamental values characterizing courtliness, although Thomasin here explicitly injects gender categories into the discourse.[27]

The author demonstrates considerable interest in giving directives to husbands, strongly encouraging them not to impose irresponsible and unnecessary controls on their wives. It would be much more effective to offer the best possible service in love than to lock up women: 'swer si sperret suonderbere, | der sparte si mit dienste baz' (1816–17). Turning to his male audience, he inquires specifically

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[26] I will spell out all superscripta here for the pragmatic purpose of correct reproduction.

[27] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 236–54, and passim; Otfrid Ehrismann, along with Albrecht Classen, Winder McConnell, and others, *Ehre und Mut, Âventiure und Minne: Höfische Wortgeschichten aus dem Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1995), pp. 211–16 (for 'triuwe'), and passim.

what good it would do to attempt such a foolish thing as to try to keep wives like prisoners (1819), when they are respectable people in the first place and do not deserve such undignified treatment. More specifically, no padlock can be effective in suppressing a woman's mind by physical force: 'dehein sloz verhabet den muot: | lip ist ane herze ein swachez guot' (no padlock can control the mind: the body is not worth much without a heart; 1821–22). On the contrary, husbands who try to keep their wives like prisoners would only provoke their hatred (1823), whereas noble treatment, which implies love and freedom, would ensure loyalty between man and woman. Any artificial means, including sorcery, to win a woman's love will fail utterly (1825–28). Moreover, violence against women amounts to a serious breach of courtly norms: 'der hat gar einen unhufschen muot, | der den vrowen gewalt tuot' (he has a very uncourtly mind who treats women violently; 1831–32).[28] On the other hand, a man should not think that he can buy a woman's favour with expensive gifts, since this would indicate a complete misunderstanding of women's sense of identity and would demean their honour (1835–36). Comically, Thomasin goes so far as to identify all those men who only pursue this path and do not understand women's mentality as 'choufman' (merchant[s]; 1852). The true and ideal relationship between man and woman becomes a reality when both share the same value system ('muot'; 1864), loyalty ('triuwe'; 1865), and love ('liebe'; 1866).

The text moreover admonishes men not to be blinded by external appearance; instead one ought to perceive the soul and character of a person: 'an guoter tugende unde an sinne. | so merchet ein biderb man guot | ir gebærde unde ouch ir muot' (her good virtues and attitude. This way a honourable man recognizes her behaviour and also her spirit; 1914–16). A man would be happier if he chose as his wife a woman with impeccable virtues and strength of character: 'ob si si guot, er tuot baz, | wan mit einem armen wibe guot | mach man wol han vroelichen muot' (when she is a good person he does better, because one can certainly gain happiness with a poor woman; 1932–34). Ideally, women should display loyalty and constancy, the cornerstones of a good marriage, whereas in reality, as the critic sees it, courtliness has lost its appeal and has been replaced by such vices as falseness, bragging, evil-mindedness, overprotectiveness, inconstancy,

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[28] See the contributions to *Violence Against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. by Anna Roberts (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); *The Final Argument: The Imprint of Violence on Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998); and *Violence in Medieval Courtly Literature: A Casebook*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (New York: Routledge, 2004).

and hubris (1965–97). Evaluating the relationship between wife and husband, Thomasin emphasizes:

> swelch vrowe ist cheusch in ir iuogent,
> hat si dar zuo denne dise tuogent,
> daz si vor hochvart si behuote
> und si mein ir man mit guote
> und si im wol mit triewen holt,
> diu ist ein gimme fuer allez golt.
> (1969–74)

(a woman who is chaste in her youth and possesses the virtue of being free from arrogance and only thinks good of her husband and loves him loyally is a jewel above all gold.)

Most important in this didactic writer's evaluation of women is their clear rejection of deception (1982–83), because this vice particularly undermines true love and transforms good things into bad (1984–85). Thomasin strongly admonishes the men among his audience not to transgress a basic barrier and touch women physically without their permission (1999–2000). He also underscores women's wide range of possible virtues that men ought to respect:

> da von si mach ir guote sitte,
> ir chiusche, ir guot getete,
> ir triuwe unde ouch ir stete,
> ir pris un ire huofscheit,
> ir guoten namen und ir edelcheit.
> (2022–26)

(this constitutes her good manners, her chastity, her good deeds, her loyalty and also her constancy, her praise and her courtliness, her good name and her nobility.)

By the same token Thomasin offers much advice to men in their behaviour toward women, here mostly formulated in terms of ethical and moral ideals. When a woman rejects a man's request, he ought to accept this without complaining and should leave her alone (2137–41). Evil men, by contrast, do not ask women for favours and instead expect to get all their wishes fulfilled immediately and without much effort (2075–77). The author strongly recommends women to look out for virtuous men who would be their friends on the basis of honour and nobility (2191–2204). A wise man, for instance, would be much more tolerant than a fool, and a woman would have to expect much more sorrow from the latter than from the sage (2215–17). Nevertheless, a woman would be well advised to select her lover or husband very carefully, just as much as she would examine thoroughly

to whom she could entrust her property (2166–72). But Thomasin also alerts the men among his audience to stay away from immature and unethical women, putting them into the same category as thieves and crooks: 'schachære, diebe, unvertigiu wip | gebent durh guot ere unde lip' (crooks, thieves, and immature women exchange their honour and bodies for material goods; 2177–78). In other words, there are no differences between the genders with respect to unethical people, as the author strongly appeals to both sides to be alert and circumspect. Even a highly ranked nobleman and/or a rich man is not necessarily a guarantee against fraud and deception (2199–2204).

On a slightly different level, Thomasin also emphasizes that a married couple always functions as a unit, and if someone criticizes or vituperates the husband, he automatically insults the wife as well (2267–68). The same sense of unity even applies after the death of a marriage partner, as the author strongly advises either widow or widower to wait for a whole year before marrying again, since remarrying immediately would not be regarded with respect:

> daz selbe ein wip wizzen sol,
> daz si niht entuot ze wol
> swelhiu nimt vor einem iare
> man: ez stet ir ubel gare.
> (6245–48)

(likewise a wife ought to know that it would not bode well if she married again before a year has passed: it would be regarded as immoral.)

Public reputation, or honour, would be tarnished if remarriage took place in less than a full year: 'ane guoten namen dan belibe' (lose her good name; 6254).[29]

These observations differ markedly from those included in Bumke's seminal *Höfische Kultur* where the author describes the courtly idealization of women as a literary, or fictional, projection which does not fully hide the fundamental misogyny espoused by representatives of the church from late antiquity and by didactic writers such as Thomasin.[30] But Bumke selected only specific passages that appeared to confirm his argument, whereas the context is missing, and the

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[29] For extensive discussions of church law pertaining to marriage, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 36–39, 94–98, 143–45, and passim.

[30] Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*: 'Das neue Frauenbild vertrug sich überraschend gut mit den alten Vorstellungen von der Minderwertigkeit der Frau, denen es nach außen hin so vehement widersprach' (II, 459).

testimony of Thomasin's *Welsche Gast* is only cited when the author appears to support women's subordination under men's rule.[31] Depending on the circumstances and social conditions, the opposite could be the case, such as when the moralist emphasizes women's independence and the considerable social respect that they could demand from men: 'er sol haben diese lere, | daz er ir gruez und gar ir hulde | niht verliese von siner schulde' (he should accept this lesson not to lose her friendly greeting and even her grace because of his own fault; 2142–44). The consequences would be disastrous for him: 'der læstert sines selbes lip' (he puts shame upon himself; 2145). Even worse, if a man should lambast a woman because she will not fulfil his wishes, he would forfeit all his honour: 'er schendet sich halt gar ze vil' (2148), and hence his position at court.

At the same time, Thomasin worries about the danger of rumours, because a report about one woman's bad behaviour could spread quickly and cast a negative light on all women (2237–40). Ultimately, however, both men and women pursue similar goals and must strive for virtues on their own, as good people cannot reform bad ones, and vice versa. If a woman proves to be evil-minded, the most virtuous man will not be able to change her way of life (4635–46). On the other hand, if a woman were married to an evil man, he would not necessarily bring her down with him:

> si tuot doch, daz si tuon sol,
>   daz solt ir mir gelouben wol.
> wizzet, daz ein guot wip rehte tuot,
>   ir man si ubel oder guot.
>   (4649–52)

(believe me, she does what she has to do. Be assured, a good wife acts properly, whether her husband has an evil or a good character.)

Thomasin goes so far as to criticize those men who demand that their wives obey the rules of proper behaviour, which they themselves do not follow (4669–76). Instead of acting as a watchdog for the other person, one should pursue one's own path toward goodness: 'Ich wolde, daz ieglicher sinen lip | behuoten solde, man unde wip' (I prefer that each person looks out for himself, both men and women; 4689–90); and similarly:

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[31] Bumke (*Höfische Kultur*, II: 482–83) cites the same passage I have dealt with, lines 842–49, but he offers a different interpretation: 'Eine Frau brauchte nur so viel Verstand, um "höfisch und gesittet" (*hüfsch unde gevuoc*) zu sein' (p. 482). He ignores that Thomasin differentiates between actual intelligence and public performance, warning against the danger of hubris, which implicitly would also apply to men. See, for instance, lines 11355–96.

> Wolden wir den wiben lan,
> > daz si ir zuoht und unzuoht muosten han,
> und hetten uns die unsern, daz
> > were getan michels paz.
>
> > > (4719–22)

(It would be much better to allow women to guard their own honour or to let them transgress it, and to do the same for ourselves.)

Finally, using himself as an example, Thomasin explains that if he were married and his wife would not behave according to own precepts, he would let her do whatever she wanted: 'so wold ich ir die schande lan' (I would let her suffer from shame herself; 4735). But we can also be certain, in light of the previous discussion — see, for instance, lines 4647–60, 4667–68 — that he would have given wives the same advice, which implies that both sexes ought to have sufficient room to pursue their own life, whether they choose to go the right or the wrong way.

Parents are in a position to control and educate their children, but husbands and wives operate on a different plane and can no longer determine or control their partner's morality, ethics, and value system. Thomasin strongly argues for a considerable gender equality, both in the good and in the bad sense:

> die huote hilfet niht ze vil,
> > wan swer sich selben schenden wil,
> der mach ervinden manigen list
> > daz erz tuot ze etlicher first.
>
> > > (4685–88)

(control does not achieve much, because the person who wants to bring shame upon himself will find numerous strategies to carry out his plans.)

This is not to imply that the author supported a modern approach, with both sexes enjoying social, economic, and cultural equality as well. If hard-pressed, Thomasin would have certainly confirmed that women had to stay home, administer the estate, and take care of the children, although he never turns his attention to the minutiae of domestic life.

Moreover, upon closer analysis, Thomasin might even have admitted that he assigned women a secondary role as passive objects of men's wooing. But his *Welsche Gast* does not deal with specific aspects of daily life and is not determined by the ambition to develop a concrete guideline for a noble lifestyle; instead he primarily explores moral and ethical issues as they concern the two

genders by themselves and/or in relationship to each other. In this regard, women are treated with considerable respect and are given as much free space as their husbands. Thomasin still differentiates between ideals of female performance and ideals of male performance, but as far as virtues and ideals are concerned, women and men here appear to be operating on the same level. Women are subject to similar temptations and weaknesses as men, and they are similarly praised for their inner strength and upright character. Thomasin criticizes both husband and wife for wrongdoing and ridicules both sexes for various types of foolishness. Nevertheless, this didactic writer treats female and male gender roles as surprisingly equal and utilizes his discourse for an amazingly open-minded exploration of the relationship between men and women in ethical and moral terms because these ideals were gender-indifferent for him.

Yet according to Jutta Goheen, didactic writers such as Hugo von Trimberg, to be discussed below, embraced a solidly patriarchal perspective and observed women only as virgins, wives, and widows: 'Die literarische Figur der Frau in gnomischer Dichtung reflektiert die juristische und altchristliche Konzeption ihrer Rolle, die sie ausschließlich aus ihrer Beziehung zum Manne betrachtet und bewertet. Allein die Geschlechtsrolle zählt als ihr *orden* in der Gesellschaft' (The literary figure of the woman in gnomic literature reflects the juridical and early Christian concept of her role, according to which she is treated and evaluated exclusively in her relationship with the man. Only her gender role counts as her *ordo* within society).[32] Most other scholars have not even noticed that gender plays a major role in these didactic texts and only highlight issues of morality and ethics as these apply generally.[33] Considering Thomasin's remarkable willingness to make room for women within the broad discourse of morality and ethics, such a conservative, almost patristic, concept of women is surprising and obviously contradicts the findings obtained through a close reading of his statements within their broader context. Let us therefore examine whether this observation can be upheld when we look at the work of one of Thomasin's most important successors in medieval German literature.

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[32] *Mensch und Moral im Mittelalter*, p. 139.

[33] Helmut de Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter*, pt I: *1250–1350*, newly ed. by Johannes Janota, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3.1, 5th edn (1962; Munich: Beck, 1997), pp. 324–31.

Hugo von Trimberg

Hugo von Trimberg experienced enormous success with his vast didactic verse treatise, *Der Renner* (The Runner), which has come down to us in seventy-two manuscripts and one print edition, many of which are illustrated. It consists of around twenty-five thousand verses and represents the most voluminous didactic treatise written in the German Middle Ages. Hugo was born in about 1230 in Franconia, which today lies in northern Bavaria. From around 1260 he worked in Bamberg as *magister* and *rector scolarum* at the canonical school of St Gangolf, where he died in 1313. Hugo completed his *Renner*, as he himself confirms, in 1300, but he constantly added more material up till his death. This highly influential didactic work served as a kind of encyclopedia of a broad range of moral, ethical, philosophical, and religious knowledge, dealing with the seven deadly sins, the *septem artes*, pedagogy, literary history, the relevance of money, tournaments, the basic human temperaments, a considerable gamut of professions, the allegorical interpretation of animals, and death. Hugo utilized many verse narratives to illustrate his teaching, such as *bîspeln* (didactic tales) and *mæren* (entertaining tales), in order to facilitate considerably his readers' access to this didactic opus.[34] In contrast to Thomasin's specific address to a noble audience, Hugo intended his work for everyone, both poor and rich, young and old, all of whom are subject, as he saw it, to temptation by the seven deadly sins.

Readers far into the late eighteenth century deeply appreciated *Der Renner*, but modern philological research since the nineteenth century has mostly neglected it.[35] Recent scholarship has primarily focused on aspects such as Hugo's

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[34] For a similar didactic approach in a long metrical text also intended for a broad range of readers, see Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, as discussed by Anne M. Scott in her chapter in the present volume. See also the chapter by Philippa Bright on the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, moralized collections of entertaining tales.

[35] Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ed. by Gustav Ehrismann, Mit einem Nachwort und Ergänzungen von Günther Schweikle. Deutsche Neudrucke, Reihe: Textes des Mittelalters, 4 vols (1908–11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970); all references to *Der Renner* are to this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text by line numner. For a recent comprehensive investigation, see Rudolf Kilian Weigand, *Der 'Renner' des Hugo von Trimberg: Uberlieferung, Quellenabhängigkeit und Struktur einer spätmittelalterlichen Lehrdichtung*, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 35 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), who offers a detailed description of all manuscripts and the one print edition from 1549; he also discusses three manuscripts lost today. For a concise English introduction to Hugo, see Jutta Goheen, 'Hugo von Trimberg', in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (see n. 15, above), pp. 376–77.

self-concept as a teacher (Winfried Frey, 1973) and as a poet (Dietrich Schmidtke, 1974), and has studied *Der Renner* as a major contribution to gnomic literature (Bruno Boesch, 1977; Jutta Goheen, 1990), or has investigated the function in this didactic text of the fable (Klaus Grubmüller, 1977), literary quotations (Lutz Rosenplenter, 1982), and allegories (Ines de la Cuadra, 1999);[36] only Michael Dallapiazza has touched somewhat upon Hugo's concept of marriage as a social institution.[37] As in the case of Thomasin von Zerclaere, I intend here to expand the interpretive categories to include 'gender roles' within the public discourse, which will allow us to identify the high medieval stage of the discourse that was to characterize the late Middle Ages and the early-modern age.[38]

Hugo's *Renner* is characterized by a unique combination of short verse novellas (*mæren*), fables, and other literary genres, with theoretical discussions. Hence his exploration of the topic of gender relations surfaces, for instance, in the midst of his investigation into the virtue of humility, although there he mostly discusses young women's ideal behaviour in conformity with society's expectations. He glorifies those maids who stay free of sin and preserve their virtues (12081–84), but he warns of those who can easily be swayed to give their love to a man who has lavished them with gifts and flattery (12088–90). Women without courtly manners, or self-discipline (*zühten*) are most easily seduced,

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[36] For a brief summary, see Weigand, *Der 'Renner'*, pp. 5–19.

[37] Michael Dallapiazza, *Minne, hûsêre und das ehlich leben: Zur Konstitution bürgerlicher Lebensmuster in spätmittelalterlichen und frühhumanistischen Didaktiken*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 455 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1981), pp. 71–81. Weigand, *Der 'Renner'*, rightly criticizes Dallapiazza for focusing only on the *distinctio* IV with its theme of unchastity (11727–13964), whereas Hugo von Trimberg discussed marriage in many other contexts as well.

[38] Albrecht Classen, *Der Liebes- und Ehediskurs*; see also Manuel Braun, *Ehe, Liebe, Freundschaft: Semantik der Vergesellschaftung im frühneuhochdeutschen Prosaroman*, Frühe Neuzeit, 60 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001); Arndt Weber, *Affektive Liebe als rechte eheliche Liebe in der ehedidaktischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit: Eine Studie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Exempla zum locus Amor Coniugalis*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 1819 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2001); Rüdiger Schnell, *Sexualität und Emotionalität in der vormodernen Ehe* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002); Martin Bausen, *Lob und Unschuld der Ehefrauen: Analytische Betrachtungen zu Leben und Werk des Johannes Freder: Ein Beitrag zur Querelle des femmes des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe II: Rechtswissenschaft, 3445 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2002); for a historical perspective, see Michael Schröter, *'Wo zwei zusammenkommen in rechter Ehe ...': Sozio- und psychogenetische Studien über Eheschließungsvorgänge vom 12. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, with a foreword by Vorwort von Norbert Elias (1985; Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1990).

whereas self-discipline finds expression in a voluntary repression of the desire to go dancing, singing, and other public activities (12093–94). More dramatically, Hugo warns women not to let men touch them so easily since this would mean their loss of honour (12095–96). According to his precepts, maids ought to be both well-mannered and aggressive: 'kürre und wilde' (12097), which means to be friendly and modest toward their friends, but hostile, in the sense of being self-protective, around strangers (12099). But Hugo harbours rather negative feelings, warning young women to guard their speech and not to be too forthcoming toward men who could catch them just as easily as birds are caught by a hunter: 'Sô man die selben beginnet loben, | Sô kument si rehte alsam si toben' (when [the men] begin to praise them, they rush to them as if they were out of their mind; 12115–16). The author does not only have general moral concerns in mind; he is also fully aware of the real dangers should a woman become pregnant and lose all her public honour (12124–26).

Indeed, sexuality emerges as the most critical danger for young women because they are too trustworthy and believe men who pretend to have nothing but their best interest in mind. Deceptive speech and misused communication strategies could easily be a woman's downfall:

> Kumt zuo ir ein junger man,
> Der sîn rede vil wol kan.
> Er gelobt ir mit der rehten hant
> Ganze triuwe und siben lant,
> Der ze dem bade niht hât ein pfant.
> (12137–41)

(A young man approaches her who knows how to speak well. He pledges with his right hand all his loyalty and seven countries, although he does not have a penny to pay for the bathhouse.)

Although he promises her heaven here on earth (12150–52), she will eventually have to learn the bitter truth, which Hugo expresses in terms of chess: 'Der êrste man tet ir ê schâch, | Sô ist si nu worden mat' (the first man puts her into check, then she is checkmate; 12164–65). This will lead to her crying (12166), abandonment of womanly virtues, and a series of miseries, ending in sin (12174).

On the other hand, men also have to watch out for women: 'Wîp betriegent manigen man' (women cheat many men; 12175), especially since these know too well how to manipulate words and deceive their victims, which is confirmed, as Hugo emphasizes, by a long tradition of authoritative statements about women's evilness and cunning, a well-known trope of misogyny from late antiquity and

the early Middle Ages (12181–84).[39] Surprisingly, Hugo resorts to the term 'kluokeit' (prudence) to characterize women's intellectual skills in achieving all their goals against men's best interests, emphasizing that even the most respected philosophers throughout time have not been able to comprehend women (12183).

Speech and communication can indeed be viewed as markers of gender relations, probably both in the Middle Ages and today, as the contributors to Jean Godsall-Myers's volume on *Speaking in the Medieval World* have confirmed.[40] Hugo's testimony confirms this observation impressively, especially because he argues against both evil-minded men and deceptive women. He illustrates this with a misogynistic tale about a peasant woman who had called in her lover during her husband's absence, but had then been surprised by the latter, who suspected her of adultery. But she knows so well how to blind him through her rhetorical strategies that he does not even notice how she fools him and entirely distracts him from his suspicion. In his conclusion, the narrator underscores:

> Adelarn und lühse sint worden blint,
> Swenne kluogiu wîp ân werwort sint.
> Noch sneller kumt in irn gedanc
> Ein aberede denne einem hasen ein wanc.
>
>   (12245–48)

(Eagles and mountain lions would be blind if smart women lost their defensive speech. They hit upon an excuse more quickly than a hare takes a turn.)

Then, however, the narrator perceives gender relations from the opposite perspective and suddenly defends women's argumentative power as a necessary tool to defend themselves against their husbands' and other men's wrath: 'Wenne ir manigiu lêge tôt, | Könde si den zorn niht abe wenden | Der ofte ir rêmt und wil si schenden' (many of them would be killed if they could not deflect the wrath that often robs them of their protection and intends to shame them; 12250–52). This certainly demonstrates that Hugo realized the real and concrete danger of women

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[39] For an excellent text selection illustrating this tradition, see *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. by Alcuin Blamires, with Karen Pratt and C. W. Marx (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); neither Thomasin von Zerclaere nor Hugo von Trimberg are mentioned here.

[40] *Speaking in the Medieval World*, ed. by Jean E. Godsall-Myers, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); see Godsall-Myers's introduction to the volume, pp. 1–19 (pp. 4–9).

becoming victims of men's irrationality and physical abuse, but in the same breath Hugo also stresses that no man can believe any word uttered by a woman (12254–56). Does this mean that the author condemns women altogether, or is he critical only of a certain type of woman? Does he criticize men for their reckless, careless, even brutal treatment of women, abusing them as sexual objects? It seems as if Hugo leaves the final decision up to his audience and invites them to debate the issue further, which would be the most appropriate as far as the gender discourse is concerned. Certainly the narrator offers positive and negative perspectives regarding both genders, inviting them to recognize each other in their own conditions and nature, thereby setting up an excellent basis for open communication about the differences between men and women.

He then resumes the same normative concepts as espoused by Thomasin von Zerclaere when he warns against the illusion of exclusively external beauty without complementary internal virtues:

> Ein schœne wîp âne wîbes scham
> Ist sunder lop ein blôzer nam.
> Ein schœne wîp mit guoten siten
> Die sol nieman irs lasters biten.
> (12256, 3–6)[41]

(A beautiful woman without a woman's chastity is free of praise and just a name. A beautiful woman with good morals need not worry about accusations.)

By contrast, many men tend to befoul women's reputation and blame them for their evil character (12256, 7–10), so again we can observe that this didactic writer does not simply pursue a male-centred agenda; instead he idealizes general norms and values, and measures both women and men accordingly. On the one hand, men who would tolerate everything their wives might do would turn into fools, whereas women who suffer from evil husbands might lose their virtuous mind-set and turn to anger (12257–60). Finally, poverty might also cause considerable damage to women's honour, which presents a subtle but powerful social-economic observation hardly ever heard within the medieval gender discourse: 'Armuot kan vil bœser rête' (poverty might give very bad advice; 12266). Considering women in particular suffering from poverty, the cause of their misery would seem to be their husbands, dead or alive, which again implies

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[41] These verses are counted separately because they are contained only in two fifteenth-century paper manuscripts; see *Der Renner*, IV, 86–102.

concrete criticism of the male population for neglecting to take care of wives, daughters, or sisters.[42]

In one of those *mæren* included in *Der Renner*, Hugo relates a popular narrative which dramatically highlights the common problems between husbands and wives. In 'Ein mêre wie ein man sîn frouwen beslôz' (12789–941), a jealous husband locks his wife in the bedroom, allegedly because he loves her so much (12883), but in reality, as the circumstances illustrate, because he suffers from extreme possessiveness and jealousy and is afraid of male competitors. Citing a well-known proverb, Hugo comments that those who try to control women or attempt to domesticate hares would be utter fools (12887–88). One day, however, the husband drinks too much and does not notice that his wife gets hold of the key and escapes to her lover (12894). In a way we might argue that the husband had good reason to be jealous, but the narrative still casts him as an ignoramus who does not understand women at all, and his wife the least. When the husband wakes up and notices his wife's absence, he immediately locks the door, trying to expose his wife's transgression to the authorities as she will not be able to return home and could be apprehended by the guards as a possible harlot. Despite all her pleading, he does not let her in when she has returned, whereupon she pretends to commit suicide by jumping into the well. In reality, however, she has only dropped a rock into the water, but her husband, deeply frightened and fearing the worst, runs out of the house to rescue her. This is her opportunity, and she rushes into the house and locks him out. Mockingly she laughs at him: 'Mich dunket daz laster, daz ir mir | Gern hêtet âne schulde erzeiget, | Daz sî nu gein iuch geneiget' (It seems to me that the shame that you had wanted to cast upon me has now fallen upon you; 12934–36). Moreover, as we learn, he had regularly left her alone and had sought out prostitutes (12937–38), which incriminates him further and casts him as the perpetrator who failed to uphold

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[42] Poverty as a social phenomenon has been discussed from many perspectives by Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (1978; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); women, or gender differences among the poor, however, do not figure in his study. But see Ruth Marzo Karras, '"Because the Other Is a Poor Woman She Shall be Called His Wench": Gender, Sexuality, and Social Status in Late Medieval England', in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sharon A. Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, Medieval Cultures, 32 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 210–29: 'women of lower social standing were in a double bind: the expectations of their behavior in practice were quite different from those for elite women, but they could still be criticized for not adhering to the same standards of elite women' (p. 219).

the basic values of marriage, first utterly distrusting his own wife, then ignoring her in favour of other women.

Subsequently, however, Hugo enters into a typical misogynous diatribe, lamenting that there is nothing on earth more powerful than women and wine to control men (12977–78). But Hugo also adds, becoming essentially inconsistent with his dominant argument, that countless honourable women suffer extreme misery from their husbands: 'Ob einiu hât einen leiden man, | Dem si des lebens niht engan | Und bî dem doch belîben muoz' (When she has a disagreeable husband with whom she does not want to live but with whom she has to stay; 12993–95). More dramatically, what is a woman to do when she is married to a crude, boorish man who mistreats her on a daily basis? Sadly, as Hugo himself admits, husbands have total control over their wives (13005), which often means that an honourable lady has to suffer quietly for her whole life: 'So ein wîp durch zuht muoz kummer doln' (13008). In fact, despite his one misogynist tale, he knows countless others of women who had plenty of reasons to complain about their husbands (13010–12).

The good marriage emerges as an ideal, of course, but there are people, as the narrator points out, who deliberately plant the seed of discord between husband and wife (13015–16). Then Hugo also warns against marrying for material gains only (13038–44), and he vehemently laments so tragic a union as one that is established without any ethical foundation:

> Wê dir ê, wê dir immer, wê!
> Wê dir wîp bî sôgetâner ê!
> Wê dir man, daz dir daz guot
> Je wart sô liep, daz dir den muot
> Sol hât verkêrt daz dir der lîp
> Niht liep ist, diu dîn êlich wîp
> Wesen sol in ganzen triuwen!
> (13045–51)

(Alas, oh marriage, for ever, alas! Alas, you wife in such a marriage! Alas, you husband, that material goods have ever become so valuable that they corrupt your mind so much that you do not love the person who is supposed to be your conjugal wife in all loyalty.)

Hugo is so horrified about this scenario that he cannot go further into details and can only pray to God to ensure that not many such marriages are undertaken (13062–63) because these people would have a life without any joy.

Next we come across an amazing praise of women who are virtuous, pure, honourable, and the source of all joys for men in this life. In fact, women are more noble than men because they more easily recognize wrong-doing and stay

away from it, whereas men might not even notice the danger (13080–82).[43] Hugo expands this general praise of womanhood into a panegyric on the Virgin Mary: eternal joy would not be possible without women, as documented by the Virgin Mary who was blessed to deliver her child without any pain and without losing her virginity (13085–90), a common trope in late-medieval religious discourse, such as in Konrad von Würzburg's *Goldene Schmiede* (*c.* 1275).[44]

In the following chapter Hugo addresses women exclusively and apologizes to them for not having done justice to them and their cause (13121–24). In fact, the author turns to biblical themes once again because these allow him to adulate women as the earthly sisters of the Virgin Mary and various heroines in the Old Testament. But he quickly slips into broader issues and rapidly turns to a wide variety of ethical teachings once again, which seems to be typical of the overall structure of his didactic treatise. This instability of the narrative and thematic focus obviously motivated the famous collector Michael de Leone to assign the title of 'Renner' (Runner) to this work when he included it in his important *Hausbuch* (private collection) in about 1350.[45]

The purpose of *Der Renner* is, after all, to offer a broad discussion of fundamental human values, to criticize people's wrongdoings and foolishness, to direct the readers toward Christian values, and to help people lead a peaceful, harmonious life. Unfortunately, as Hugo reminds us over and over, these goals are very lofty and not necessarily realistic, otherwise his moral and ethical admonishments would not be necessary. In his discussion of marriage, for instance, he sorrowfully laments the vice of adultery from which honourable wives suffer the most because they have no opportunity to divorce their miserable, untrustworthy, and foolish husbands (11931–38). Some women, however, resort to the same strategy as their husbands, and when the latter enjoy affairs with other women, the wives go out and search for lovers as well (11945). Hugo finds this most reprehensible, and he particularly warns young women about this danger which would only lead to the destruction of the marriage and the whole family. Consequently, his advice is to be highly selective in choosing a

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[43] A similar praise of womanhood, both within marriage and outside, can be found in the contemporary anonymous courtly romance, *Reinfried von Braunschweig*; see Albrecht Classen, 'Ehelob und Preis der Ehefrau im *Reinfried von Braunschweig*', *Seminar*, 37 (2001), 95–112.

[44] There is much literature on late-medieval Mariology; see, for instance, Klaus Schreiner, *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin* (Munich: Hanser, 1994); and Teresa P. Reed, *Shadows of Mary: Understanding Images of the Virgin Mary in Medieval Texts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

[45] De Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur*, p. 325.

husband who will not fail in his commitment and not succumb to the sin of adultery (11951, 8).

By contrast, men should not even think of controlling their wives because it would be useless, 'Wenne si sint maniger liste vol' (because they know many tricks; 11951, 13). But Hugo is no misogynist, despite numerous examples to the contrary. Instead, he repeatedly sings a song of praise of women, especially if they prove to be virtuous and do not commit adultery. He criticizes both men and women if they deviate from the path of upright and commendable behaviour (11951, 30–31), although he obviously comes down harder on the latter, whose cunning and deceptiveness are without parallel (11951, 34–41). Only those maids who display absolute humility, both in their demeanour and in their attitude, can be pleasing to God (11989–90). By the same token, however, he also severely attacks men who do not hesitate to break their marriage vows and thereby cause much sorrow and misery for their wives (11927–80).

There are numerous passages in *Der Renner* in which Hugo severely chastizes men for their heavy drinking (10237–354), rowdiness (11287–312), gambling habits (11439–84), and other vices. Significantly, for instance, in his discussion of the vice of wrath, the narrator mentions only men who would commit horrible deeds in their uncontrolled fury: 'Zorn ist gein allen witzen blint: | Ein vater ofte sîn eigen kint | Mordet oder ein man sîn wîp' (Wrath is blind to reason: A father often kills his own child or a husband his wife; 14029–31); and: 'manic man möhte gar sanfte leben, | Könde er im selber fride geben' (many men could live peacefully if they could create peace for themselves; 14117–18). Finally, all the ancient examples about the catastrophic consequences of wrath point to men as the culprits, even though Hugo has general advice in mind that could also apply to women: not to worry about small matters (14118–20), to have open communication (11421–23), and to reject envy (14127).[46]

Certainly both Thomasin and Hugo emerge as highly conservative critics of their respective societies and fight strictly against moral depravity, ethical failings, people's shortcomings in almost every respects, crime, and other vices.

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[46] For a discussion of wrath in medieval mentality, see *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Ruth Weichselbaumer, *Der konstruierte Mann: Repräsentation, Aktion und Disziplinierung in der didaktischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Bamberger Studien zum Mittelalter, 2 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2003), pp. 180–82 (although she does not consider the gender-specific treatment of wrath in didactic literature); Albrecht Classen, 'Anger and Anger Management in the Middle Ages: Mental-Historical Perspectives', *Mediävistik*, 19 (2006), 21–50.

Within their discourses, however, they clearly accept that men and women have to live with one another and to join hands in marriage. This union is not easy and can lead to many conflicts, which both didactic writers would like to overcome through their advice. Both authors realize that gender relations in their social functions are of crucial importance, and that these relationships are mostly based on discourse, a constructive form of public communication exploring the extreme positions with the hope and intention of achieving a compromise.[47] Thomasin and Hugo also demonstrate that they do not simply embrace traditional misogyny, although they include a number of opinions about women that would be rather disturbing for us today. Nevertheless, they also cite countless examples of men's shortcomings, not to mention crimes and sinful behaviour. This implies that they advise their readers to refrain from radical black-and-white arguments within this gender debate. Adultery, committed either by the husband or the wife, emerges as one of the worst infractions that naturally undermines the well-being of the marriage relationship, and then of society at large. But there are many other vices, and neither gender is exempt from any of them.

Ideally, as both writers underscore, husbands and wives ought to respect each other, provide free space for each other, and work together to make their marriage function well. Materialism and greed represent serious dangers to marital bliss and would be the wrong basis for wooing a woman. Love is required, otherwise both partners will suffer for their whole life. Jealousy, on the other hand, only leads to making a fool of oneself and will not achieve anything. Most importantly, both *Der Welsche Gast* and *Der Renner* demonstrate that gender relations were regarded as critical for the well-being of society and required intensive debate and critical examination. These two writers were certainly no medieval 'feminists', but they definitely supported women in their own right and strongly argued in favour of a balanced approach to gender relations.

It might be questionable whether they would have joined the late-medieval *querelle des femmes*,[48] but they prove to be remarkably open to women's causes

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[47] Albrecht Classen, 'Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature', in *Discourse on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Albrecht Classen, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 278 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 1–42.

[48] See the introduction to the series by Albert Rabil, Jr, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Albert Rabil, Jr, The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. ix–xxx.

and clearly perceived that men and women had to collaborate closely to achieve a balanced, peaceful, and virtuous life. Both writers reveal specific patriarchal perspectives, but these are mitigated, if not compensated, by their remarkable willingness and ability to treat the gender issue from both sides and to pay respect where respect is due, as long as the basic moral and ethical norms are met. The final word can be given to Hugo who nicely formulated this open-minded attitude in his chapter on foolishness (114855–5566), citing St Augustine:

> Got wil niht
> Betwungen dienst, er hât geben
> Uns frîen willen daz wir leben
> Nâch sînem willen unbetwungen
>   (11546–49)

(God is not interested in forced service; he gave us free will so that we live free of force according to his intentions.)

Unfortunately, however, vice and evil exist among all people, both old and young, and likewise among men and women as well (11562–66). Human society is deeply fraught with countless problems, such as gender conflict, as these two verse treatises elucidate, but neither treatise would have been composed if the authors had not hoped to offer concrete advice to both sides and to facilitate opening new communicative channels for them.

Consequently, these didactic writers clearly recognized the profound need to address this and other issues in order to motivate their contemporaries to change their mind, to improve their manners, and to accept the other sex with all its strengths and weaknesses. As both Thomasin and Hugo explicitly and implicitly signal to their readers, there are two genders, and both have to work hard to live together, which is only possible if they recognize each other in all their strengths and shortcomings. In other words, the discourse about gender finds an extraordinary forum both in *Der Welsche Gast* and in *Der Renner*, perhaps not quite in the way that the poets of courtly love poetry and courtly romances realized it, yet certainly in a fairly balanced, critical fashion targeting equally both sides of the gender divide, assigning compliments and criticism wherever these didactic writers felt it was due.

Guidance for Men Who Minster to Women in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* of Johannes Busch

Julie Hotchin

The *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* by Johannes Busch (1399–1480) is the author's rendition of his activities over three decades as a monastic reformer in northern and central Germany in the latter half of the fifteenth century.[1] In it Busch fashions his experiences of introducing regular monastic observance into communities of both men and women into a model of conduct or 'reform handbook' presenting exemplary guidance to his readers. Comprising four books in total, Book II of the *Liber de reformatione* documents one of the more pressing concerns facing Busch and his counterparts in all religious orders — the reform and ongoing pastoral care of religious women. This chapter will examine the *Liber de reformatione* as a record of how the author draws directly upon his own experience as a visitor and reformer of monastic women to present guidance for men charged with a similar responsibility.

Despite continued anxieties about the burdens associated with the *cura monialium*, or pastoral direction of religious women, the fifteenth century witnessed a growing number of canons associated with the Augustinian monastery of Windesheim (near Deventer in the Netherlands) ministering to religious women, either as a result of the increasing trend towards introducing

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[1] *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, in *Des Augustinerpropstes Iohannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, ed. by Karl Grube, Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete, 19 (Halle: Hendel, 1886; repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), pp. 379–799. I refer to this work in the following footnotes as *Liber*; all translations from this work are my own.

regular monastic life to semi-religious female communities, or through reform of existing monastic houses for women.[2] Busch's record of his diverse interactions with monastic women in Book II of the *Liber de reformatione* presents a justification of male governance of female religious life as well as a guide of how to impose it. Yet his didactic aims extend beyond this, revealing him to be pragmatic and acutely aware of the obligations that the *cura monialium* placed upon him. As a canon regular whose duties on behalf of the Windesheim congregation placed him in frequent contact with women, Busch's advice extends beyond simple injunctions that men distance themselves emotionally and physically from women.[3] Rather, he represents how a professed religious, when serving as reformer or visitor, ought to negotiate his encounter with women, especially in circumstances when entrusted with their pastoral supervision. Closer examination of how he models his conduct as reformer, confessor, and prior of female monastic communities reveals how he presented himself as an exemplar of the values and normative prescriptions of his order, but also how he was alive to the human dynamics within these situations. It is in this realm that his guidance may have proven most valuable.

The 'Liber de reformatione monasteriorum'

Busch wrote the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* in his early seventies, between 1470 and 1474.[4] He is best known as the chronicler of the history and

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[2] Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The 'Modern Devotion', the Canonesses of Windesheim and Their Writings*, trans. by David F. Johnson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 10–16. Scheepsma's study concentrates on the regular canonesses in the thirteen convents incorporated into the Chapter of Windesheim. For an overview of the semi-religious communities of the Sisters of the Common Life, also part of the Modern Devotion, in Germany, see Gerhard Rehm, *Die Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben im nordwestlichen Deutschland: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Devotio moderna und des weiblichen Religiosentums*, Berliner Historische Studien, 11, Ordensstudien, 5 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1985).

[3] On how this attitude informed male writing about their interactions with women see Eva Schlotheuber, '"Nullum regimen difficilius et periculosius est regimine feminarum": Die Begegnung des Beichtvaters Frederik van Heilo mit den Nonnen in der Devotio moderna', in *Spätmittelalterliche Frömmigkeit zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, ed. by Berndt Hamm and Thomas Lentes, Spätmittelalter und Reformation; Neue Reihe, 15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), pp. 45–84.

[4] Busch composed the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* in two redactions, the first between 1470–1472, the second 1472–1474. Bertram Lesser analyses the differences between the two

spirituality of the late-medieval movement for religious reform, the *devotio moderna* (Modern Devotion), and its regular arm, the monastery of Windesheim,[5] through his two earlier works, the *Liber de viris illustribus* (a collection of spiritual biographies of the 'founding fathers' of the movement) and the *Liber de origine devocionis moderne* (a history of the movement in the tradition of a monastic chronicle), which were completed a decade earlier.[6] In his important recent study of Busch's writings, Bertram Lesser characterizes the *Liber de reformatione* as an 'exemplary reform handbook and missionary account of his activities' through which Busch equated his own actions as reformer with the evangelization of the apostles and the founders of the *devotio moderna* as the 'herald of a new world'.[7] Although at first glance the title and content appear to set the *Liber de reformatione* apart from his earlier writings, it is, in effect, their continuation. Busch's primary aim in his writing was to preserve and maintain the successes of reform achieved in his own day for future generations. The historical perspective in his writings can thus be understood as a 'workhorse' for reform, serving as a guide and model for future action.[8] In his earlier two works Busch drew on existing spiritual and historical traditions circulating within

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redactions and how they reflect Busch's intentions as author in *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio Moderna; Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption*, Tradition—Reform—Innovation; Studien zur Modernität des Mittelalters, 10 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2005), pp. 68–80.

[5] John van Engen provides a general introduction, with further bibliography, to the Modern Devotion, the monastery of Windesheim, and the spirituality of the movement in his introduction to *Devotio moderna: Basic Writings*, trans. and introduced by John van Engen (New York: Paulist, 1988). For aspects of the history and spirituality of the canons regular of Windesheim see *Windesheim 1395–1995, Kloosters, teksten, invloeden: Voordrachten gehouden tijdens het internationale congres '600 Jaar Kapittel van Windesheim' 27. mei 1995 te Zwolle*, ed. by A. J. Hendrikman, P. Bange, R. T. M. van Dijk, A. J. Jelsma, and G. E. P. Vrielink, Middeleeuwse Studies, 20 (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universiteit, 1996).

[6] *Liber de viris illustribus*, ed. by Grube, in *Des Augustinerpropstes* (see n. 1, above), pp. 1–244, and *Liber de origine devocionis moderne*, in ibid., pp. 245–375. Busch commenced the first redaction of both works following his return to Windesheim in 1456, and continued to revise them after his return to Hildesheim in 1459, finally completing them in 1464; see Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio Moderna*, pp. 58–59.

[7] Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio moderna*, pp. 51–52.

[8] Nikolaus Staubach draws this analogy in his appraisal of the historiographical function of Busch's writings in 'Das Wunder der Devotio moderna: Neue Aspekte im Werk des Windesheimer Geschichtschreibers Johannes Busch', in *Windesheim 1395–1995* (see n. 5, above), pp. 170–85 (p. 179).

devotio moderna circles as the basis for his exemplary lives and tales; in the *Liber de reformatione* he places himself and his experience at the centre of the work.

Busch claimed his didactic authority through his experience as a monastic reformer. Born in Deventer in 1399, he entered Windesheim as a youth of seventeen, and made his profession there in 1419.[9] In the late 1420s he received his first reform commissions, and served for a period as confessor to the nuns at Brunnepe, before being appointed sub-prior in the Augustinian priory of Wittenberg in Lower Saxony in 1437.[10] Busch was appointed prior of the Augustinian house of Sülte in Hildesheim in 1439 by Bishop Magnus of Hildesheim, which, after a protracted and difficult reform process, served as a centre for the spread of reform within the diocese.[11] In 1447 he was appointed prior of Neuwerk in Halle, a role which extended him into parochial as well as monastic reform. Busch's efforts made him one of leading monastic reformers in northern and central Germany, culminating in the cardinal legate, Nicholas of Cusa, appointing him Apostolic Visitor General for the church provinces of Mainz and Magdeburg (which covered much of north and central Germany) in 1451.[12] Busch's efforts, however, were not welcomed by everyone. His opponents secured his resignation as prior of Neuwerk in 1454, after which he returned as a canon to Windesheim. He was elected prior of Sülte again in 1459, where he continued his reforming activities for another two decades, resigning office sometime in 1479 before his death the following year.

Given how Busch's self-understanding was shaped by his role in promoting religious reform, it is necessary to assess what the notion of 'reform' meant to

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[9] For a more detailed biographical summary see Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio moderna*, pp. 10–14, which is drawn largely from the biographical study of Sape van der Woude, *Johannes Busch: Windesheimer kloosterreformator en kroniekschrijver* (Edam: Keizer & Van Straten, 1947).

[10] The Windesheim General Chapter commissioned Busch with the reform of Ludingakerk and Bewerwijk in 1429: see *Liber*, I, 402–07. Busch served as confessor to the nuns at Brunnepe, near Kampen in Holland, 1431–34: see *Liber*, III, 706. Brunnepe was one of the female houses incorporated into the Windesheim Chapter. Wittenberg, in the diocese of Hildesheim, was the first Lower Saxon monastery to be admitted into the Chapter of Windesheim, in 1423.

[11] Busch's account of this challenging reform process is the lengthiest in Book I of the *Liber de reformatione*, indicating the significance he attached to his success here for his later activity; see *Liber*, I, 408–32.

[12] On Cusa's legation to the empire see Erich Meuthen, 'Die deutsche Legationsreise des Nikolaus von Kues 1451/1452', in *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: Politik—Bildung—Naturkunde—Theologie*, ed. by Hartmut Boockmann, Bernd Moeller, and Karl Stackmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pp. 421–99.

him. Busch regarded the monastic life in general, and that of Windesheim canons in particular, as the contemporary successors of the communal life adopted by the apostles in the early church.[13] The reform of monastic life thus represented a means to replicate this apostolic model in the present day, 'to remake, to return to an earlier, superior state that had been lost.'[14] In monastic terms this was expressed as a return to and strict observance of an order's original rules and constitutions, purging worldly accretions from the ideal of a communal life lived in poverty, chastity, and obedience.[15] The emphasis on strict observance of the rule was seen as a means of directing one's attention inward and towards the divine. Thus reform within religious orders sought to re-create this communal ideal through reform of individual monasteries, resulting in significant internal reordering of the rhythms and practices of daily religious life for those affected. The rule of poverty was introduced by divesting religious of individual prebends and other means of support and establishing a common fund to provide the necessities of life. Meals were to be shared in common and communal sleeping quarters were provided, replacing the fragmentation of private arrangements with shared ones. The stress on communal participation in the liturgy was

[13] 'Hanc communem vitam iuxta Christi doctrinam perfectissimam sancti apostolici et omnes christifideles in ecclesia primitiva in Iherusalem sub sancti spiritus regimine fidelissime servaverunt, quibus omnibus erat cor unum et anima sua in deo [Acts 4. 32], nec quisquam aliquid suum esse dicebat, fuerant illis omnia communia': *Liber de viris illustribus*, pp. 11–12. He adds that the monastic rules of Basil, Augustine, Benedict, and Francis each prescribe a particular form and manner of communal life, hence 'omnis [...] christianus secundum evangelium Christi vivere et regulam Christi caritatem servare tenetur ex praecepto sub pena eterne dampnacionis'.

[14] Michael D. Bailey makes this observation in his analysis of the reforming ideas of Busch's contemporary counterpart, the Dominican friar John Nider in *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), p. 82. For discussion of the contemporary notions of reform see Gerald Strauss, 'Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation', in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, ed. by Thomas A. Brady, Jr, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1994–95), II, 1–30. For a perceptive overview of the state of the church in the fifteenth century see Van Engen, 'The Church in the Fifteenth Century', in ibid., I, 305–30.

[15] For the ideals and aims of monastic reform in this period within all the major religious orders see *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by Kaspar Elm, Berliner historische Studien, 14; Ordensstudien, 6 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989). For an important recent study of women's relationship to this movement see Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

reinforced, and private devotional practices, which threatened to undermine the uniformity of collective worship, were carefully scrutinised.[16] Strict enclosure was enforced for women, creating a physical separation from the external world which reinforced the interior and contemplative nature of this spiritual outlook.[17] The varied customs and traditions of individual monastic houses, through which their members expressed their unique social and religious identity, stood in stark contrast to the conformity and uniformity, not to mention loss of autonomy, imposed by the new relationship with a reforming religious order.[18] For women this also resulted in closer male oversight and scrutiny, to which I will return later.

Unlike Busch's earlier two works, the *Liber de reformatione* has received little critical attention. Karl Grube, Busch's nineteenth-century biographer and editor, lamented what he perceived as his subject's 'barbaric' Latin style and regarded the work as repetitive, lacking a coherent structure, and similar in style to the 'ramblings of an old man'.[19] Busch's later biographer, Sape van der Woude, likened the work to a painting by Brueghel, seeing in Busch's richly detailed

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[16] For a detailed overview of the customary practices in female monasteries prior to reform and the effects of reform upon them, see Immo Eberl, 'Stiftisches Leben in Klöstern. Zur Regeltreue im klösterlichen Alltag des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit', in *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, ed. by Irene Crusius, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plank-Instituts für Geschichte, 167; Studien zur Germania Sacra, 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), pp. 275–316.

[17] For subtle analyses of the practice of enclosure and female responses to it see Heike Uffmann, 'Innen und außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters', in *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster*, ed. by Gabriela Signori, Religion in der Geschichte; Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft, 7 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), pp. 185–212; and the excursus on this theme by Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, pp. 152–67.

[18] Recent scholarship in this field is challenging the validity of earlier assessments of nonreformed female houses as in 'decline', examining instead the religious practices and self-perception of women who lived in a religious community, but not according to a recognized monastic rule (known as *Stifte*). See *Geistliches Leben und standesgemäßes Auskommen: Adelige Damenstifte in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. by Kurt Andermann, Kraichtaler Kolloquien, 1 (Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica, 1998); Crusius, *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*; and Gabriela Signori, 'Leere Seiten: Zur Memorialkultur eines nicht regulierten Augustiner-Chorfrauenstifts im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert', in *Lesen, Schreiben*, pp. 149–84.

[19] 'Dass Buschs Schrift nach ihrer formellen Seite grosse Mängel hat, liegt auf der Hand. Ein ziemlich barbarisches Latein, ein ganz nachlässiger Satzbau, eine mehr als epische Breite und Weitläufigkeit, eine Neigung zur Wiederholung von längst Erzähltem begegnen uns bei ihm': Grube, *Des Augustinerpropstes*, p. xxxxvi.

anecdotes and vignettes a canvas depicting scenes of late-medieval religious and social life.[20] The *Liber de reformatione* has in the main been mined by scholars as an important source of historical detail, its didactic intent largely overlooked.[21] It is only with Lesser's important recent study of Busch's writings as an interrelated whole that the didactic intent and literary aspects of his writings have received a systematic analysis.[22] Nevertheless Busch's extensive engagement with religious women in the context of the *cura monialium* remains largely overlooked. When scholars have considered the second book of the *Liber de reformatione* at all, they have tended to concentrate on Busch's forceful imposition of an observance against the wishes of the nuns affected,[23] or searched his account for evidence of social and religious practices within convents of all orders across northern Germany. Yet as a work written by one of the most significant writers within Windesheim circles, the *Liber de reformatione* presents a valuable insight into how the responsibilities of the *cura monialium* were perceived within this movement, what models of conduct Busch fashioned from his own experience of this role for imitation by his readers, and what these suggest about the everyday relations between men and women within monastic communities.

The *Liber de reformatione* was intended as a work of instruction and edification for prelates who would follow in Busch's footsteps as a visitor and reformer.[24] In this sense the work forms part of the burgeoning literature offering

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[20] 'Zijn stijl is meestal levendig, van sommige zijner schetsen geniet men als van een schilderstuk van Breughel': Van der Woude, *Johannes Busch*, p. 161.

[21] Two exceptions are Staubach, 'Das Wunder der Devotio moderna', and Petronilla Bange, 'De hervorming van de saksische vrouwenkloosters als verhaald door Johannes Busch in boek II van zijn *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*', in *Windesheim 1395–1995* (see n. 5, above), pp. 143–53, who draws attention to the didactic intent of the work, without sustained analysis.

[22] Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio moderna*, especially pp. 127–360.

[23] This theme is adopted by Jo Ann Kay McNamara in her survey *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), especially chap. 14, 'Regular Lives', pp. 385–418. In contrast with recent scholarship which is critical of Busch's methods of compulsion (which are representative of those adopted by reformers generally), Eileen Power commends his actions fighting against monastic 'abuses' as those of an 'admirable' man; see *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275–1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 670.

[24] In the preface he states that he wrote the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* at the request of two fellow reformers in Hildesheim, the Benedictine abbots Lippold of St Godehard's and Henry of St Michael's, and the Prior General of Windesheim, Dietrich van den Graaf; see *Liber*,

advice on how to conduct monastic visitation and reform, written by senior prelates who initiated and had experience of this activity that emerged out of the expanding movements for monastic reform in the fifteenth century.[25] Busch's didactic intentions are clear in his preface to the work, where he states his hope that 'our successors and followers of this kind are fortified by our examples and are not deterred by perverse threats, by the perversities of rebellious monks or nuns, nor any difficulties of that reform from the outset', but that by placing their trust in God they will 'commence and conclude that holy reform of monasteries'.[26] He presents his experiences as a collection of exempla offering 'good examples' worthy of imitation to his successors who may find themselves in similar situations.[27] He returns to this theme in the concluding chapters of the work, where he advances his claims for the exemplary nature of his own experience, supported by divine grace operating through him:

> I think all things advanced here in one book collected by us concerning the reformation of monasteries, places and peoples is sufficient material to support our successors and followers to accomplish similar things, if they have the holy spirit of God perfected for this and if they advance to receive the good grace of God urging them to this.[28]

Prefatio, p. 379. Both abbots formed part of Busch's reforming circle in Hildesheim; see *Liber*, I, 527 and 537. Busch worked for reform with both abbots, including at Wienhausen in 1469; see *Liber*, II, 629–35. Both abbots died before Busch completed the second redaction of the *Liber de reformatione* in 1474.

[25] Jörg Oberste, *Die Dokumente der Klösterlichen Visitationen*, Typologie des Sources du moyen âge occidental, 80 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 89–92, provides an introduction to the literature of visitation. John Nider's reforming treatise *De reformatione status cenobitici* (1431) has also been described as 'a standard handbook for the Dominican observant [reform] movement'; see Bailey, *Battling Demons,* p. 76.

[26] 'Quatinus successores et nostri posteri huiusmodi exemplis nostris roborati nullis pravorum comminationibus nullis rebellium monachorum et monialium perversitatibus nec ipsius reformationibus in principio difficultatibus unquam deterreantur, sed in domino deo suo confidentes fideliter et constanter ipsam sanctam monasteriorum et monachorum perversorum reformationem incipiant et perficiant ad summi dei gloriam et honorem animarumque plurimarum perpetuam salutem': *Liber, Prefatio*: p. 380.

[27] 'Ad posteros nostros causa boni exempli imitationisve': *Liber, Prefatio*, p. 379. For consideration of the didactic function of an individual's pious words and deeds within Byzantine hagiography see Stavroula Constantinou's contribution to the present volume.

[28] 'Cuncta hec premissa de monasteriorum locorum et personarum reformationibus in unum hic per nos collecta sufficientem puto successoribus et posteris nostris materiam ad similia peragenda subministrare, si tamen spiritum dei sanctum ad id perficiendum habuerint et gratiam dei bonam in hoc ipsum instigantem recipere promeruerint': *Liber*, IV, 790.

The narrative form of exemplum Busch adopts in this work enables him to transform his personal experiences, recounted in tales of his words and deeds (*dicta et facta*), into a 'moral narrative' for imitation by his readers.[29] This transformation of his own recent experience into didactic exempla also reflects Busch's understanding that audiences were more likely to respond in the desired fashion to exempla that were 'new, great and useful'.[30] For a didactic message to have greater resonance for its audience, it needs to be grounded in a reality recognizable to them. Thus Busch peoples his stories with figures drawn from the city of Hildesheim and the local region who would have been known personally or by name to his audience, leading his readers to identify more strongly with the didactic messages conveyed through the encounters he relates.[31]

The *Liber de reformatione* is structured into four lengthy books. Book I treats the reform of male monasteries, Book II the reform of female monasteries, Book III presents miracles and exempla showing how the supporters of reform were rewarded and its opponents punished, through divine grace operating through Busch himself. Book IV incorporates copies of documents that support Busch's reformist authority and stories about people, ecclesiastic and lay, who supported his efforts. Busch uses the conflict inherent in these circumstances by juxtaposing favourable and adverse events, *prospera et adversa*, to reinforce their didactic message. His method shares features with other exempla collections, such as the *Dialogue on Miracles* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, or later collections of sermon exempla.[32] Busch organizes the events he relates at each monastery according to

[29] Larry Scanlon outlines the moral-didactic traditions of the exemplum in *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 27–36 (especially p. 34).

[30] 'Cuius auditores tunc maxime fiunt attenti, si ea, que scribuntur nova, magna et utilia esse demonstrantur' (p. 1). For further comment on the importance of fashioning exempla from recent events among other writers in Windesheim circles see Staubach, 'Das Wunder der Devotio moderna': Grube, *Liber de viris illustribus*, *Prologus*, p. 181.

[31] In her contribution to the present volume, Anne M. Scott also discusses the importance of using recognizable people and places in exemplary tales. She speaks of the 'community of interest' created between the 'teller of the tales and the listeners', especially as a means of emphasizing the application of the exemplum to their current situation (p. 399).

[32] Although structured as a dialogue, John Nider's *Formicarius* is similar to the *Liber de reformatione* in the use of exempla to transmit ideals and norms of monastic life within an explicit reforming context; see Bailey, *Battling Demons*, pp. 91–118. Many of the exempla in the *Liber de reformatione* share features with those in the *Speculum exemplorum* (Deventer, 1481), which until recently was attributed to Busch; see Lesser, *Chronist der devotio moderna*, pp. 413–20.

the process of monastic visitation. Visitation was a crucial mechanism to examine conformance with the statutes of the order, to correct departures from these requirements, and to promote regular monastic observance.[33] As such, it was also the means reformers employed in their efforts to return to regular observance those communities perceived to have 'fallen' or 'declined' from the monastic ideal.

Busch aims his work at senior or experienced religious responsible for reform and visitation of female monasteries. His advice concentrates on the obligations that the Chapter of Windesheim required individual priors to fulfil in the interests of institutional governance and stability.[34] The intended audience and subject matter in the *Liber de reformatione* thus differs markedly from many other writings addressing the desired relationships between men and women circulating within the order at this time. For instance Thomas à Kempis, one of the most prolific didactic writers within Windesheim circles, explicitly states that he avoids complicated material in works written for the edification of novices and younger canons, including discussion of encounters with women, so as to avoid 'raising doubt or complicated questions for certain simple people'.[35] This aspect of a canon's life seems to be best left to those who are more experienced and thus can be trusted to manage such a complex and potentially damaging relationship. Busch's reflections on his personal spiritual growth indicate that he

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[33] On the aims, methods, and conduct of monastic visitation in general see Oberste, *Dokumente der Klösterlichen Visitationen,* pp. 25–27. The protocols for conducting annual visitation of female monasteries comprise the opening chapter of the Windesheim statutes for nuns; see *De Constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559*, ed. by R. T. M. van Dijk, Middeleeuwse Studies, 3.1 and 3.2, 2 vols (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universiteit, 1986), II, 729–37. Busch lends authenticity to his narrative by modelling the initial paragraph introducing each monastery in the *Liber de reformatione* on the language and form of the opening paragraph of an official record of a monastic visitation; see Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio Moderna*, pp. 265–67.

[34] For a brief outline of these responsibilities see Scheepsma, *Canonesses of Windesheim*, p. 11, and Rehm, *Schwestern von gemeinsam Leben*, pp. 113–23.

[35] 'Plura etiam de consilio quorundam religiosorum omisi inserere: quae forte quibusdam simplicibus dubitationem aut quaestionem intricatam ingerere videbantur': *Vita Lidewigis Virginis*, in *Thomae Hemerken à Kempis Opera Omnia*, ed. by Michael Josephus Pohl, 7 vols (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1902–22), VI, 317–453 (p. 317). Kempis presents exempla of canons whose strategies to avoid contact with women are presented as an index of their asceticism and spiritual virtue. His sensitivity to potentially complex questions most likely refers to the fact that this work is the *vita* of a locally venerated holy woman who was highly esteemed within Windesheim circles.

too identified with the institutional ambivalence towards the spiritual direction of women, although he argued that any reluctance to perform this role ought to be subordinated to the greater good of the congregation as a whole.[36] Canons like himself might not want to minister to religious women associated with the congregation, nevertheless they, like he, must take up office as rector or confessor out of obedience when required.

Drawing Lessons from Experience for the 'cura monialium'

The underlying theme of Busch's didactic message in Book II of the *Liber de reformatione* is male responsibility to establish and maintain appropriate governance and oversight of religious women. Busch regarded the restoration of regular monastic life within female monasteries as part of a wider spiritual renewal, ensuring the salvation of the women affected, the broader Christian community, and himself. Women, through their perceived inherent moral and spiritual inferiority to men, were thought to require male guidance to improve their inferior nature. In the religious life, the rational nature of men was understood to make them more able to comprehend divine truth, and so to direct women's spiritual progress towards God. Busch's contemporary, Frederik van Heilo, who also served as a confessor to nuns, summarized it thus: '[T]he interior person consists of two parts, namely the intellect and emotion, which are greatly corrupt in all of us, but especially in women, so to emend and correct [this] is the labour of this time.'[37]

Busch's anxiety about ensuring that clerics fulfil their responsibility to supervise religious women is revealed in a lengthy passage in which he laments

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[36] Busch reflects on the spiritual alienation he experienced during his first 'posting' as chaplain to the nuns at Brunnepe in the early 1430s when his request to return to Windesheim was refused. He fashions this experience into a moral exemplum on the virtue of obedience as a lesson for others faced with the same situation: 'Brother, I believe that whoever freely lives in his monastery and convent but is forced from obedience to dwell with nuns, eventually will receive the highest reward from God' (Frater, qui libenter esset in monasterio suo et in conventu suo et ex obedientia cogitur cum monialibus habitare, ego credo, quod demum ut optimam a deo mercedem accipiet) *Liber*, II, 706–07)).

[37] 'Interior autem homo qui consistit in duobus, scilicet in intellectu et affectu, qui multum corrupti sunt in omnibus nobis, sed precipue in feminis, quas emendare et corrigere huius temporis labor est': *Tractatus contra pluralitatem confessorum et de regimine sororum*, University Library, Amsterdam (Codex IE 26), fols 25ᵛ–26ʳ; cited in Schlotheuber, '"Nullum regimen"', p. 58, n. 53.

the fate of those women who, lacking adequate male governance, inevitably succumb to their weaker natures: 'For the female sex cannot long persist without proven and reformed men and their wise counsels urging them to better things in the debt of regular observance.' Echoing the anxieties of centuries of clerics aghast at the prospect of communities of religious women lacking sound male supervision, he exclaims that no convent of nuns, of whatever order in Saxony, Meissen, and Thuringia, 'has remained for long in their good purpose, in holy life and the obligation of reform, without reformed fathers'. For when nuns do not make regular confession or receive communion, do not maintain the weekly ritual of correction of faults, or receive an annual visitation, 'we have frequently seen and heard how such nuns and sisters quickly fall from regular observance and the religious life into a dissolute life […] so they will not go to heaven but into the depths of hell.'[38]

The target of Busch's tirade is his male audience; he delivers them a dire warning of the risks that might arise should they not perform fully their responsibilities as directors of female religious life. The passage rehearses familiar misogynist tropes of women, whose inability to control their physicality and association with worldly things is associated with sexual licence. Busch does not use this to support claims by clerics for preserving their distance from women, but rather to urge them to fulfil their responsibility as prudent counsellors to them. The danger he sees in the risk of the dissolution of female monastic life is not to clerics per se, but to the spiritual well-being of the community of the faithful. The fall from regular observance, condensed here into the vice of *proprietas* (owning private property) — the root of all other sins for observants — leads to a 'life hateful to God and people, to the grave peril of their [the nuns'] souls and to their eternal damnation'.[39] Busch conceives of the *cura monialium*

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[38] 'Sexus enim femineus sine viris probatis et reformatis et eorum sanis consiliis ad meliora eas sepius vocantibus in debita regulari observantia diu non potest subsistere. Ad oculum etiam videmus nullum monialium monasterium cuiuscumque ordinis, quarum in Saxonia, Misnia et Thuringia non est parvus numerus, in bono proposito sancta vita et reformatione debita sine patribus reformatis diu perstitisse. Quoniam, ubi moniales et devote sorores certis temporibus non confitentur, non communicant, capitulum culparum omni ebdomada ad minus semel non servant, a patribus suis omni anno non visitantur […] tales moniales et sorores ab observantia regule et vita religiosa ad vitam dissolutam […] cito prolapsas frequenter vidimus et audivimus […]. Sic non itur ad astra sed in profundum inferni' (*Liber*, II, 587–88).

[39] '[Q]ue primo per vite dissolutionem dei timore sublato ad proprietatem in parvis rebus, dein maioribus rebus ac porro in peculium pecuniarum ac vestium declinantes tandem ad carnis desideria et ad incontinentiam sensuum exteriorum et sic ad actam nefariam prosilientes omni

as providing a broader public good — the salvation not just of the nuns concerned, and the men who minister to them, but of the community as a whole. It thus falls to religious men to ensure that their female counterparts perform their spiritual obligations faithfully, so that their spiritual service on behalf of the community is not threatened in any way.

His warning is followed by an idealized image of its opposite:

> Then there are superiors and nuns living carefully in a particular [form of] reform, since they precisely hold to the rule and their constitutions and have as fathers suitable men who observe their rule, from whom in all their doubts they can seek help and entrust themselves to their counsels, who do not fail to exhort [the nuns] as often as necessary, [and] who visit [them] at least once a year and see whether each and every one of them observes the rule well or badly.[40]

This portrayal of disciplined nuns subject to the authority of their 'fathers' echoes the wider discourse on paternal authority that intensified due to movements for religious reform. Robert James Bast has drawn attention to how monasticism provided the ideas and language that shaped the efforts of secular and ecclesiastic authorities to impose discipline and control in the fifteenth century and beyond.[41] The concept of fatherhood, which powerfully influenced monastic notions of authority, was adapted for authorities in the secular domain, while at the same time monastic reform reinforced the notion of paternal authority and accountability for discipline, especially for women, within religious life. Bast concludes that the 'recurring themes of female sub-ordination, male authority, and coercive force in the maintenance of sanctioned modes of

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immunditie et spurcitie successive se tradere non verentur'; 'deo et hominibus odiosam in animarum suarum grave periculum et damnationem perpetuam': *Liber*, II, 587, 588.

[40] 'Sollicite igitur sint prelate et moniales in aliqua reformatione viventes, quatenus regulam et constitutiones suas exacte conservent et patres habeant approbatos viros regulam suam observantes, ad quos in omnibus dubiis suis possint succurrere et eorum consiliis secure se committere, qui eas exhortari non omittant, quotiens opus fuerit, ad minus semel in anno visitent et videant, si bene aut male omnes et singule ordinem suum servent': *Liber*, II, 588.

[41] Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400–1600*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 46–52. Bast's focus is on the influence exerted by catechetical literature, written by reforming clerics, within the secular, not religious, domain. Lyndal Roper similarly employs the notion of the 'holy household' in her analysis of the impact on women and gender roles wrought by the Reformation in sixteenth-century Augsburg; see *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). The impacts for religious women are specifically considered at pp. 206–51.

behaviour and conduct' combined to 'create the idealized model of a "holy household" endorsed for every level of secular society'.[42] Reform for Busch represented a means to achieve similar ends through the imposition of strict monastic discipline upon male and female religious, creating 'holy households' governed by spiritual fathers.

Despite his insistence upon the necessity of male governance, Busch did not completely dismiss the notion that women could manage their convent competently, although he did argue that sound female management was dependent upon the good counsels of the men supervising them. Busch offers his own experience in this area as a lesson for others to follow. In a knowing aside acknowledging the shared experience of his male audience, he praises the achievement of Prioress Gertrude of the convent of St Mary Magdalene in Hildesheim while also drawing upon the widespread belief that maintaining order within a community of women is fraught with particular difficulties for superiors of either sex: 'For it is no small good to preserve so many virgins — more than thirty — of the weaker sex in virginal custody in the rigour of the order, in pure conscience and the debt of good peace, because it is more than a miracle to do this in true opinion, just as I, as an expert, judge.' Gertrude encountered many difficulties during her office, but she 'always ruled and governed herself and her convent with our counsel […] and for that reason she always preserved herself and her convent in a good state'.[43] Although Busch employs traditional misogynist tropes of women as unable to exercise authority, he also recognizes female virtue and praises individual women when their actions reflect his ideals of female behaviour. On several occasions he speaks positively about female superiors and *reformatrices* (women who supported him in reform), referring to them in terms indicating his esteem, if not his friendship.[44]

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[42] Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, pp. 66–78 (especially pp. 66–67).

[43] 'Non est enim parvum bonum tot virgines tricesimum numerum excedentes infirmioris sexus personas in virginali custodia in ordinis rigore, in pura conscientia et pace bona debite conservare, quod plus esse quam miracula facere vero iudicio sicut expertus iudicarem. Huic multa adversa, etiam quedam prospera in huiusmodi officio degenti occurrerunt interdum de propriis suis personis, aliquando ab extraneis, quandoque in spiritualibus, nonnunquam in temporalibus. Sed quia reformationem sanctam plurimum dilexit et se suumque conventum de consilio nostro […] semper rexit et gubernavit, ideo in bono statu se et conventum suum semper conservavit': *Liber*, II, 585.

[44] For example Irmgard of Reden, Abbess of Fischbeck, is praised for maintaining exemplary enclosure; see *Liber*, II, 640–43; similarly, Adelheid of Bortfeld, Prioress of Heiningen, and her officials are praised for their competent management; see *Liber*, II, 602.

Conversely, women — and men — who obstruct reform are represented negatively. Busch deploys images of good and bad women in the *Liber de reformatione* as a didactic device to promote desired standards of conduct among his male audience.[45] Positive images of individual women and female conduct serve as indices of male governance and authority.

Despite Busch's confident assertions, imposing and exercising male oversight over a convent — especially in the context of introducing an often unwanted internal reorganization due to reform — was no easy matter. One aspect which served as a 'lightning rod' of tension for reforming aims and opposition to them centred on practices associated with individual nuns owning property. The introduction of a common life and the associated reorganization of administrative affairs was one of the most challenging aspects reformers faced. This was predicated upon the eradication of nuns' private means of support and the introduction of the *vita communis*, in which food, clothing, and other necessities were provided from a common fund. Although the practice of owning private property, which could range from substantial personal income to household utensils and basic foodstuffs, was censured equally for monastics of either sex, Busch identifies *proprietas* as the sin from which all others flowed for women in particular. Accordingly, he provides considerably more guidance on how to deal with this issue within female monasteries than male, suggesting not only that his audience would undoubtedly have to confront the issue, but also giving the impression that this was a characteristically female vice.[46]

Busch brings to the fore the arrangement of finances to support communal life in his account of reform at the Cistercian convent of St George near Halle.[47] This is not the only occasion in which nuns' claims to poverty or critiques of

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[45] In his contribution to the present volume, Albrecht Classen similarly comments on Hugo von Trimburg's praise of women when they exhibit virtue in marriage, or conform to expected models of conduct, in his verse treatise *Der Renner*. For an analysis of misogynist tropes of women serving as an index of male behaviour in polemical texts written in the context of church reform in an earlier period see Maureen C. Miller, 'Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era', in *Church History*, 72 (2003), 25–52.

[46] Busch mentions the subject on only two occasions in Book I (concerning St Michael's in Hildesheim and the Augustinian priory in Salzwedel). In contrast, the removal of nuns' private property is a theme repeated throughout Book II. Nancy Bradley Warren discusses nuns' property-owning practices in England, which she argues was perceived as a feminine vice; see *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 20–21.

[47] *Liber*, II, 568–74.

their means of private support feature in the *Liber de reformatione*, but on this occasion Busch rehearses the lengthiest and most detailed articulation of the nuns' justifications for retaining their former way of life and his arguments in response. On this occasion Busch did not lead the reform party himself, but served as an advisor to Henry Bernten, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Marienrode in Hildesheim.[48] Despite his potentially secondary position, Busch represents himself as the expert whose counsel was essential to the reformer's aims. He conveys his expertise in this situation through extensive use of dialogue, through which he represents the typical strategies of resistance used by the abbess and her convent against the reformers and models how he, the expert, advised the inexperienced Bernten at each step of the way.

The method of divesting the nuns' personal items follows a similar pattern in each of Busch's accounts, commencing with the request for them to bring all personal household items (cooking vessels, storage jars, silverware, and the like) into a common place, such as the refectory.[49] As Busch relates the tale, once this was done, Bernten, who was presiding, turned to ask him what they should do next. Busch, in a gesture expressing his greater experience, placed a finger before his mouth indicating not to speak: 'This is not all of their property, but those items of lesser value they have outside the dormitory, where we will discover the rest!' After this the nuns were directed to lead the reformers to their personal items or apartments, so that property there could also be confiscated.[50] Having proved himself accurate in this assessment of the nuns' living conditions — and

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[48] Henry Bernten held office as abbot twice, 1426–52 and 1454–63. For an outline of his abbacy see the articles by Ulrich Faust on Derneberg and Marienrode in *Die Männer- und Frauenklöster der Zisterzienser in Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg*, ed. by Ulrich Faust, Germania Benedictina, 12 (St Ottilien: Eos, 1994), pp. 108–32 (pp. 109–114) and pp. 391–437 (pp. 396–401), respectively.

[49] Possession of items of this nature strongly suggests that the nuns lived in separate households within the convent community, providing for their own meals, rather than sharing a common store of food and its preparation. Monks, however, were less likely to prepare their own meals and had servants or lay brothers to do this. This may account for the differential emphasis on property by gender in Busch's account.

[50] 'Tunc abbas de Marienrode, qui presidens fuerat et dux verbi, dixit mihi: "Quid ultra faciemus?" Ego autem digitum ori meo imposui designans, quod loqui non deberem. [...] Tunc dixi: "Hic non sunt omnia earum peculiaria bona, sed ad commoda earum, que inferius habent extra dormitorium, ibi reliqua inveniemus!" Statim abbas exclamavit: "Singule moniales ad propria sua commoda seu domos statim vadant, nos subsequemur"': *Liber*, II, 571–72. The use of *domos* here suggests the nuns' private apartments or living arrangements of some kind.

deception — Busch claims that Bernten once more seeks his advice when the abbess and senior nuns lament that they are now too poor to observe the common life. He turns to Busch, asking 'What do we do now? How should we respond?' Busch anticipates the nuns' responses, reinforcing his experience and expertise in dealing with these situations:

> If they say that they are unable to feed all equally on account of their poverty, then ask them how many nuns the monastery can maintain from its property. To send away as many as you want, you need to lead all of the remaining nuns into wagons to other monasteries of their order […] where necessities will be provided for them plentifully. And if those who remain are unable to chant the hours on account of their low numbers, it is suitable if they read them. The [Archbishop] of Magdeburg will provide sufficient wagons, if we want to remove them.[51]

This exemplum continues in similar fashion as Busch presents, through his counsel to Bernten, practical strategies and responses — his *dicta et facta* — for others to adopt in similar circumstances. Busch depicts Bernten as at something of a loss to know how to proceed in this situation, relying upon his counsel as the more experienced reformer to respond to the objections raised by the abbess. Busch's stress upon his own greater experience in these matters implies that Bernten was new to the task, learning the ropes from a practised 'old hand'.[52]

The counsel Busch presents here illustrates his didactic method, as well as how he claimed authority for his teaching. The use of dialogue is a rhetorical strategy commonly employed by didactic writers and moralists to put forth their

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[51] "'Si se propter paupertatem hic pariter nutrire non possunt, tunc dicant nobis, quot moniales de monasterii bonis hic possunt nutrire. Tot hic volumus dimittere, reliquas omnes nobiscum in curribus volumus abducere ad alia ordinis sui cenobia […] ubi copiose eis de necessariis providebitur. Quod si propter paucitatem personarum remantium horas suas cantare non possunt, placet nobis, quod tunc eas legant. Dominus Magdeburgensis sufficientes ad hoc nobis currus procurabit, ut eas hinc evehamus'": *Liber*, II, 572.

[52] In reality Henry Bernten was not so inexperienced in introducing and supervising reformed convents, and is unlikely to have relied upon Busch's counsel to the extent portrayed in this account. In his record of his abbacy at Marienrode he records that his reforming activities included attending the Council of Basel, and he served as a visitor and reformer with Bishop Magnus of Hildesheim (1424–52). This included overseeing the transfer of Cistercian nuns from Wöltingerode into the former Augustinian convent of Derneberg, just outside the city of Hildesheim, after Busch's three-year attempt to impose observant reform there failed. Busch's decision to depict the figure of Bernten as less knowledgeable than himself may be based on their earlier rivalry.

point of view.[53] Busch uses it here, and throughout the *Liber de reformatione*, as a device to allow him to present the legal challenges, resistance, questions, and other forms of opposition reformers could expect to encounter, and to rehearse the arguments he recommended to his audience in response. It enables him to depict himself as the omniscient, experienced reformer whose counsel is highly sought and effective — thus reassuring his audience of the merits of the actions he depicts. But on another level it also offers insights into the attitudes and mind-sets of the women affected, in so far as Busch represents their complaints and justifications for their existing way of life in preference to reform.

Busch's aim here is to provide lessons for his male readers about how women (and men, in Book I) will avoid and attempt to circumvent reform. Unintentionally he also presents us with some insight into how these women conceived of their communal religious life. Comparison of Busch's representation of how nuns justified their way of life with accounts of reform recorded by women themselves reveals him to have been a keen observer and accurate recorder of detail, although with a considerably different interpretation of their practices.[54] His representations of how women defended their practices offer a lens, albeit hostile, into why they thought their model of religious life legitimate. The nuns of St George appear in this account neither to live according to the rules of poverty nor to share a common life. Nevertheless they regarded their way of life, based on private means of support but performing communal spiritual services, as valid. To enhance his didactic aims, Busch depicts exempla such as the scene between the nuns of St George and the reforming party with verisimilitude. The women are shown as forceful, knowledgeable, and capable in active defence of their way of life. Although he discounts their arguments or

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[53] See, for example, Scott's discussion in the present volume of how Robert Mannyng employs dialogue to effect.

[54] Busch's account of the introduction of reform at the Cistercian convent of Wienhausen touches on similar aspects of the nuns' life as the chronicle of the same events recorded by a nun of the community, although the stark differences in the two perspectives result in widely divergent understandings of motivation and rationale for the actions of the reformers, and the abbess and her nuns; see *Liber*, II, 629–35, and *Chronik und Totenbuch des Klosters Wienhausen*, ed. by Horst Appuhn (Celle: Schweiger & Pick, 1986), 19–25 (the edition is not paginated; numbers refer to folios in the manuscript). The account of reform at the Benedictine convent of Ebstorf, made by a young nun of that community, records how it proceeded through a similar course of events to those described by Busch, but with greater attention to female responses; see Conrad Borchling, 'Litterarisches und geistiges Leben im Kloster Ebstorf am Ausgang des Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift der Historischen Verein für Niedersachsen*, 4 (1905), 361–420.

dismisses the women themselves as 'rebellious' or 'perverse', nevertheless he represents them as often formidable opponents whose arguments against reform demanded considered and strategic responses from reformers.

Busch's stories about overcoming the adversity created by 'rebellious' nuns stress the forceful imposition of reform, which was commonly employed when negotiations or attempts at persuading the women affected failed to yield a result.[55] Busch, however, recognized that compulsion was not effective in all circumstances. He also depicts a variety of situations that portray the state of apprehension and resistance of the women affected, in which he models a response that attends to this emotional climate within the community. At Wennigsen he recounts how, after overcoming initial resistance to reform, he and his co-reformers instructed the nuns 'not with austerity but with tenderness', leading them to declare: 'Previously we thought that you were too harsh and churlish. But now we see that you are like the sweetest angel of God.'[56] Similarly, at nearby Barsinghausen, he reports, 'I led them to all things pertaining to true reformation which I wanted with benevolence, prudence, and gentleness.'[57] At Marienwerder the nuns consented to reform, no doubt prompted by the threat of excommunication and possible eviction if they continued to resist. Busch's account of the initial encounter between these nuns and his reforming party presents an unusual insight from a reformist perspective into the anxiety felt by women faced with an unwanted change:

> They feared that the rigour of the rule could be too heavy for them to bear, since they were for the larger part young and they hurried to consent to us at first and at length they responded to us not churlishly but with great praying and supplication, lest they be

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[55] Nuns who initially resisted efforts to impose regular observance upon their community were frequently induced to submit to this by the threat of eviction from their monastery; see for instance *Liber*, II, 566: 'Videntes vero moniales, quod amplius reformationem evadere non poterant, consensum tandem nobis dederunt'; and II, 567: 'Moniales iste ante adventum meum ad istas coram duce et priore satis valide reformationi resisterant, ita ut evectionem illarum de monasterio suo ipsis minarentur et eciam ad effectum produxissent.' On the convergence of secular and ecclesiastic authority in imposing reform upon monastic communities see Manfred Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation: Geistliche Reformpolitik weltlicher Fürsten vor der Reformation*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Neue Reihe 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).

[56] 'Et quia non cum austeritate sed cum pietate eas instruximus, dixerunt nobis: "Nos prius putavimus, quod nimis austeri et inhumane fuissetis. Iam videmus, quod sicut angeli Dei mansuetissimi estis"': *Liber*, II, 560.

[57] 'Sed ego cum benevolentia, prudentia et mansuetudine perduxi eas ad omnia, que volebam, ad veram reformationem pertinentia': *Liber*, II, 567.

burdened too much. For the name of reform before it is assumed seemed to everyone heavy to bear.[58]

The compliant attitude of the nuns appears to have elicited a more welcoming response from Busch, who recalled, 'we proceeded with kindly affection for them. We also acted willingly since they did not arouse perverse and rebellious [actions] against us.'[59]

The counsel Busch presents to his readers in these *exempla* reveal him to have been a close observer of human relationships,[60] attentive to those occasions when establishing relationships founded on 'kindness' was more likely than harsh discipline to produce lasting change.[61] His guidance for these situations is conveyed through his description of the demeanour or manner in which he responded, as 'kind' or 'gentle'. His teaching here concerns the appropriate attitude and approach required to guide one's actions, rather than offering specific *dicta et facta* for imitation. This assumes that his audience, who would have experience in practising pastoral and leadership roles, already had an understanding of how to perform in this situation. In contrast with the way he prepares his readers for a potentially challenging situation when confronting nuns about their property, here he invites his audience to draw upon their own experience for knowledge of what to say and do.

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[58] 'Que propter ordinis rigorem se nimium gravari posse metuentes, cum essent pro maiori parte iuvencule, pro primo nobis consentire trepidabant, malitiose tamen nobis non responderunt sed magis orando et supplicando, ne nimis gravarentur. Nomen enim reformationis ante eius assumptionis omnibus videbatur importabile pondus': *Liber*, II, 568.

[59] 'Cum pietate benigne cum eis procederemus. Quod etiam libenter fecimus, quia non perverse et rebelles contra nos se erexerunt': *Liber*, II, 568.

[60] Classen's contribution to the present volume illustrates how the works of both Thomasin von Zerclaere and Hugo von Trimburg reveal a similar close observation of human interactions, with particular attention to gender dynamics.

[61] In her contribution to the present volume, Louise D'Arcens draws attention to how Christine de Pizan advocates 'compassionate counsel' as a more effective strategy than potentially harsh words to engage the sympathies of her audience as part of her didactic philosophy. Jean Gerson advocates a similar approach in his *De arte audiendi confessiones*, in *Jean Gerson: Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols (Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1960–73), VIII, 10–17, translated as 'On Hearing Confessions', in *Jean Gerson: Early Works*, trans. by Brian Patrick McGuire (New York: Paulist, 1998), pp. 365–77: 'let the confessor above be careful not to be harsh, melancholic, and rigid from the beginning. If he does so, he will soon close the mouth of the terrified sinner' (p. 369).

Busch similarly attends to the importance of the relationships between the sexes in his advice concerning the role of confessor, the role in which the relationship between the two parties was crucial, but especially fraught with tension within the charged atmosphere generated by reform. Given that oversight of nuns, appointing priests to minister to them, and receiving their confessions personally were defining responsibilities for the audience of the *Liber de reformatione*, Busch gives this subject greater attention in Book II than elsewhere.[62] Busch situates his tales about serving as confessor to nuns in the context of how he initially asserted his authority over a convent at the commencement of visitation and reform.[63] The authority exercised by the priest in confessional served as an important step in preparing the ground for a reorientation of the women's religious understanding as well as practice. The practice of confession contained an element of discipline and instruction, as sins were acknowledged, corrected, and penance given. It also contained an element of consolation, as the guilt arising from sin was cleansed and the conscience purified. The Windesheim canon Frederik van Heilo summarized it thus: 'true confession from a penitent and humble soul releases guilt and cleanses the obstinate.'[64] Busch offers his own practice as a model recalling when, as prior of Sülte, he had oversight of three convents in Hildesheim, and either he or one of his brothers visited them at least once a fortnight to hear their confessions 'so that I would know and hear how [matters] stood within each monastery, whether

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[62] Busch scarcely touches on confession in relation to the reform of male houses. His sole extended treatment of this issue for men is an exemplum in Book III in which he relates how he convinced a young novice at Sülte to stay and make his profession rather than follow the pleas of his family and friends and return to secular life; see *Liber*, III, 711–16. Busch's concern here is to offer guidance to others on dealing with what must have been a common pastoral problem, rather than the questions of asserting authority in the sense raised in Book II.

[63] In many cases the nuns had been excommunicated, a strategy used by ecclesiastic authorities in response to what was perceived as their contumacious refusal to submit to reform. Their confession was necessary to absolve them from this ecclesiastical censure. Busch's comment on this process at the Cistercian convent of Mariensee stresses the relationship between confession and control in these circumstances: 'Finally, once the nuns had been confessed, absolved and brought to peace [...] I went to Hildesheim' (*Liber*, ii, 565).

[64] Cited in Schlotheuber, '"Nullum regimen"', p. 50; 'Vera confessio ex animo contrito et humiliate absolvit reos et mundat contensiosa': *Tractatus contra pluralitatem*, fol. 18ʳ. Thomas N. Tentler discusses the dual aspects of confession, discipline, and consolation in *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

they progressed or declined in temporal and spiritual affairs'.[65] Busch also understands confession as producing communal, not just individual, benefits, claiming that there 'was nothing better than Holy Communion and frequent confession to preserve [nuns] in good peace and monastic discipline'.[66]

Medieval commentators on the practice of confession recognized that the relationship established between confessor and penitent was essential to the working of the sacrament. In his study of the practice of confession in this period, Thomas Tentler notes the emphasis that clerical authors placed on the confessor to ensure that 'the experience of the confessional [was] more secure and less threatening'. He makes this observation in the context of his discussion of the rules of conduct intended to guide the actions of the confessor, concluding that the overall intent was 'to allay apprehension and diminish the pain of confessing sins'.[67] It is difficult to imagine a situation more likely to engender apprehension and fear in this context than having to make confession to a threatening and unknown cleric who represents unwanted changes imposed upon one's community from outside. Busch's exemplary tales demonstrating how he responded to this situation include some of his more unusual tactics to achieve the outcome he sought, as well as offering insight into his awareness about how his status and the nuns' perceptions of him generated the potential to undermine the authority he sought through the confessional.

Busch's lessons about how to respond in these circumstances are drawn from his experience of introducing reform into female communities during his initial years as prior of Sülte in Hildesheim in the early 1440s. He relates a tale about the Benedictine convent of Eschede, where Bishop Magnus had sent him to receive the nuns' confession before electing a new prioress. Rumours about the harsh penances he reportedly imposed had reached the nuns, causing them to fear confessing to him. Their provost, whom Busch describes as a secular priest, intervened, advising them to confess to Busch rather than be placed under excommunication. Moreover, he promised to protect them if Busch threatened them in any way. Reassured by this safeguard, the nuns consented to confess to him. After receiving confession from the third nun, he enquired: 'Sister, am I as

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[65] 'Ut ipse scirem et audirem, quomodo in singulis illis staret monasteriis, an proficerent seu deficierent in temporalibus et spiritualibus rebus': *Liber*, II, 590. Busch makes a similar comment in relation to his role as prior overseeing the nuns at Steterburg; see *Liber*, II, 607.

[66] 'Quia per nullam rem melius, quam per sacram dominici corporis communionem et frequentem confessionem eas in bona pace et claustrali disciplina posset conservare': *Liber*, II, 654.

[67] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 95.

harsh as they say about me?' She answered: 'You are a golden man, pleasant and gentle in all things.' Later in the day he asked the provost: 'What do your nuns say about me? Am I as austere as they thought?' He answered: 'When they have to make confession, the hairs on their heads stand on end, but when they leave you, they return greatly consoled.' Finally, the next day, he asked the last nun who confessed to him: 'Am I as rigid and austere as you had heard?' She responded as before: 'Now your mouth is honeyed. But when you will have gained our consent [...] then you will say to us "It is right that you do what we want and what you should do."' To which he responded: 'Dearest sister! Do not fear, since I am kindly and gentle and always shall remain so for you.'[68]

In this exemplum Busch presents his actions as a model of the desired outcome of this encounter with the nuns. He does not present the dialogue of the actual confessional, which etiquette required to remain secret between the two parties involved, but models himself as a confessor who successfully consoles and reassures penitents during confession. The nuns' initial apprehension is transformed into sufficient confidence in him to establish, as Busch represents it, a satisfactory relationship. His final comment to this nun, that he is 'kindly and gentle' ('benignus et mitis'), reveals a different aspect to his character. Here he recognizes a need to adjust his approach according to the atmosphere or emotional climate of the time. The encounter he models here is one in which compulsion will be unlikely to be effective. It was not uncommon for nuns to refuse to confess to an unwanted or distrusted confessor; Busch suggests that the best way to lay the ground for this relationship is for clerics to somehow initiate the relationship, which then gives them an opportunity to build the penitent's confidence in them through their attitude and demeanour. In another exemplum on this subject, he relates how he used deception as a means to convince the nuns of St George in Halle of his merits as a confessor.[69] It is unlikely that he

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[68] 'Tercie moniali mihi confitenti dixi: "Soror, sumne ita durus, sicut me esse dixerunt?" Respondit: "Vos aureus estis vir per omnia suavis et mitis." Vespere quando cenavimus, dixi preposito: "Quid dicunt de me vestre moniales? Sum ita austerus, ut putabant?" Respondit: "Quando ad confitendum accedere debuerunt, inhorrerunt capilli capitum suorum, sed quando a vobis recesserunt, valde consolate redierunt". Die crastina ante prandium ceteras expedivi et circa finem unam interrogavi: "Sum ita rigidus et austerus, ut audistis?" Respondit: "Iam habetis mel in ore. Sed quando consensum nostrum habueritis et cordam per cornuam nostra pertraxeritis, tunc nobis respondibitis: oportet, ut iam omnia faciatis, que volumus et facere debetis." Cui respondi: " Soror charissima! Non timeatis, quia benignus et mitis vobis semper permanebo"': *Liber*, II, 597–98.

[69] *Liber*, II, 573–74. In this story, the nuns were reluctant to confess to Busch for fear of angering their usual confessor. He took the place of the existing confessor and heard the nuns'

advocated literal imitation of this subterfuge, but rather uses the incident to highlight that in this circumstance, the onus was on the cleric to do everything possible to create an environment conducive to the penitent making a 'good' confession.

In modelling this approach Busch attends to the emotional dimension of the relationship between confessor and penitent and its ability to influence the conduct and efficacy of the sacrament. The exemplum of an 'expert' confessor as depicted by Busch has contemporary parallels in the simple didactic verses contained in manuals for confessors that sum up the qualities required of a good confessor. The 'Poeniteas cito', for example, declares that the confessor should be 'agreeable, friendly, kind, prudent, discreet, gentle, devout, and pleasant'. It continues, providing further specifics about what was expected of their behaviour:

> Let him be slow to punishment and quick to compassion,
> Lamenting as often as he is forced to be severe;
> He should pour out a mixture of oil and vinegar,
> At times like a father chastising with the rod,
> At times like a mother proffering her breast.[70]

Tentler observes that 'popular, simple, and didactic' verses such as this emphatically assert the desirability of humane qualities. It focuses not just on the rules of etiquette, but tries to attain the proper attitude towards sinful and ashamed penitents. No one forgets that the confessor is a punisher and corrector of vice: authority and discipline are faithfully represented. But the emphasis in these verses is on persuasion, friendly and gentle, with only the most prudent use of sanctions to discourage sin.[71] The guidance Busch conveys in these exempla reflects this ideal of pastoral practice. His method of depicting recognizable situations enables him to convey his ideas about the value and relevance of such abstract ideals through his representations of human relationships.

Busch's assertions of 'gentleness', however, belie the power differential inherent in the relationship between confessor and penitent, especially when the

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confessions without their knowledge that he was there. Upon hearing each confession, he revealed himself to each woman, who, after recovering from her shock, acknowledged that he was not as bad as she had thought. After this the nuns reportedly confessed to him willingly when he visited.

[70] Cited and translated by Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 96; 'Poeniteas cito', in *Penitentiarius magistri iohannis de garlandia* (Paris, 1499?), A3a.

[71] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 96.

penitent is a woman. Dyan Elliott has traced the ambivalent relationship of women with confession during the Middle Ages, observing that 'like all relationships, confession can be easily derailed and transformed by an imbalance of power'. She draws attention to the 'female predisposition to confess' as a characteristic of female spirituality, whether this arises from 'complexion or social construction'.[72] Busch appears to recognize this, presenting exempla about his relations as confessor to women — which are unparalleled in Book I — to suggest to his readers that different strategies are required when dealing with women than with men. He attends to the emotional climate generated by reform, but always within the context of asserting his authority. Just as the model of an 'expert confessor' presented in confessional manuals was intended to elicit a full confession from penitents and so reinforce clerical mediation of the sacrament, so Busch's strategy of 'kindly' behaviour was also intended, ultimately, as a method of exerting control.

To what extent the women who confessed to Busch concurred with his self-appraisal as a confessor with a 'honeyed mouth' is unknown. No records documenting female perceptions of his counsel survive.[73] Nevertheless, the few stories he presents of his encounters with women that touch on the quality or nature of his personal relationship with them reveal a pragmatic attitude and recognition of individual circumstances which suggest that his pastoral practice differed from the rigorous moralism of his actions in introducing regular monastic observance. This aspect of the *cura monialium*, to provide counsel and emotional support to female superiors, was one which Busch evidently recognized as challenging. He reflects on this subject at length in only one exemplum in the *Liber de reformatione*, when recounting his relationship as prior with Prioress Gertrude from the convent of Mary Magdalen in Magdeburg. He praises her highly for the reason that she 'precisely guarded' her community

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[72] Dyan Elliott, 'Women and Confession: From Empowerment to Pathology', in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 31–51 (p. 51).

[73] The only two references are passing comments made by nuns when recording events relating to their monastery. In both instances Busch is not a central actor in the narrative. The *Chronicle* from the Cistercian convent of Wienhausen, where Busch was involved in the initial introduction of reform in 1469, refers to him as the 'father from Sülte'; see Appuhn, *Chronik und Totenbuch*, 19. Similarly an entry for 1479 in a manuscript from the convent of Mary Magdalen in Hildesheim refers to 'our father from Sülte'; see Richard Doebner, 'Aufzeichnungen aus dem Maria Magdalenenkloster zu Hildesheim (1467–1497)', in *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 72 (1904), 199–248 (p. 230).

according to the regular observance and was 'suitably prudent' in her actions, although he describes her as 'scrupulous' (*scrupolusa*), referring to her state of anxiety or doubt:[74]

> But since consciences are fearful of all scruples and, as if they walked on ice, they cannot stand firm without fear of a fall, therefore, although at one time in good peace of conscience, truly that peace will not remain stable in them for long but with a new doubt a new fear of conscience will arise in them and they always require a new comforter over this. Thus that prioress was consoled often through the words of her fathers and through writings and was eased from her faintheartedness and animated so that she would wear a virile soul.[75]

Busch's account of the steps he took to comfort, console, and assist Gertrude to overcome her doubts so that she could serve confidently as prioress yields insight into how he envisaged his pastoral responsibility for the female superiors under his direction. He visited Gertrude, making the journey to Magdeburg with a trusted prioress, Mechthild Kramers of Steterburg,[76] to instruct her 'how she ought to hold herself in her doubt (*in scrupulo suo*) and in other matters' and put her mind to rest. After they left, her doubts returned, and Busch sent a senior official and friend, the sub-prior of Sülte, Berthold Eyke, her former counsellor, 'to relieve her from the doubt in her heart and from the despondency (*pusillanimitate*) of her soul'. Berthold's counsel seemed to work, 'for she willingly heard her fathers and acquiesced to their advice, as much as she could, on account of which she tempered herself.'[77]

The question of the scrupulous conscience 'which magnifies or invents faults to its own torment' was considered by later medieval theologians as a problem to be treated gently, with consolation rather than discipline.[78] A danger of the

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[74] 'Ordinem iuxta primam suam institutionem exacte custodiret. [...] Prefata autem priorissa Geertrudis Maenschyn prudens satis fuit [...] sed etiam scrupulosa': *Liber*, II, 636;

[75] 'Sed quia consciencie omnium scrupulosorum timide sunt et, quasi super glaciem ambularent, sine timore casus sui fixi stare non possunt, idcirco, quamvis nunc in bona pace consciencie, verum non diu pax ista in eis bene manet stabilita, sed cum nova dubitatione novus timor consciencie eis oritur et super hoc semper novum requirunt consolatorem. Sic et priorissa ista per verba patrum et per scripta sepius fuit consolata et a pusillanimitate sua relevata et, ut virilem animum indueret, animata': *Liber*, II, 636.

[76] Mechthild Kramers is recorded as prioress of Steterburg between 1458 and 1473; see Silvia Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter*, Beihefte zum Braunschweigischen Jahrbuch, 2 (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1983), p. 260.

[77] *Liber*, II, 636.

[78] Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 76.

overly scrupulous conscience was that penitents lost faith in the efficacy of the sacrament of penance to absolve their conscience, potentially leading them into despair. Elliott argues that the tendency towards scrupulosity was increasingly identified with women in the fifteenth century, as theologians such as Jean Gerson and John Nider equated it with fear, a passion of which to be wary, and associated it with a melancholy, cold complexion.[79] As in the context Busch describes here, scrupulosity also led to a desire for frequent confession, increasing the contact between a woman and her confessor, and thus the threat of emotional, leading to sexual, involvement. Busch carefully counters this risk by stressing how Gertrude's fortitude was 'animated' through contact with her spiritual directors, by letters as well as in person. Busch presents this exemplum to show how paternal solicitude was as important as paternal discipline for clerics entrusted with the *cura monialium*. Gertude's scrupulosity arose out of her weaker, affective, feminine nature and hence required male counsel to fortify and strengthen her, to promote her spiritual progress, and to enable her to overcome her nature and don the 'virile soul' necessary to fulfil her leadership role as prioress.[80] Gertrude's ability to maintain claustral discipline, to 'precisely guard' the convent was also essential for Busch as her prior. His concern about Gertrude related to her ability to perform her office, which in this situation could not be distinguished from her personal concerns. This exemplum reveals his appreciation of the interrelationship between the dual leadership roles of himself as prior and Gertrude as prioress. His consolation and support of her served two ends: it alleviated her personal doubts and enabled her to fulfil the duties of office, while also meeting Busch's needs for institutional discipline and order, upon which his paternal authority rested.

Conclusions

Despite Busch's ambitious didactic intentions, the influence of his *Liber de reformatione* appears to have been limited. In common with many contemporary reformist treatises — and in marked contrast to the wide popularity of his

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[79] Elliott, 'Women and Confession', pp. 46–50.

[80] The notion of women overcoming their inferior nature to become 'honorary men' has a long tradition in Christian literature. For background see Grace M. Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*, Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 43–58.

historiographical works within the Windesheim congregation — the *Liber de reformatione* had a relatively narrow circulation.[81] Lesser's analysis of the reception of this work indicates that its readers were more concerned with its historical import for their community, and as an historical record of reform, rather than its didactic messages. Yet although Busch's aims may not have been realized, the *Liber de reformatione* remains a remarkable record of his didactic endeavour. The value of the work for modern readers lies, among other aspects, in the witness it offers into how Busch sought to fashion his own experiences into lessons for others. In doing so the work presents a fascinating window into how this individual sought to assert his personal authority and model of ideal religious life within the contested nature of late-medieval religious reform.

The *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* serves as a testimonial to its author's activities in the cause of monastic reform through which he hoped to provide a guide that would secure and extend his achievements for generations to come. Busch offers an exemplary narrative through which his words and deeds are depicted as a practical model for his audience to emulate and so continue the work he started. Despite the clear disciplinary tone and intent of the work, the *Liber de reformatione* also conveys the message that responsibility for spiritual oversight of religious women entails an obligation to offer consolation and support within this relationship, not discipline alone. His stories illustrate that the 'business' of introducing regular monastic observance was not an isolated event, but required an extended process of institutional and personal transformation, sometimes over several years. Certain aspects of this change could be imposed, such as removing private property and introducing a common life, but changing individual behaviour and spiritual orientation required a different approach.

The manner in which Busch presents his teachings reflects these two differing circumstances. The exempla that convey his guidance about how to deal with the adversities that his readers could expect to encounter contain more detailed

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[81] Only four copies of the text are known to survive; the complete text is preserved in one manuscript only. Busch's works circulated primarily in the northern Netherlands and Westphalia, among communities associated with the *devotio moderna*, and in lower and eastern Saxony, where he was active as a reformer. For a detailed overview of transmission see Lesser, *Chronist der Devotio moderna*, chap. 7, pp. 361–406. The often narrow transmission of reformist treatises in the fifteenth century was primarily due to the fact that they were directed to a specific audience, often confined to the author's religious order; see Jürgen Miethke, 'Kirchenreform auf den Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts: Motive—Methoden—Wirkungen', in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, ed. by Johannes Helmrath and Heribert Müller, 2 vols (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), I, 13–42 (pp. 28–31).

instructions on how to proceed. Busch presents his words and examples in greater detail, using dialogue to rehearse the arguments his readers would face, and presenting model responses of imitable, external behaviour. The other aspect of his didactic method touches on the less tangible dimension of personal relationships, for which Busch once again offers himself as a model, but in these instances referring to his attitude and approach rather than to the specifics of words and deeds. In these exempla he represents a different facet of his character, his attentiveness to the often tense emotional climate engendered by the events of reform, and the challenges this created for clerics charged with oversight of religious women. In this domain of action he models an exemplary approach, describing the quality of his interaction, rather than what exactly he did. His readers are urged to respond in a similar manner, drawing upon their own experience for what to say and do when faced with similar circumstances. In the *Liber de reformatione* Busch presents models for clerical conduct in interaction with religious women by which his audience, religious with pastoral responsibility for nuns, are urged to console and serve these women, as well as to discipline and supervise them. His exemplary narratives offer models of attitude towards and behaviour with women that reveal considerable insight into his understanding of the variety of human complexity that inevitably arose between the sexes in the pastoral relationship, heightened by the tensions of reform.

Elizabethan Drama and
The Instruction of a Christian Woman by Juan Luis Vives

Ursula Potter

*T*he Instruction of a Christian Woman* is a conduct book for women, written in 1523 by Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), the Spanish humanist, and dedicated to Catherine of Aragon as a guide for the education of her daughter, Princess Mary. The book is divided into three separate treatises — advice on maidens, married women, and widows — but, as Vives himself makes clear, a woman should not confine herself to just one book: 'I wyll that every of theme shall rede all.'[1] Nor was his book intended only for aristocratic women; rather, as the editors of the most recent English edition point out, it was directed primarily to a middle-class audience (xlii). Vives wrote his treatise in Latin, but within a few years an English translation appeared, produced by Richard Hyrde under the impeccable guidance of Sir Thomas More. Vives would have been gratified with the book's wide circulation in England, given that by the turn of the century the English edition had been republished eight times. Book I, 'Which treats of Unmarried Young Women', and which is the focus of this essay, consists of fifteen chapters expounding Vives's ideas on how to bring up a chaste, virtuous, and obedient daughter. He starts with infancy and moves progressively

[1] Unless otherwise specified, all quotations are taken from Richard Hyrde's original 1528 translation, republished in *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, ed. by Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Margaret Mikesell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); here p. 9. All subsequent references to this edition are cited by page number within the text. Material taken from Vives's revised 1538 edition is footnoted separately and is taken from *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. by Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); hereafter cited as Fantazzi.

through all stages of girlhood into adolescence and preparation for marriage before culminating in the final chapter 'On Seeking a Spouse'. The early chapters establish the preservation of chastity as the prime purpose of Vives's instructions, and lay down three general principles on how to achieve this: the separation of the sexes for the moral benefit of both genders, the protection of innocence in girls by cocooning them from all occasions for adverse experiences, and the assumption that 'the moral formation of women' can be taught through a preceptual pedagogy (9). The remaining chapters deal with the specific topics for imparting these precepts: recommended reading material, the holy nature of virginity, the body — 'this vile and useless servant'[2] — as enemy to chastity, the sins of adornment, the virtues of solitude, on the imitation of virtuous women, how to behave in public, the dangers of dancing and love affairs, the love befitting a virgin, and finding a husband.

Vives was clearly aware that the pious, secluded, and domestic type of training he advocates would raise objections: 'Nowe I doubt nat but some wyl thynke my preceptes oversore and sharpe. [...] Hit is no newes, that il folke hate them that avyse them well' (9–10), he declares, positioning himself as moral advisor, and aligning himself firmly with St Jerome, one of his most cited sources.[3] Without doubt, aspects of Vives's training programme were unpalatable to English readers, such as his condemnation of dancing, which was a popular and highly regarded skill in English society throughout the sixteenth century, yet finding textual evidence of the reception of Vives's theories in England is no easy task. Of all the questions posed for didactic texts by Juanita Feros Ruys in her introduction to the present volume, locating the didactic effect of *The Instruction* is the most challenging. The book's authorial persona, its didactic intent, and its intended audience can all be identified with some confidence. Only evidence of the book's reception in Tudor England remains as yet beyond our firm grasp. Two sources can, nonetheless, be adduced as evidence that the book and its pedagogic theories generated significant debate in Tudor England: one is Edmund Tilney's *The Flower of Friendshippe* (1568), a Renaissance dialogue contesting marriage which presents competing ideologies in gender relations and in which Vives's theories are represented as under challenge from a younger generation, and the other is George Gascoigne's play *Glasse of Governement* (1575), which parodies Vives's education theories. In her illuminating essay on

[2] Fantazzi, p. 128.

[3] For a detailed account of the background and sources to Vives's conduct book, see Fantazzi, pp. 23–30, and *The Instruction*, pp. xxxix–xlii.

the education of girls in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Allison P. Coudert assumes didactic literature such as that by Vives to be representative of social practice,[4] but further evidence from outside educational and evangelical literature, as this chapter seeks to provide, can strengthen this argument. Beyond the two undeniable links with Vives evinced in Tilney and Gascoigne, for instance, Elizabethan and early-seventeenth-century drama has much to offer in the way of commentary on *The Instruction*. Here there is a wealth of material dealing with the upbringing of daughters, revealing a lively, popular debate, which is at its most articulate in Shakespeare's plays. Perhaps Vives's well-known antipathy towards public theatre, which led to his name being cited in antitheatrical tracts,[5] gave Shakespeare further cause to engage with his theories on women. One play in particular, *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598), will be analysed here for relevance to *The Instruction*.

At the time of its first publication in Latin in 1523 *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* may have had less impact in English circles than it was to have seventy or so years later, although the fact that Vives issued a revised and extended Latin edition in 1538, in which he omitted his pro-feminist preface to Book II, sharpened his tone, and reinforced some of his more contentious arguments with further sterner authorities, suggests that the book was already meeting with some resistance. By 1600, when literacy levels were higher, printed material more widely available, and nine English editions of *The Instruction* had been published, Vives's instructions would have reached a much wider audience, male and female.[6] The book's interest for the Puritan movement is also likely

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[4] Allison P. Coudert, 'Educating Girls in Early Modern Europe and America', in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (New York: de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 389–413 (p. 408; also pp. 400 and 411).

[5] For example: John Rainolds, *Th'overthrow of stage-plays* (1599); William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix: The players scovrge, or, actors tragædie* (1633).

[6] By the 1580s it was not uncommon for girls to be able to read, if not write: 'to learn to read is very common [in girls]', writes Richard Mulcaster, 'and writing is not refused, where opportunity yield it': see *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children* (1581) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo, 1971), p. 177. The main barriers to literacy in girls would have been geographic or economic; no child was excluded from local schools on grounds of social status. So fashionable was a literate education for girls that some private schools deliberately set their rates high so that 'the meannar sort are not abell to reache [this] ratte' (Anne Higginson to Lady Ferrers, letter dated 8 May, no year, estimated to be early 1600s. Shakespeare Folger Library, temporary catalogue no. L.E. 644). At the turn of the century, any resistance by men to literacy and learning in women is generally treated in drama as a mark of outdated ignorance or simple misogyny.

to have increased circulation in middle-class England.[7] Coudert points to the influence of religious movements — evangelical Protestant and Calvinist — in the hardening of gender stereotypes and narrowing of options in the education of girls. She cites Vives as one of the earliest educators to set this trend, and notes that later Protestant texts follow Vives's choice of appropriate authors for girls.[8] Little did this pious Spanish scholar imagine his *Instructions* would bolster the Protestant cause. Given the popularity of French as part of a courtly education, French versions must also have circulated in English court circles. While Vives's text in some languages, such as the French, were later updated in new translations, Hyrde's 1528 English translation remained constant through all eight reprints (1529, 1531, 1541, 1547, 1557, 1567, 1585, 1592). Each edition clearly credits both author and translator on the title page: *A verie Fruitfull and pleasant booke; called the Instruction of a Christian Woman, Made first in Latin, by the right famous Clearke M. Lewes Vives, and translated out of Latin into English, by Richard Hyrde.*[9] The naming of Vives as a famous clerk locates the book within a scholastic and religious tradition. For many this would endorse the book's authority; for others it is likely to have associated the author with a tradition of medieval misogyny. Much of Vives's discussion on such issues as chastity, dress, speech, and diet, for example, can be traced back to medieval didactic mores, just as the book derives both its form and its content from the medieval genre of the educational treatise (xl–xli).

The Text in the Elizabethan Context

The Instruction has long been regarded as the most popular conduct book for women in Elizabethan England, which is undoubtedly true if we rate popularity in terms of most widely read, but was it so popular in terms of the advice it offered on the upbringing of daughters? I suspect not. Scholars have traditionally praised the work as progressive because it promotes literacy in girls, but any

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[7] The 1585 and 1592 editions were re-edited in order to bring them into line with the ideology of late Tudor Puritanism; see *The Instruction*, p. lxxviii.

[8] Coudert, 'Educating Girls in Early Modern Europe and America', pp. 403–07.

[9] The book was translated into French as early as 1526, followed by Castilian (1528), English (1529), German (1544), Dutch (1544), and Italian (1546); see Fantazzi, pp. 30–33. For a full history of the Tudor text and illustrations of title pages see *The Instruction*, pp. lxxvii–xciii, and Fantazzi, pp. 30–35.

careful consideration of the type of education it proposes and the rationale behind it suggests that the book may in fact have been viewed as regressive and divisive by English families rather than progressive. Certainly the book promotes literacy, but literacy is not the prime function of Vives's text; it is rather the necessary means to an end, which is unequivocally the promotion of celibacy in society through the containment of female sexuality. The extent and aims of the literature a girl is to read are very specific — for the edification of her soul, not her intellect — and the purpose of her education is not to display her knowledge or exercise her own judgement, nor even to teach her own children beyond early moral principles.[10]

Vives intended to furnish his female reader with an armoury of moral and religious precepts and exempla designed to combat the weaknesses of her sex and to keep her on a straight and narrow path of pious, domestic life well hidden from the public (male) eye. The type of sequestered lifestyle that Vives envisages for girls seems particularly unsuited to the social standing and obligations of either the aristocracy or the gentry in Tudor or Jacobean England, and far more suited to convent life.[11] Hamlet's harsh comment to Ophelia, 'Get thee to a nunnery', voices the same didactic intent that underwrites Vives's training programme: unless contained and controlled, girls will become victims of their sexuality. Daughters like Ophelia are taught to view their chastity as their only virtue, men as dissembling seducers, and sexuality as the enemy: 'Fear it, Ophelia, Fear it, my dear sister', Laertes warns her. This 'green girl' that Polonius scoffs at has had no opportunity to develop any survival skills for herself, because her father, like Vives, puts his faith in preceptual, not experiential, education. With no man to protect or guide her (whether father, brother, or lover), Ophelia is doomed. A nunnery would indeed have been a safer choice.[12] Another tragic daughter in Shakespeare similarly trained in the virtues of chastity, silence, and obedience, but not to think for herself, is Hero in *Much Ado About Nothing*. Her

[10] Another English conduct book for women published only two years later, Richard Whitford's *Werke for Housholders* (1531), notably allows mothers a greater role in the religious education of her children; see Fantazzi, p. 34.

[11] As Beauchamp and others point out, despite the manual being directed to secular rather than religious women, the subtext always endorses celibacy: see *The Instruction*, p. lv.

[12] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* ed. by Harold Jenkins, Arden Shakespeare (London: Routledge, 1982), III. 1. 121. Other aspects of the play reflect Vives's fear of sexuality, such as Hamlet's disgust at his mother's sexual relations at a time of life when he considers she should be celibate. See Vives's Book III 'On Widows'.

role as mute sacrificial victim to spurious male codes of honour is set against her more experienced cousin's ability to survive in a male world. The skills that allow Beatrice to survive in the same society that annihilates Hero are those that Vives so vehemently denies women: eloquence, independent judgement, and above all any occasion to learn by experience. It is no coincidence that both Hero and Ophelia have elderly fathers who adhere to pre-Reformation concepts of female virtue and paternal behaviour.

Shakespeare's interest in father-daughter relations clearly reflects contemporary debate over the education of girls for their roles in society, not just the merits of individual social or domestic accomplishments but such fundamental parenting philosophies as whether to be strict or liberal (Vives rejects the liberal approach), to favour fear or love as pedagogic tools (Vives advocates fear), and whether to give value to experience or to protect innocence at all costs (Vives sees only dangers in experience and is fiercely opposed to parents who believe children should be exposed to both good and evil; 15). *The Instruction*, given new life with the republishing of the 1585 and 1592 editions, was undoubtedly instrumental in shaping this debate, and, as will be suggested, in defining the arguments along generational and cultural lines. In the field of education, 'Vives' was a name to be reckoned with, but in the English context it commonly came with its Spanish nomenclature: 'the learned Spaniard', or 'El Gran Valenciano'.[13] At the time of writing, Vives was anxious to hold up the Patient Griselda image of his patron as the chaste feminine ideal,[14] but by the 1580s such an image was as unacceptable in marriage as it was on the throne, and the book's Spanish associations — author, patron, and cultural context — were similarly inauspicious in post-Armada England. Some twenty years earlier, however, Spanish cultural influences on the conduct of women were already being drawn into the gender debate.

'The Flower of Friendshippe' (1568)

Edmund Tilney's colloquy, *The Flower of Friendshippe*, was published within a year of the 1567 edition of *The Instruction*. Tilney writes Vives and Erasmus into his small group of participants who debate the merits and virtues of women,

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[13] Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, p. 262; Foster Watson, *Luis Vives: El Gran Valenciano* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922).

[14] Vives names Catherine of Aragon as a 'true patient griselda': see *Tudor Schoolboy Life: The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives*, ed. and trans. by Foster Watson (London: Cass, 1970), p. 96.

marriage, and gender relations. 'Father Erasmus' is shown considerable respect but clearly identified with the older generation. Vives himself has little to say beyond asserting that fathers need to be stricter towards sons, but his presence in the text draws attention to his influence in Elizabethan England and his single comment places him firmly on the side of strict paternal control.[15] Vives is not the only Spanish participant. Tilney's direct source was a popular contemporary Spanish text by Pedro di Luxan (published in at least eleven Spanish editions from 1550 to 1589), which was itself influenced by Erasmus and Vives.[16] Tilney's main speaker is Master Pedro himself, who thus represents an amalgam of the ideologies of Vives and Erasmus. Master Pedro's role in the debate is supported by Lady Julia, the most senior woman present. Her views concur with those of Vives in general, such as total obedience to husbands, and valuing chastity 'above all', but she also mirrors Vives in certain specifics. She believes that 'shamefastness' (modesty) is of such power it can defend a woman's chastity and that 'in a creature voyde of shame' there can be no virtue,[17] and she follows Vives in citing numerous exempla of women who chose suicide in the face of dishonour. She believes women should stay at home in order to protect their chastity and reputation (compare Vives: 'a mayde shulde go but seldome abrode: bycause she neyther hath any busynes forth, and standethe ever in jeopardye of her chastite'; 47). Like Vives, Lady Julia realizes this is a contentious issue: 'My meaning is not in reciting these examples to have the maried wife continually lockt up, as a cloystred Nonne, or Ancres, but to consider [...] what a virtue it is to kepe well hir house', she explains. In contrast, her daughter, Lady Isabella, argues both for gender equality: 'the husband [should] obey the wife as the wife the husband, or at the least that there be no superioritie between them, as the auncient philosophers have defended', and for equality of age in marriage.[18] When Master Pedro proposes thirty-seven as the appropriate age for men to marry, she counters with: 'I woulde never marry, rather than to take such old crustes, whose wyfes are more occupied in playstering, than in enjoing any good conversation.' With Vives in the company, Tilney can only have had in mind the Spanish scholar's public eulogy for his mother-in-law, Clara Valdaura, who was married at eighteen

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[15] *The Flower of Friendshippe* (1568), ed. by Valerie Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 123–24. Pagination between pp. 128–34 is incorrect.

[16] *The Flower*, pp. 29–38, nn. 73–74.

[17] *The Flower*, p. 132. Vives argues that '[c]hastity (*pudicitia*) is derived from shame (*pudor*), so that one who has no sense of shame cannot be chaste' (Fantazzi, p. 116).

[18] *The Flower*, pp. 136, 133.

to a forty-six-year-old syphilitic husband whose repugnant, suppurating legs she uncomplainingly bandaged for the rest of his life. Vives held her up as the epitome of wifely devotion, much to the ire of Erasmus.[19]

Lady Isabella has been fairly convincingly identified with Queen Elizabeth, to whom Tilney was related and for whom he is assumed to be writing.[20] Are there grounds therefore for identifying her mother, the Lady Julia, with an earlier generation of the Tudor Court and the then prevailing influence of Erasmus and Vives? Valerie Wayne's analysis of the text suggests so. Wayne identifies three separate ideologies on women and marriage which she labels as residual (medieval antecedents), dominant (the humanists and the older Lady Julia), and emergent (the younger Lady Isabella).[21]

Most other English conduct books indebted to Vives merely plagiarize rather than debate *The Institution*, such as Heinrich Bullinger's *The Christen State of Matrimony* (1541), Edward Hake's *A Touchstone for this time present* (1574), Philip Stubbes *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), and Robert Cleaver's *A Godly Form of Householde Governement* (1598). Stubbes and Hake were both Puritans who plundered *The Instruction* for arguments on such issues as dancing, fashion, cosmetics, reading material, and sexual continence. Interestingly, while Hake openly acknowledges his debt to Erasmus, he is shy of naming Vives directly as a source. His passages on dancing are clearly taken from Vives yet he will go no further than 'sayth a certaine writer'.[22] Vives disliked dancing, in particular modern trends: 'this newe fasshion of daunsynge of ours, so unreasonable, and full of shakynge and braggyng, and unclenly handlynges, gropynges, and kyssyngis: and a very kendlyng of leachery' (67), yet, as he himself acknowledged, dancing as a courtly skill was well entrenched in Christian countries and the Tudor Court was no exception.[23] When Elizabethan drama engages with the debate on dancing, it

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[19] *The Flower*, pp.129, 138. Erasmus was outspoken on the topic of older men marrying young women, and was highly critical of Vives for citing his mother-in-law as an example of wifely duty.

[20] *The Flower*, pp. 6–9.

[21] *The Flower*, pp. 2–4.

[22] Edward Hake, *A Touchstone for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian commonwealth at this daye [...]* (1574), The English Experience, 663 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1974), C4d, C4e, C4h. Robert Cleaver, who borrowed verbatim from Vives, also failed to acknowledge the debt; see *The Instruction*, p. xliii.

[23] By the end of the sixteenth century, dancing was universally accepted as part of the courtly trivium (fencing, dancing, and music), and dancing schools were plentiful. Intermittent attempts

is usually to satirize, as in one of Middleton's comedies, in which an ambitious mother berates her chaste, silent, and obedient daughter for her lack of skills: 'You dance like a plumber's daughter and deserve | Two thousand pound in lead to your marriage.'[24] Shakespeare is more circumspect in *Romeo and Juliet*, which offers a copy-book text of Vives's dire predictions of what follows from masked balls.[25] The popularity of *The Instruction* in Elizabethan England can undoubtedly be attributed in part to the fashionable nature of the topics it deals with, such as dancing, fashion, cosmetics, diet, and reading material, but also to the fact that it is a readable text; this is no tedious tome in dense language but a lively and impassioned dialogue with the reader, in fifteen often short chapters.

Vives's Didactic Persona: 'Maister of Chastite'

Vives writes in the first person in a direct address to his reader. This may be father, mother, or both parents together, but primarily he addresses the young girl. Vives's voice as rendered by Hyrde into English moves from the more formal 'you' to the more intimate and in this context disdainful 'thee' as though in scorn of her opinions. This is particularly evident in the first two chapters dealing with virginity, where he begins with a general statement: 'Nowe wyl I talke al togeder with the mayde her selfe'; he then moves to direct address and judgemental tone: 'Be nat proude mayde that thou art holle of body, if thou be broken in mynde', before reaching an impassioned climax: 'O cursed mayde, a nat worthy to lyve' (28–31). Given the oral reading practices of the time this direct address allows any member of the family, including tutors, to appropriate this authorial voice (such as two schoolmasters in Antwerp who commissioned a new French

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to impose restrictions on dancing on moral grounds had little success in England. One of these attempts was in 1574 when Hake was writing against dancing; see Jay Pascal Anglin, *The Third University: A Survey of Schools and Schoolmasters in the Elizabethan Diocese of London* (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1985), p. 135.

[24] Thomas Middleton, 'A Chaste Maid in Cheapside' (*c.* 1613), in *Women Beware Women and other Plays*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 1–72 (I. 1. 21–22).

[25] Ursula Potter, 'Greensickness in *Romeo and Juliet*: Considerations on a Sixteenth-Century Disease of Virgins', in *The Premodern Teenager*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 246–71 (pp. 282–83).

translation for their finishing school for girls).[26] Vives saw his book, as he saw himself, as 'maister of chastite' (11). His tone emulates that of a critical teacher addressing an ignorant girl, such as when he declares: 'I shall shewe the, howe folisshe a thyng hit [make-up] is, and than howe ungratious' (39). In the revised edition of 1538 he elaborates even more aggressively, suggesting his directives were falling on deaf ears: 'You poor wretch […] if you can find a husband only by the use of makeup, when you have taken it off, how will you remain attractive to him?'[27] Any form of artificial adornment — cosmetics, fashion, hair colouring, jewellery — is vehemently opposed by Vives as an outward sign of whoredom. God gave us one face, he argues, after the image of his son, why then cover it with painting (40)? Vives's prejudices are characteristic of the scholar's misogyny. When Hamlet, the scholar-prince, attacks Ophelia in similar vein: 'I have heard of your paintings well enough, God hath given you one face and you make yourselves another', Shakespeare is drawing on a popular stereotype.[28]

Vives was clearly aware of the paradox of a pious celibate Spanish scholar advising the English nobility on the upbringing of daughters, and indeed of engaging with such topics as cosmetics at all. He addresses this potential breach of decorum by citing religious and classical authorities and by retreating to the moral high ground. Thus, having railed at length against fashion, jewellery, and makeup as incitements to lust and snares for men (he habitually represents women as predators), he suddenly draws back: 'In a subject matter so foreign to my way of life and daily habits, I willingly resort to the authority of the holy fathers, so that I shall elicit greater belief from those elegant and sophisticated women who regard it as rustic and silly if one dresses in a Christian manner'.[29] Elegant, sophisticated, and articulate women are anathema to Vives. This becomes particularly evident in the later edition, but is already palpable in the original:

> But peradventure some daungerous dame wolde answere, that with her quick answers hath gotten a name of wisedome: We must do some thyng for our byrth and gentyll blode, and possessions. But what are thou, that so sayest, a christen or a pagane? If thou be a pagane, I wyll nat argue with the: if thou be a christen woman, wite thou well, thou proude woman […] that is a poynt of a devilisshe pride' (42–43).

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[26] Fantazzi, p. 32.

[27] Fantazzi, p. 95.

[28] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. 1. 144–45.

[29] Fantazzi, p. 106.

These proud women hover threateningly in the background of *The Instruction*, generating some of Vives's most vehement outbursts, and prompting the speculation that personal experiences, perhaps at the court of Henry VIII, had left their mark on the Spanish scholar. One of the rhetorical techniques Vives uses is to attack his implied female reader with questions, in the form of an interrogation: 'What shuld all that gold do to be worne? [...] Wenest thou to seme feyrer, nobler, or wyser, if thou have so moche metal upon the? [...] Is this Christen charite? Dyddest thou sweare this in thy baptyme?' (41). His young addressee cannot defend herself, of course; she is allowed no voice in Vives's text just as he would deny her any voice in society. Indeed, if she so much as opens her mouth in company she renders herself vulnerable:

> If thou talke lyttell in company, folkes thynke thou canste but lytell good: if thou speke moche, they reken the lyght: if thou speke uncounnyngly, they counte the dull wytted: if thou speke counnyngly, thou shalte be called a shrewe: if thou answere nat quickly, thou shalt be called proude, or yll brought up: if thou answere, they shall say thou wylt be sone over comen: if thou syt with demure countenance, thou arte called a dissembler. (57–58)

Vives uses fear of slander as a strategy to silence the voice that might defend itself, just as he uses fear of sexuality to subjugate the body. Such methods reveal Vives's own anxieties towards sexuality. Shakespeare paints Hamlet and Othello with the same brushstrokes, and, as Valerie Traub has shown, exposes their neuroses and their methods: '[M]ale anxiety towards female erotic power is channelled into a strategy of containment.'[30] Physical and intellectual confinement were further strategies drawn from convent life: '[I]f thou shutte up both body and mynde, and seale them with those seales that none can open, but he that hath the key of David, that is thy spowse' (29). Physical confinement and fasting would keep the body shut up from fleshly dangers, but how to shut up the mind? (19–20).

'When she shalbe taught to rede, let those bokes be taken in hande, that may teche good maners'

Most of Vives's discussion on reading material is concerned with what *not* to read. He rails against popular romances in the vernacular, listing those he knows are in vogue in Spain, France, and Flanders, but, oddly, not those popular in

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[30] Valerie Traub, 'Jewels, Statutes, and Corpses: Containment of Female Erotic Power in Shakespeare's Plays', in *Shakespeare and Gender: A History*, ed. by Deborah Barker and Ivo Kamps, (London: Verso, 1995), pp. 120–41 (p. 121).

England. (These were added by the translator, Richard Hyrde.) As always, Vives has the threat of incitement to lust in mind, and he advises fathers of any girl who will not leave such books alone, to prevent her access to them or, failing that, to keep her away from all books (27). He recommends such authors as Jerome, Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, and Gregory on chastity, solitude, silence, and feminine adornment and attire. He allows certain classical authors, such as Tertullian, Plato, Seneca, and Cicero, but cautions that Cicero is to be read only for moral philosophy, and not for rhetoric: 'As for eloquence I have no great care, nor a woman nedeth it nat' (23). Indeed, eloquence in women was a sure sign of perversion: 'When young women are eloquent, that is, garrulous (for what is eloquence in a woman but garrulity?), it is proof of levity and perverse character, so that the man who intends to marry her will think he is marrying a viper, not a woman.'[31]

A woman's reading material offered a public means of asserting her virtues. Philip Stubbes claimed on behalf of his wife that 'you could seldom or never have come into her house and have found her without a Bible or some other good book in her hands'.[32] One wonders what book the Chamberlain's Men had Polonius thrust into Ophelia's hands in order to allay Hamlet's suspicions.[33] Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676) presents herself as a model of Vives's instructions: 'I gave myself wholly to Retyredness as much as I could', she writes in her diary, 'and made good bookes and virtuous thoughts my companions.' The books she names are clearly intended to affirm her virtues and by extension to validate her claim to ancestral estates, a battle she finally won. Clifford may have convinced her descendants, but few Jacobean dramatists would be persuaded by such flimsy evidence, certainly not Thomas Middleton, who parodies such thinking. In *A Mad World, My Masters* (1604–06), one jealous husband, Harebrain, confiscates his young wife's reading material: 'I have conveyed away all her wanton pamphlets, as *Hero and Leander*, *Venus and Adonis*; oh, two luscious mary-bone pies for a young married wife' he confides, and he substitutes instead one of the books Lady Clifford so carefully noted, Robert Parson's *Resolutions*, a devotional book

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[31] Fantazzi, p. 169.

[32] Philip Stubbes, 'A Crystal Glass for Christian Women, Containing a Most Excellent Discourse of the Godly Life and Christian Death of Mistress Katherine Stubbes' (1591), in *Daughters, Wives and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England, 1500–1640*, ed. by Joan Larsen Klein (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 139–49 (p. 142).

[33] *Hamlet*, III. 1. 44.

first published in 1582.[34] Harebrain wants a particular chapter read to his wife, believing it will frighten her into chaste obedient behaviour:

> Terrify her, terrify her; go, read to her the horrible punishments for itching wantonness, the pains allotted for adultery; tell her her thoughts, her very dreams are answerable.

When Harebrain later comes across his wife's books left around the house, he is comforted by what he finds:

> I find her circled with divine writs
> Of heavenly meditations; here and there
> Chapters with leaves tucked up, which when I see,
> They either tax pride or adultery.

He is of course happily ignorant that his wife has been coached by a courtesan in the art of leaving selected books around the house, while secreting her own choice of 'some stirring pamphlet' under her skirt, 'the fittest place to lay it'.[35] As Ruys points out in her introduction to the present volume, owning a book is no guarantee that it was read.

'Should she never set foot outside her own house?'

Perhaps the most contentious feature of Vives's training programme is his directive that '[a] woman shulde be kepte close, nor be knowen of many' (58). Parents are repeatedly enjoined to safeguard their daughter's reputation by keeping her confined, and Vives offers fathers tips for enforcing compliance, such as taking away her adornment (fine clothes, jewellery). He cites an example from Plutarch of women being kept without shoes in order to keep them confined (44). (This is one of the passages Hake draws on in *A Touchstone for this time present*.)[36] Aware that his readers were likely to protest, Vives goes on the attack with mimicry: 'Why than saye som, shuld we never walke out of our owne dores? Shuld we ever lye at home? That were as though we shuld lye in pryson?' (32).

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[34] *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p. 99. *The First Book of the Christian Exercise Pertaining to Resolution* (1582) was a popular book of devotion written by the Jesuit Robert Parsons.

[35] Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters and Other Plays*, ed. by Michael Taylor, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), I. 2. 50–53, III. 1. 75–78; I. 2. 87–91.

[36] Hake, *A Touchstone*, C4h.

The prison simile for the confinement of daughters in Elizabethan drama is almost always linked with a Mediterranean culture, and may well stem from Vives. In *The Wit of a Woman* (1604), a comedy set in Italy and dealing with the education of girls, four young women bemoan a social code that keeps them out of sight. As one girl puts it, 'the house must bee kept as a prison' unless a girl is willing to risk being known as a 'gazer' or a gossip.[37] Harebrain, Middleton's foolish jealous husband, follows Italian principles by keeping his wife locked away: 'There is a gem I would not lose, kept by the Italian under lock and key [...] we Englishmen are careless creatures', he informs his audience as he appoints a watchman to ensure his wife stays home.[38] In George Gascoigne's *The Glasse of Government* (1575) a young Spanish girl, Lamia, from the city of Valencia, Vives's home town, leaves her home specifically to get away from the type of cloistered upbringing advocated in *The Instruction*. Had I been content, claims Lamia,

> to be so shutte up from sight and speech of all friends I might have lived gallantly and well provided with my mother, who [...] is a good old Lady in Valentia, but when I sawe that I must weare my good apparel always within doores, and that I must passe over my meales without company, [...] I bad Valentia farewell, for I had rather make hard shifte to live at liberty, then enjoy great riches in such a kind of emprisonment.[39]

Lamia moves to Antwerp to live with an aunt, yet even here she complains that gentlewomen dare not nowadays be seen speaking to a man at the door or looking at him from a window. In an allusion to Vives's prohibition on the romance *Amadis*, Lamia further complains that 'the good king *Amadis* is dead long sythens, whose knights undertooke alwayes the Defence of Dames and Damselles'.[40]

Gascoigne's engagement with Vives is evident, but there is an element of ambiguity about where the play stands on Lamia's role.[41] Both aunt and niece are

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[37] *The Wit of a Woman*, ed. by W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), ll. 111–12.

[38] Middleton, *A Mad World*, I. 2. 20–21. Brabantio also thought he had kept his daughter safely under lock and key; 'Oh heavens, how got she out?' he exclaims when told of Desdemona's elopement (Shakespeare, *Othello* (1604), ed. by M. R. Ridley, Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1965), I. 1. 169).

[39] George Gascoigne, 'The Glasse of Governement' (1575), in *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne,* ed. by John W. Cunliffe, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907–10), II, 1–90 (II, 23–24).

[40] 'The Glasse', II, 42. See *The Instruction*, p. 25.

[41] Other aspects of the play also point to the influence of Vives, such as the focus on teaching by precept by the play's main figure, a schoolmaster. Even the play's location of Antwerp is relevant

sentenced to the cucking stool by a severe magistrate for keeping bad company and for being instrumental in distracting a bright young student from his studies. Aspects of the play indicate it was written to be used as a classroom exercise, so was Lamia's demise intended to demonstrate to Elizabethan schoolboys the dangers of a liberal upbringing? She represents a perfect example of Vives's theory that unless young women are kept secluded from young men civil society stands to lose the benefit of some of its brightest young talents. But Lamia can also be understood as a victim of a misogynist and suspicious society, and the play overall as a parody of Vives's theories on education.

'She is held back to a great degree solely by fear'

How were parents to follow Vives's strictures without creating rebellion and strife with a daughter? The key to success, as already indicated, was to induce a strong sense of shame and fear in her: '[girls] be refrayned and holden under for the most part by feare' (16). Vives argues that shame and shamefastness are nature's means of protecting women, and in a bizarre illustration, he cites Pliny to assert that a drowned woman will float face down because this is nature's way of preserving female modesty (60). For Vives, shame and modesty translate in girls into the admirable virtues of bashfulness, timidity, and fear.[42] Fathers were therefore directed to keep a stern face towards daughters, to refrain from laughter or playful behaviour. Vives is following a common precept here which can be traced back to Ecclesiasticus 7. 23–24: 'Hast thou sons? Instruct them.[...] Hast thou daughters? Have a care of their body, and show thyself not cheerful towards them' (xli). In the *Wit of a Woman*, four fathers debate the merits of liberal versus strict parenting. One of them quotes his wife's counsel for rejecting fear:

> For myselfe, I will follow my wifes counsel, who oftentimes in her life time, would tell mee this touching my children: [...] labour without pleasure, is but a dulling of the spirit; and therefore have an eye, but not a hand over them: for a good nature is rather awed with love, then amended with feare: and even as she wished me I have done, and will doe.[43]

to Vives. This is where the original Latin text was first published in 1524, and the Dutch edition in 1544, and where Gascoigne may have met the two schoolmasters who initiated a French translation for their school for girls in the 1570s.

[42] Desdemona was just such a daughter, according to her mistaken father: 'A maiden never bold of spirit, | So still and quiet, that her motion | Blush'd at herself' (*Othello*, I. 3. 94–96).

[43] *The Wit of a Woman*, ll. 221–29.

By attributing his liberal approach to his wife's advice this father is making a stand for the better judgement of women in the rearing of daughters, and he noticeably does so before another father who favours keeping his daughter in awe and fear.

'The chaste purenes of body ought to be more regarded than the lyfe'

One of the most disturbing features of Vives's incitement to fear is the clear reasoning that for a girl who has lost her chastity, even if not through her own fault, there is nothing left to live for. Vives repeatedly threatens girls with the dreadful consequences of unchaste behaviour: she will be the cause of parents' tears, relatives' grief, household hatred, talk of neighbours, gossip, loathing of girlfriends; she will be shunned as one contagious. Even her wooers will abandon her, 'And those that before sembled love with her, they openly hate her: Ye and nowe and than with open wordes, wyl cast the abominable ded in her tethe' (32), which is precisely what Claudio does to Hero in *Much Ado About Nothing*. Need I recount the universal hatred and wrath that caused daughters to be slaughtered by their parents?, Vives asks, and promptly follows with a long list of the violent deaths suffered by such daughters, including one whose father shut her in stable with a starving stallion which tore his daughter to pieces for its food. He gives a vicious anecdote from Spain, and claims to have personally known of a girl in his youth who was suffocated by her friends when they caught her in an obscene act (33). He provides numerous exempla of defiled girls, violently killed by fathers, brothers, relatives or friends, to avenge family dishonour, and represents this as justified, implying that the church approved such martyrdom (56).

Is this the pattern of outraged fatherhood that Shakespeare drew on when he caused the benign and compassionate Leonato to turn into an hysterical father, ranting and raving over the family shame and dishonour, demanding Hero's death, even claiming he will tear her to death with his own hands? The answer is most likely yes. Vives certainly had to defend himself on this issue since in his revised edition he not only adds his defence, 'and what am I to say if even Jerome does not seem to condemn a woman who kills herself to preserve her chastity?' but repeats his assertion that the rape victim is never without guilt: 'no man wyl take from her [her chastity] ageynst her wyll, nor touche hit, excepte she be wyllynge her selfe' (33–34). A girl who is truly a virgin both in mind and body, he claims, is protected from rape by her virginity which is evident in her eyes, and he goes on to argue that there is nothing more deserving of respect than virginity;

even soldiers shrink from seizing virgins, and lovers blind with passion and mad with desire hesitate.[44] How such assertions were received in England is perhaps best illustrated by one of John Marston's plays. In *The Fawn* (1604), a satirical comedy dealing with male behaviour and the sexual slander of women, a young braggart, Nymphadoro, boasts that just such virgins arouse his lust: 'If she be a virgin of a modest eye, shamefac'd, temperate aspect, her very modesty inflames me, her sober blushes fire me.' No-one believes him — he is all talk — but Marston is drawing attention to illusory notions of innocence and shamefastness as a defence against rape.[45] Shakespeare's poem, *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594) also disproves such a dubious theory. Tarquin's lust is enhanced by Lucrece's blushes of shame, and he claims: 'The fault is thine, | For those thine eyes betray thee unto mine.' Lucrece's own inability to read eyes renders her doubly vulnerable, as Shakespeare points out early in the poem: 'But she that never coped with stranger eyes, | Could pick no meaning from their parling looks.' How could she read the danger in Tarquin's eyes, having no previous experience of licentious men?[46]

Lucrece is, of course, Vives most noted example of female sacrifice (five times he cites her), and he takes the position that she had no other choice but to separate a chaste mind from a corrupt body. His attempts to qualify his reasoning merely serve to reiterate his position: 'But I saye nat this bicause other shulde folowe the dede, but the mynde: Bicause she that hath ones lost her honestie, shuld thynke there is nothynge lefte' (34). The standard use of Lucrece as a precedent for suicide must have been a subject of considerable debate, and in two terse lines Shakespeare suggests Lucrece's legacy is sooner a curse for later generations than an inspiration: 'No dame hereafter living | By my excuse shall claim excuse's giving.'[47]

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[44] Fantazzi, pp. 123, 83.

[45] John Marston, *The Fawn* (1604–06), ed. by Gerald A. Smith, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), III. 1. 28–29. This play is also known as *Parasitaster*.

[46] The rest of the stanza reads: 'Nor read the subtle shining secrecies | Writ in the glassy margents of such books. | She touched no unknown baits, nor feared no hooks; | Nor could she moralise his wanton sight, | More than his eyes were opened to the light' (ll. 99–105). Shakespeare, 'The Rape of Lucrece' (1594), in *The Poems*, ed. by John Roe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), ll. 477–83. The previous stanza deals with the same issue: 'For unstained thoughts do seldom dream on evil; | Birds never limed no secret bushes fear' (ll. 86–87).

[47] 'The Rape of Lucrece', ll. 1714–15.

What so much of this conduct book seems to deal with is the author's fear of female sexuality, which he views as inherently evil: '[T]hou hast a sprynge of ungratiousnes with in the: And that it forceth nat, what the mynde be, but the body' (66), and the threat this poses to his vision of a civilized humanist society. Erasmus could well have had Vives in mind when he wrote:

> I have no patience with those who say that sexual excitement is shameful and that venereal stimuli have their origin not in nature, but in sin. Nothing is so far from the truth. As if marriage, whose function cannot be fulfilled without these incitements, did not rise above blame. In other living creatures, where do these incitements come from? From nature or from sin? From nature, of course. It must be borne in mind that in the appetites of the body there is very little difference between man and other living creatures. Finally, we defile by our imagination what of its own nature is fair and holy.[48]

What *The Instruction* offers parents seems far less a useful guide for the education of daughters than an incitement to fear their sexual development. It actively discourages the promotion of any independent, intellectual abilities in girls, requires them to depend solely on the judgement of men and selected textual authorities, and denies the value of experience because this necessitates knowledge of evil. It teaches girls to fear men as deceivers and seducers, while it implies that a girl is guilty of inciting them in the first place by her very presence. As such, the book is a recipe for conflict, confusion, and mistrust within family circles and one which I believe was particularly damaging within the Elizabethan context. Indeed, Vives may even be responsible for the rising incidence of the disease of virgins. His obsession with chastity, his dire warnings of the dangers which menace a girl when in male company, her worthlessness as a woman, and his disregard for physical health, deeming it better to 'jeopard the helth of the body than the soule' (36) with frequent fasting, avoiding active exercise, and remaining indoors, may all have contributed to the appearance of greensickness, a condition afflicting virgins from wealthy households, which first manifested itself in the mid-1500s.[49]

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[48] Desiderius Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, trans. by Charles Fantazzi, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. by J. K. Sowards, 86 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–93), XXV (1985), 1–254 (p. 136). This extract is from a sample letter of persuasion, so could also be read in the *carpe diem* vein.

[49] For the medical background to greensickness see Helen King, *The Disease of Virgins: Green Sickness, Chlorosis and the Problems of Puberty* (London: Routledge, 2004). For an application of greensickness in literature see Potter, 'Greensickness in *Romeo and Juliet*', pp. 271–91.

The Spanish Male Culture of Mistrust

As has already been proposed, some of Vives's theories may be recognized as shaped by a Mediterranean culture of gender relations. In his revised edition he acknowledges that social life in Spain and Italy is more decadent than in 'France, Germany, and England, where people live more simply and social relations are less sophisticated', and he goes on to explain that because the Spanish and Italians have a 'greater acuteness of intellect' than their northern counterparts, they are more cunning in their misconduct.[50] In Tilney's *Flower of Friendshippe* Lady Julia admires Master Pedro's superior wit and 'Spanish Trickes', but she also cautions him: 'You men are naturally so malicious, that you will judge as well of that you suspect, as of that which you se[e].'[51] Did English husbands allow their wives greater liberty than their continental counterparts? Thomas Dekker's jealous Italian husbands certainly thought so: '[W]hat confirms the liberty of our women more in England,' claims Justiniano, an extraordinarily suspicious husband in *Westward Ho* (1604), 'then the Italian Proverbe, which saies if there were a bridge over the narrow Seas, all the women in Italy would shew their husbands a Million of light paire of heeles, and flie over into England.'[52] The suspicious Matheo in *The Second Part of the Honest Whore* (1604–05) is similarly convinced that the liberty allowed to English women means they are all whores at heart: 'England (they say) is the onely hell for Horses, and onely Paradise for Women: pray get you to that Paradise [...] there they live none but honest whores with a pox.'[53]

Another play which brings Spanish attitudes towards women to the English stage is *Much Ado About Nothing*. There is much about the play to remind us of Vives in the treatment of chastity and slander and of male behaviour towards women, and alterations Shakespeare made to his source confirm that he had Spanish cultural influences in mind. In the source text by Matteo Bandello (1554), Don Pedro's role is listed as 'the Italian King Piero of Aragon'; Shakespeare

[50] Fantazzi, p. 142.

[51] *The Flower*, pp. 104, 136.

[52] Thomas Dekker, 'Westward Ho' (1604), in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), vol. II, III. 3. 81–88. Justiniano is an Italian merchant who disguises himself as a writing master in order to seduce his female pupils, and may have been named after Giovanni Justiniano, the translator and publisher of numerous Spanish editions of *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*; see Fantazzi, p. 30.

[53] Dekker, 'The Second Part of the Honest Whore' (1604–05), in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, vol. II, IV. 1. 168–70.

removes any confusion by making him Don Pedro of Aragon, and he adds his brother Don John and a further Spanish villain, Borachio. Don Pedro is consistently referred to as Don, a negative term in English drama of this period.[54] Further alterations to plot and characterization heighten the moral culpability of an older male generation; these include the brutal public repudiation of Hero, and characterizing Claudio and Don Pedro as devoid of remorse until proven wrong.[55]

'Much Ado About Nothing' (1598)

The opening scene sets up clearly the contrasting values of a compassionate and plain-speaking Leonato with the arrogance of the arriving entourage of the Prince of Aragon. Shakespeare had once before marked out the name, Prince of Aragon, for negative treatment.[56] He brings to the little court of Messina a culture of arrogance, self-interest, and a callous disregard for others; he takes on the role of leader, not as a model of ethical behaviour but as teacher of tricks. He instructs the others on their roles in his game (II. 1. 247–48), he coaches Hero in techniques of persuasion (II. 1. 287), and when accused by Benedick of duplicity towards Claudio, he excuses the harm done (II. 1. 176). His most inexcusable lesson is to coach Claudio in church in the verbal attack on Leonato and Hero, earning Claudio's gratitude: 'Sweet prince, you learn me noble thankfulness' (IV. 1. 25). Don Pedro is concerned only with his own reputation: 'I stand dishonoured, that have gone about | To link my dear friend to a common stale' (IV. 1. 58–59).

It is left to Benedick and Beatrice (who are Shakespeare's own creations and not in his source) to articulate the faults so obvious in Don Pedro and in Claudio, and yet so obscure to the others. Beatrice is shocked that the so-called nobility can act so unconscionably and on so little testimony: 'Talk with a man

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[54] See for example Marston, *The Fawn*, II. 1. 202, or Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* (1610), II. 3. 301. Benedick cynically refers to a man's conscience as 'Don Worm' (V. 2. 63).

[55] *Much Ado About Nothing*, ed. by F. H. Mares, updated edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1, 5–6.

[56] In *The Merchant of Venice* (*c*. 1596), he is a suitor for Portia's hand: 'The Prince of Aragon thinks of his own desert, and the silver casket acts as a mirror for his narcissism, revealing the portrait of a blinking idiot. [...] His own portrait is what Aragon deserves precisely because he supposes that he deserves Portia' (Catherine Belsey, 'Love in Venice', in *Shakespeare and Gender* (see n. 30, above), pp. 196–213 (pp. 199–200)).

out at a window! A proper saying!' (IV. 1. 297), reminding us of Lamia's similar complaint in *The Glasse of Governement*. Beatrice, of course, brings to the fore precisely what is lacking in Hero; she exercises independent judgement and will not follow blindly, no matter who the leading authority. This is neatly expressed as she and Benedick follow the dance leaders: 'If they lead to any ill, I will leave them at the next turning' (II. 1. 113). Beatrice also has the benefit of experience, having been hurt by Benedick once before, and caution guides her actions now (I. 1. 30–31; II. 1. 211–13). But her greatest asset is her verbal dexterity, which clearly commands respect from the men and which affords her a certain equality with them; we are even told Beatrice is 'proposing' (formally debating) with the Prince and Claudio (III. 1. 3). Beatrice's advice to exercise independent judgement in marrying impresses Leonato — 'Cousin, you apprehend passing shrewdly' (II. 1. 58) — but, as his choice of words indicates, she runs the risk of being called a shrew for voicing her opinions.[57] Her propensity to mirth would soon have her condemned by Vives who maintains that laughter 'is the surest index of a light and frivolous mind'.[58]

'Gentle Hero', as Don Pedro calls her, provides the dramatic contrast to Beatrice. She is a flat, emblematic character, who embodies all the virtues Vives recommends: modesty, chastity, obedience, and silence. She even shows a nice disregard for fashion. As she chooses her wedding gown, we learn that she prefers simple to ornate; she most surely is not a user of artifice for beauty since the dialogue hints that she chooses not to colour her hair (III. 4. 9–17). Her modesty is what initially attracts Claudio — 'Is she not a modest young lady?' he asks (I. 1. 121) — and without doubt she is, for she responds to a bawdy comment from Margaret with a shocked 'Fie upon thee! Art not ashamed?' (III. 4. 21), and qualifies her participation in Don Pedro's games with: 'I will do any modest office, my lord, to help my cousin to a good husband' (II. 1. 283). Hero's most striking virtue for the audience — or weakness as it turns out — is surely her silence in company. This is immediately evident in the opening scene, where she has just one line, which tells us that she has to be grouped with the main characters on stage. In Act II, Scene 1, Hero is again onstage with just the one line — that is until the masked revels begin, at which point under licence of the mask she finds her voice. But Hero is not licensed to respond to her slanderers

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[57] The term *shrew* in Elizabethan drama is not necessarily negative; it often connotes an intelligent woman, as Vives's own usage indicates: 'if thou speke counnyngly, thou shalte be called a shrewe' (57).

[58] Fantazzi, p. 129.

in the wedding scene, and indeed her father gives her little occasion to do so, charging her only to answer Claudio's accusations. When Hero reacts with 'A God defend me, how am I beset! | What kind of catechising call you this?' she immediately represents herself in the subjective pupil-teacher position (IV. 1. 71–72), silently waiting for her father to defend her, which he spectacularly fails to do. Vives claimed that silence is a girl's best defence:

> [T]he most eloquent woman for me is the one who, when required to speak to men, will become flushed in her whole countenance, perturbed in spirit, and at a loss for words. O extraordinary and effective eloquence! [...] In that way you will better defend the cause of chastity, which in the eyes of fair judges will be made stronger by your silence than by your speaking.[59]

Hero does indeed blush and flush and remain silent, but like Catherine of Aragon, who was also advised by Vives to remain silent before her judges in the divorce proceedings, Hero is not facing fair judges, not even her father. As the Friar tries to defend her, Leonato points to her very silence as evidence of her guilt (IV. 1. 166). Hero has to die in order to satisfy the requirements of male honour. Despite the obvious injustice done to her it is her reputation that has to be recuperated, not those of her accusers, and her father seems peculiarly unwilling to apportion any blame to his eminent guests or even to himself.

Shakespeare rewrote the role of Hero's father from one who never lost faith in his daughter's innocence in the source text to one who assumed her guilty.[60] The effect this has is to heighten Hero as victim of male codes of honour. At the beginning of the play we are introduced to a compassionate and fair-minded man, but as the play progresses Leonato falls into the pattern of behaviour displayed by his high-ranking Spanish guests. This elderly, hospitable, and judicial figure gradually loses our respect as he shows himself willing to play with the lives and feelings of others (Act II, Scene 3). Benedick's astute reaction to overhearing the men gossiping about himself is to dismiss it as mere sport, were it not for the elderly Leonato whom he judges more seriously: 'I should think this a gull, but that the white-bearded fellow speaks it; knavery cannot, sure hide himself in such reverence' (II. 3. 106–07). When Don Pedro and Claudio publicly slander his daughter, Leonato accepts their judgement unreservedly and makes the sort of response he knows they would expect of a dishonoured father: outrage, much breast beating, and demands for her death as the only means to

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[59] Fantazzi, p. 133. Vives cites classical precedents here and then follows with a reference to the biblical Susannah.

[60] *Much Ado*, pp. 5–6.

clear the family name. At first the tone is tragic: 'O Fate! Take not away thy heavy hand. | Death is the fairest cover for her shame | That may be wished for' (IV. 1. 108–10), but, like Vives, he works himself up into frenzied claims: 'If they speak but truth of her, | These hands shall tear her' (IV. 1. 183–84). Leonato's behaviour is quite excessive but entirely in line with the models offered by Vives.

The play's ending has long intrigued critics. The absence of conscience in Claudio or Don Pedro irks us, but what is most noticeable is the absence of a reconciliation scene between father and daughter. Yet for Shakespeare to make his point that Leonato belongs to an older, now redundant generation of patriarchal behaviour, there can be no personal reconciliation. The play ends with Leonato and Don Pedro diminished figures, their values questioned, their authority dented, verbally and visually sidelined by a new generation. Their once dominant influence gives way to emergent Elizabethan attitudes. In the closing lines Benedick and Beatrice are the new authoritarian figures. It is Benedick who takes charge of proceedings, issuing instructions for the dancing to start, firmly countermanding Leonato's authority, and authoritatively taking control from Don Pedro: 'Think not on him [Don John, the prisoner] till tomorrow; I'll devise thee brave punishments for him. Strike up, pipers' (V. 4. 119–20). *Thee?* Benedick's sudden move in the closing scene to the familiar mode of address to a nobleman he has previously only addressed as 'you' (or 'My Lord') conveys a shift in status — moral status. As Beatrice and Benedick take the lead together in the final symbolic dance, the staging also allows for a new pattern of male honour and female virtue to emerge centre stage before the now discredited paradigms.

Shakespeare's work stands out for its interest in father-daughter relations, far more so than any other dramatist. The majority of his father figures are elderly (Capulet, Brabantio, Leonato, Polonius, Lear, Prospero) who, with one exception,[61] disparage their daughters' ability to self-determination, and impose their paternal wills with tragic consequences. The fact that those daughters who are fatherless (Portia, Beatrice, Rosalind, Helena, Imogen) show more initiative and greater

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[61] The exception to this rule is Simonides in *Pericles* whose characterization as a father includes a playful parody of the overbearing, controlling parent: 'Yea, Mistress, are you so peremptory? | [*Aside*] I'm glad on't with all my heart. | [*Aloud*] I'll tame you, I'll bring you in subjection' (II. 5. 71–73); he respects his daughter's independence: 'Nay, how absolute she's in't, | Not minding whether I dislike or no. | Well, I do commend her choice' (II. 5. 18–20); and has a healthy approach to sexuality (II. 3. 95–101; II. 5. 91): *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, ed. by Doreen Delvecchio and Antony Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

survival skills than those still under a father's care tells us that Shakespeare wrote for an audience familiar with the problems of older fathers and outdated parenting paradigms. Shakespeare had two daughters himself, both born before he was twenty-one, and who were largely brought up by his wife. He was precisely the sort of father of whom Vives would not have approved: too young, took little part in his daughters' upbringing, and was rarely at home (to say nothing of his chosen profession). Yet everything about Shakespeare's dramatic treatment of fathers and daughters points to these as success factors in the healthy development of young women.[62] The preoccupation with chastity in Elizabethan drama is likely also to be connected to Vives's overriding concern in *The Institution* with the preservation of chastity in women. It is, of course, not the playwrights who are obsessed with chastity, but their male characters. Shakespeare wrote play after play analysing this male obsession and exposing the tragic consequences on daughters and wives. His later plays even suggest a level of resigned frustration in continuing to deal with much ado about 'nothing'.[63] Prospero's magic island in *The Tempest* (1611) seems a parodic containment fantasy for fathers safely directing their daughter's virginal passage into a marriage, and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613), whose prologue introduces the concept of maidenheads as comparable to new plays, each valued commercially: 'New plays and maidenheads are near akin — | Much follow'd both, for both much money gi'n' (ll. 1–2), I believe Shakespeare gives us his final exasperated word on the overvaluing of chastity by fathers and their undervaluing of daughters. Here, the daughter of the jailor (surely an ironic comment on containment strategies) is sick with unrequited love. Just like Ophelia, she shows signs of mental derangement with raving and bawdy thoughts, and seeks to drown herself. Unlike Ophelia, she is rescued in time. In despair, her father calls in the doctor who eschews bloodlettings and purges but sensibly prescribes good food, romantic attention, and preferably healthy sexual intercourse from an erstwhile lover (all contrary to Vives's theories). When the jailor protests that he cannot sanction the loss of her 'honesty' the doctor chastises him for putting chastity before her well-being; 'Nev'r cast your child away for honesty' he remonstrates. The jailor begrudgingly agrees, while still arguing the point. Once out of hearing the doctor expresses his

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[62] For the purpose of plots which expose paternal mismanagement, mothers have to be either absent or ineffective as is the case with Lady Capulet.

[63] '*Much Ado about Nothing* is much ado over (sexual) pricking', a term taken from musical notation; see Frankie Rubinstein, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sexual Puns and their Significance* (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 172.

frustration: 'You fathers are fine fools. Her honesty!'[64] The jailor was wise to call in the doctor; had he followed Vives's theories he would indeed have cast his child away.

It seems remarkable that a didactic text deriving much of its authority from medieval sources, written by a pious Spanish author who was not a parent and who had little affinity for children, and whose fear of sexuality pervades every page of his treatise, could influence English parents on the upbringing of daughters. But there is little doubt that it did, as has been demonstrated here, and as is suggested by Coudert's examination of seventeenth-century texts on the education of girls.

If we use Valerie Wayne's analysis in *The Flower of Friendshippe* of what she terms the residual (medieval), dominant (humanist), and emergent influences on the debate on women, *The Instruction* shares in both the residual and dominant influences of the time. The book's medieval derivations and misogynist theories relegate it to a residual influence, but the author's exceptional status in early-modern England ensured it a dominant role. Vives was held in extraordinarily high esteem as a humanist and educator in England: for centuries to come generations of schoolboys would be introduced to Latin through the work of Vives. This, and the name of Sir Thomas More behind the translation, would have lent the text enormous authority. But English voices are raised in opposition. These emergent influences, first identified in Tilney's dialogue, are most evident in the drama of the period. This is where the past meets the present and where Continental theory meets English social practice; the connections this essay has made between drama and *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* demonstrate that long after its author's death, this little treatise continued to generate debate on that most contentious of topics, the conduct of women.

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[64] Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613), in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), pp. 1642–80 (v. 2. 20–28). Shakespeare is likely to have had some personal knowledge of medical theory on diseases afflicting young women through his son-in-law, John Hall, who was a well regarded physician in the Stratford area and whose many female patients included his own teenage daughter.

English Translations of Didactic
Literature for Women to 1550

Alexandra Barratt

Women constituted a niche market for translation during the medieval and early-modern periods: if they were able to read, their literacy would rarely extend beyond their vernacular language. This paper will discuss the various types of English didactic texts identifying themselves as translations that were made for women during the period up to 1550.[1] Two criteria, which sometimes coexist in the same text, establish a female target audience: first, the internal evidence provided by genre or subject matter that a text is directed at women; secondly, the explicit evidence of announcements by the translator (or others) that a text was translated for women in general or for particular women, at a woman's request or at the very least for their enlightenment. Most translations for women during this period are specifically religious or moral; in more general terms, they are didactic in that they set out to instruct and edify. They include versions of religious rules and of biblical texts, mystical and devotional treatises, and saints' lives. The few nonreligious texts are moral and educational.

Probably the largest single group of texts translated specifically for women consists of religious rules. The reasons for this are obvious enough: it is impossible to regulate a community unless all the members know the rules and if they do not read Latin these must perforce be read in translation. As early as the mid-tenth

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[1] The date parameters are determined by the *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). The research on which this paper is based grew out of work for the *Oxford History* on translations in the same period made by women.

century,[2] the Rule of St Benedict was translated into Old English, probably by Aethelwold, Abbot of Abingdon and later Bishop of Winchester. Of this translation[3] there are five complete copies and three fragments. Although this version was not made for an exclusively female readership, we are told that

> [i]n some of the manuscripts the Latin and Old English text bear unmistakable traces (such as feminine pronouns) of having been derived from exemplars intended for the use in nunneries [...] and there are reasons to think that, in addition to the translation of St Benedict's text (intended for monks), Æthelwold himself prepared a version for the nuns.[4]

There is also an early Middle English adaptation of this presumed recension of the Old English version made explicitly for women which can be dated between 1220 and 1225. It is found in British Library, Cotton MSS, Claudius D III,[5] which, appropriately, belonged to the Cistercian nuns of Wintney.[6]

Several independent versions of the Rule survive from the later Middle Ages.[7] The Northern prose version (early fifteenth century) adapts its translation to a female audience from Chapter 3 onwards; the Northern metrical version (first half of the fifteenth century) is adapted throughout for women. It also contains a translator's prologue which contrasts the learning of monks and clerics with women's ignorance of Latin:

> Monkes & als all leryd men
> In latyn may it [the Rule] lyghtly ken,
> And wytt þarby how þay sall wyrk
> To sarve god and haly kyrk.

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[2] Mechthild M. Gretsch dates this translation as *c*. 940 to the mid-950s: see *Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 240.

[3] *Die Angelsächsischen Prosarbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. by Arnold Schröer, 2nd edn (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

[4] See the article 'Benedictine Rule' by Mechthild Gretsch, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 60–61 (p. 61). See also Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 227.

[5] *Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti*, ed. by Arnold Schröer (1888; repr. with a supplement by Gretsch, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978).

[6] See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd end (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 204.

[7] *Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, ed. by Ernst A. Kock, Early English Text Society, o.s. 120 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1902; repr. New York: Kraus, 1975).

> Bott tyll women to mak it couth,
> Ðat leris no latyn in þar ȝouth,
> In ingles is it ordand here,
> So þat þay may it lyghtly lere.[8]

A further version survives, a 'smooth, clear translation' from a presumed Anglo-Norman version of the Rule, 'both commissioned and written by nuns'.[9] Jeanne Krochalis, who has drawn this text to our attention, argues that it was probably made for the Benedictine nuns of Lyminster Priory, Sussex. In the late fifteenth century, perhaps in 1491, Caxton printed *A compendious abstracte* of the Rule,[10] 'for men and wymmen of the habyte therof the whiche vnderstonde lytyll laten or none': the redactor of this version has made some attempt to render the language gender-inclusive. The *Abstracte* was a shortened translation of the Benedictine Rule that 'concentrated upon those passages which deal with superiors and functionaries, so that in effect Caxton compiled a treatise on the exercise of authority in an institutional community'.[11] A few decades later, in the early sixteenth century, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, not only translated the Rule for 'certayne deuoute and religiouse women' but also had it printed.[12] He explains the genesis of this version:

> [A]t thinstant requeste of our right dere and welbeloued doughters in oure lorde Ihu/ Thabasses of the monasteris of Rumsay/ Wharwel/ Seynt Maries within the citie of Winchester/ and the prioresse of Wintnay: oure right religious diocesans/ we haue translated: the sayde rule into oure moders tonge/ commune/ playne/ rounde englissche/ easy/ and redy to vnderstande by the sayde deuoute religiouse women/ And by cause we wolde not/ that there shulde be any lacke amongis them of the bokis of this sayd translation/ we haue therefore/ [...] caused it to be enprinted.[13]

Carrying on this tradition, in the seventeenth century Dame Alexia Gray, a Benedictine nun professed in 1631 in Ghent at the Abbey of the Immaculate

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[8] Kock, *Three Middle-English Versions*, p. 48, ll. 9–16.

[9] Jeanne Krochalis, 'The Benedictine Rule for Nuns: Library of Congress, MS 4', *Manuscripta*, 30 (1986), 21–34 (pp. 21, 25).

[10] STC 3305, Part 3; edited by Kock, *Three Middle-English Versions*, pp. 119–40.

[11] *Female Monastic Life in Early Tudor England: With an Edition of Richard Fox's Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women, 1517*, ed. by Barry Collett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 42.

[12] STC 1859 (1517). For a modern edition, see Collett, *Translation*.

[13] Sig. Aiiᵛ; see also Collett, *Translation*, p. 83. Note that in some medieval manuscripts and early printed books, the virgule (/) is used to fulfil the functions now performed by our comma.

Conception (the English house founded in 1624), also translated the Rule into English, as *The Rule of the most blissed father Saint Benedict patriarke of all munkes*.[14]

Other translated religious rules include *The Rule of Sisters Minoresses Enclosid* for the Franciscan nuns of Aldgate in London, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 585,[15] and *c.* 1510 a translation of the Rule of St Augustine.[16] This Rule was not only used by Augustinians of various stripes but was also the basic rule of the Dominicans, the Bridgettines and numerous hospitals: this translation was made by the Bridgettine brother Richard Whitford and combined with a translation of the Rule's exposition by the Augustinian canon Hugh of St Victor. The version was not exclusively for women, being made 'indyfferently vn-to bothe the sexes or kyndes | that is to saye, vnto the bretherne and systers of this professyon':[17] Syon was of course a double community of nuns and brothers.

Although liturgical texts are not didactic in the strict sense of the word, we should perhaps include at this point translations of such texts that are associated with religious orders. *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, the only manuscript version of which can be dated 1460–1500, probably late in that period, is an expanded translation of the Bridgettine nuns' unique liturgical office, with a strong didactic and exegetical impulse.[18] The anonymous translator explains his motivation:

> But forasmoche as many of you, though ye can synge and rede, yet ye can not se what the meanynge therof ys: therefore [...] I haue drawen youre legende and all youre seruyce in to Englyshe [...]. And in many places where the nakyd letter is thoughe yt be set in englyshe, ys not easy for some symple soulles to vnderstonde; I expounde yt and declare yt more openly, other before the letter, or after or else fourthewyth togyther.[19]

In 1530 the *Myroure* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde at the request of the confessor general of Syon and of the abbess, Agnes Jordan. Another liturgical text translated primarily for the benefit of the Bridgettine nuns is *The Martiloge in*

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[14] STC 1860.

[15] *Two Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Rules*, ed. by Walter W. Seton, EETS, o.s. 148 (London: Oxford University Press, 1914, repr. 1962).

[16] STC 922.2 (*c.* 1510), reprinted STC 922.3 (1525) and STC 922.4 (1527).

[17] STC 922.3, fol 1.

[18] *The Myroure of oure Lady,* ed. by J. H. Blunt, EETS, e.s. 19 (London: Trübner, 1873; repr. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998).

[19] *The Myroure*, pp. 2–3.

englysshe after the vse of the chirche of Salisbury, 'as it is redde in Syon with addicyons'. This was translated by Richard Whitford and printed, again by de Worde, in 1526. Once more the impulse is didactic. Whitford explains:

> [W]e haue sent forth this martiloge/ which we dyd translate out of latyn in to englysshe/ for the edificacyon of certayn religious persones vnlerned/ that dayly dyd rede the same martiloge in latyn/ not vnderstandynge what they redde. And the addicyons for theyr more edificacyon/ we gadered out of the sanctiloge.[20]

Closely associated with such liturgical texts are biblical translations and paraphrases, including versions of the psalms, which were the basis of the *opus dei* or monastic liturgy. Before 1349 (the year of his death), Rolle made a translation of the psalter for Margaret Kirkeby, recluse.[21] In this version Latin and English alternate and there is evidence that Rolle deliberately designed his translation to be quite literal, making use of accessible English vocabulary so that it might encourage his readers to learn some Latin. He explains:

> In þis werke .i. seke na straunge ynglis, bot lightest and commonest. And swilk þat is mast lyke til þe latyn. swa þat thei þat knawes noght latyn. by þe ynglis may com til mony latyn wordis. In þe translacioun .i. follow þe lettere als mykell as .i. may. And þare .i. fynd no propire ynglis. i. follow þe wit of þe worde. Swa þat þai þat sall red it þaim þar noght dred errynge.[22]

It must have been popular, as it survives in eighteen manuscripts. In the late fourteenth century (some time before 1407, when Archbishop Arundel's constitutions forbade unlicensed translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular) a version of parts of the New Testament was, according to it modern editor, 'undertaken at the urgent request of the inmates of some religious house, more especially, to judge from the repeated references to the "Suster" at the beginning and end of the various Epistles, of a woman vowed to religion'.[23] This contains versions of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, the Book of Acts, and St Matthew's Gospel.

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[20] *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the vse of the chirche of Salisbury and as it is redde in Syon with addicyons: printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526*, ed. by Francis Procter and Edward S. Dewick, Henry Bradshaw Society, 3 (London: Printed for the Society by Harrison and Sons, 1893), p. 1.

[21] *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles: With a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. by Henry R. Bramley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884).

[22] *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles*, pp. 4–5.

[23] *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, ed. by Anna C. Paues (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. xxiv.

Devotional treatises of various kinds were translated specifically for women. It may seem to be stretching the definition of 'didactic' to include them in our survey, but they do exist at one extreme of the wide spectrum of religious works of instruction. These range from the most basically catechetical to the sublimely contemplative, sometimes with all the intermediate shades present in the same text. Possibly between 1390 and 1420, the version of the pseudo-Augustinian *Soliloquies* that survives in Harvard University Library, MS Houghton Richardson 22, fols 1–54ʳ, was made for unspecified nuns.[24] As so often, the translator conforms to the convention that he has made his translation at the request of the target audience: 'Thankyd be almyhti god my gode sustren. I haue now performyd your desyre in englysshinge these meditaciouns and confessioun of seint austyn'.[25] A little later, in 1435, the Carmelite Richard Misyn (according to the Latin colophon)[26] translated Rolle's Latin treatise *Incendium Amoris* for the recluse Margaret Heslyngton, again at her request. He says:

> At þe reuerence of oure lorde Ihesu criste, to þe askynge of þi desyre, Syster Margarete, couetynge a-sethe to make, for encrece also of gostely comfort to þe & mo, þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght, I [...] þis wark has takyn to translacion of lattyn to englysch, for edificacyon of many saules.[27]

Sometime in the early fifteenth century, presumably after 1415 when Syon Abbey was founded, a translation of the mystical *Dialogo* of St Catherine of Siena was made specifically for the abbess and nuns of Syon as *The Orcherd of Syon*: the recipients are addressed as '[r]eligyous modir & deuoute sustren clepid & chosen bisily to laboure at the hous of Syon'.[28] The translator, who refuses to identify himself out of humility ('I synfulle, vnworþi to bere ony name'), declared that he made the translation 'to ȝoure goostly recreacioun [...] wiþ help of ȝoure praieris,

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[24] See Robert S. Sturges, 'A Middle English Version of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Soliloquies*', *Manuscripta*, 29 (1985), 73–79, and, most recently, Linda Olson, 'Did Medieval English Women Read Augustine's *Confessiones*? Constructing Feminine Interiority and Literacy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 69–96 (pp. 95–96).

[25] Harvard UL, MS Houghton Richardson 22, fol. 53ᵛ.

[26] *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living*, ed. by Ralph Harvey, EETS, o.s. 106 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896), p. 104.

[27] *The Fire of Love*, p. 1.

[28] *The Orcherd of Syon*, ed. by Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS, o.s. 258 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 1.

compellid by charite for goostly affeccioun'.[29] The text was later printed in 1519 for a more general audience by de Worde: the cost was met by Richard Sutton, steward to Syon from 1513 and one of the founders of Brasenose College, Oxford, who wished 'that many relygyous and deuoute soules myght be releued and haue conforte therby'.[30]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, a laywoman requested a translation of 'þat deuowt contemplatyfe boke wrytene clergialye in latyne, þe whiche is clepede þe Orloge of Wisdame':[31] Henry Suso's lengthy mystical treatise *Horologium sapientiae*. Her 'trewe chapeleyne, vnworthy þe name of þe fader' made it at the request of his 'moste worshipful lady [...] & derrest loued goostly douȝter', who was presumably a noble laywoman, given the way in which he addresses her. He says: 'I am stirede to wryte aftere myne simple kunnynge to ȝowe as ȝe deuowtlye desyrene',[32] a statement that suggests internal impulse as well as external motivation. Although his primary audience is his lady, he also mentions 'oþer deuowte persones þat desyrene þis drawynge owt in englische'.[33] This text seems to have enjoyed some popularity: it survives in five manuscripts and there are extracts in eleven more. The translation was also printed by Caxton in 1491, together with the abstract of the Benedictine Rule already mentioned.

Possibly in the 1530s (the manuscript, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.2.33, is early sixteenth century), Thomas Prestius, or Prestins, who died in 1544, translated, adapted, and/or copied the *Formula novitiorum* of David von Augsburg for the Syon sisters.[34] The text, which is primarily didactic rather than devotional, is 'addressed specifically to sisters':

> As a result, it omits the passage on serving at Mass and the advice beginning 'Desire not to be a prechowre not a confessour' [...] it changes the application of teaching upon relations between the sexes to suit women; and it alters the frequency of confession from thrice to once weekly.[35]

[29] *The Orcherd of Syon*, p. 1.

[30] *The Orcherd of Syon*, p. v.

[31] Oxford, Bodley MS Douce 114, fol. 9^r. The text was edited by K. Horstmann, '*Orologium Sapientiae* or *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom*, aus MS. Douce 114', *Anglia*, 10 (1887), 323–89.

[32] MS Douce 114, fol. 9^r.

[33] MS Douce 114, fol. 90^v.

[34] P. S. Jolliffe, 'Middle English Translations of *De Exterioris et Interioris Hominis Compositione*', *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (1974), 259–77 (p. 268 n. 50).

[35] Jolliffe, 'Middle English Translations', p. 268.

Stephen E. Hayes agrees that it was 'copied — and likely translated — specifically
for the Bridgettine nuns of Syon Abbey in the early sixteenth century'.[36] In his
view, Prestins is the scribe rather than the translator, 'though he may have been
responsible for certain additions to the text [...]. In any case, alterations to the
Latin source show that it was written for use by women religious, more than
likely the nuns at Syon, of whose library it formed part.'[37] He further speculates
that the translator was probably another unknown Syon brother, who also added
'references to Saints Bridget and Paula, to give his female audience example of
visionary women with whom they would more readily identify'.[38]

Of a similar date but rather different is a humanist devotional text translated
for a particular woman: the Frenchman Gentien Hervet's translation of Erasmus's
De immensa dei misericordia. This was printed some time before March 1525/26
with a dedication to the Countess of Salisbury, to whose household Hervet was
attached and at whose request it was made.[39] Apparently the text was chosen to
appeal to a wide audience among the devout but unlearned. John Archer Gee
comments:

> Hervet points out that whereas many of the works of Erasmus — for example his editions
> of collected proverbs and of the New Testament — were designed for the use of learned
> men alone, and whereas his *Institutio principis Christiani* is of particular value in the
> guidance of princes, the *De immensa dei misericordia* and the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*
> may be read with great profit by all who desire knowledge of what constitutes true
> Christian living.[40]

Another is Sir Thomas Elyot's 1534 translation of Pico della Mirandola, *Rules
of a Christian lyfe*, published by Thomas Berthelet, which he dedicated 'To my
ryghte worshypfull suster Dame Suzan Kyngestone'.[41] Elyot claims:

> I haue translated this lyttell boke: not supersticiouselye folowynge the letter, which is verely
> elegante, and therfor the harder to translate into our langage, but kepynge the sentence and
> intent of the Autour I haue attemted (not with lytell study) to reduce into english the right

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[36] Stephen E. Hayes, 'David of Augsberg's *Profectus Religiosorum* in the Middle English
Translation for the Nuns of Syon Abbey: An Edition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of
Nebraska, 1997), abstract.

[37] Hayes, 'David of Augsberg's *Profectus Religiosorum*', p. v.

[38] Hayes, 'David of Augsberg's *Profectus Religiosorum*', p. xxxiv.

[39] See John Archer Gee, 'Hervet's English Translation, with Its Appended Glossary, of
Erasmus' *De immensa dei misericordia*', *Philological Quarterly*, 15 (1936), 136–52 (p. 139).

[40] Gee, 'Hervet's English Translation', p. 139.

[41] STC 6157 and subsequent editions.

> phrase or forme of speakyng, used in this treatise, which I haue dedycate and sente vnto you
> [...] praieng you to communicate it with our two susters religious Dorothe & Alianour.[42]

'Suster' Susan Kingston was, at most, Elyot's step-sister: she was the daughter of the man whose widow was Elyot's father's second wife. Born Susan Fettyplace, after she herself was widowed she became a vowess, living on and off at Syon Abbey. Another sister, Eleanor, was a Syon nun[43] and a third a nun at Amesbury. They had a fourth sister, Dorothy, who became a Syon nun as a widow, but she probably died in 1523 so is not the 'Dorothe' referred to here.[44]

Apart from mystical and devotional translations, a number of saints' lives were translated for women. Such lives invariably have a didactic and moral emphasis. In 1451 John Capgrave translated a Life of St Gilbert for the nuns of Sempringham, whose order he had founded. Capgrave explains:

> To þe honour of God and of all seyntis þan, wil we begynne þis tretys, namelych for the solitarye women of ʒour religion whech vnneth can vndyrstande Latyn, þat þai may at vacaunt tymes red in þis book þe grete vertues of her mayster.[45]

He also translated a Life of St Augustine, not for an Augustinian nun but for a laywoman who had a particular devotion to the Church Father because she was born on 28 August, his feast day:

> A noble creatur, a gentill woman, desired of me with ful grete instauns to write on-to hir, þat is to sey, to translate hir treuly oute of Latyn, þe lif of Seynt Augustyn.[...] Sche desired eke þis lyf of þis Seynt more þan of ony oþir for sche was browt forth in-to þis world in his solempne feste.[46]

Symon Wynter, yet another Syon brother, translated a Life of St Jerome 'as hit is take of legenda aurea' for Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, which is extant in four manuscripts, including Lambeth Palace Library, MS 432.[47] Addressing her

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[42] Sigs Aiii[r-v].

[43] Mary Erler, 'The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women', in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jean R. Brink, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 23 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993), pp. 4–17 (pp. 6, 8, 11).

[44] Erler, 'The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women', p. 16.

[45] *John Capgrave's Lives of St Augustine and St Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon*, ed. by J. J. Munro, EETS, o.s. 140 (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1910; repr. New York: Kraus, 1971), p. 61.

[46] *John Capgrave's Lives*, p. 1.

[47] See C. Horstmann, 'IV. S. Hieronymus aus ms. Lamb. 432, fol. 1', *Anglia*, 3 (1880), 328–60; and George Keiser, *Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985), 32–46.

as a '[r]ight nobill and worthy lady and my full Reuerent and dere goestly daughter in our lord Jhesu', he explains: 'I said that with oure lordis helps when y had leysoure y wold write his [Jerome's] lyfe and myraclis in ynglyshe.'[48] The Duchess of Clarence was not only a noble lady but also a vowess at Syon and would understandably be interested in the life of a saint who had directed many holy women. Again, de Worde printed the text, but without the prologue, in ?1499.[49] In ?1509 de Worde printed a stanzaic *Lyf of saynt Vrsula* translated by Brother Edmund Hatfield, monk of Rochester, at the command of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. As Ursula was not only famously accompanied by eleven thousand virgins but could also be invoked by women in childbirth — 'Oure lorde hath graunted the chylde his cristenynge | And saue the woman at Ursulaes petycyon'[50] — this could properly be regarded as a text of particular interest to women.

An example of a new and different type of hagiography, although of a similar date, is Sir Thomas More's 1505 translation of the Latin life of the early Italian humanist Pico della Mirandola, *Lyfe of Johan Picus Erle of Myrandula*. This was made as a New Year's gift for Joyeuce Leigh (or Joyce Lee), who was a Franciscan nun at Aldgate and sister of Edward Leigh, future Archbishop of York.[51] The Leighs were probably family friends of More, who addresses her in complimentary terms (and also puns on her name):

[Y]our self is such one as for your vertue & feruent zele to god can not but ioyously receiue any thing that meanely sownith either to the reproch of vyce commendation of vertue or honoure and laude of god who preserue you.[52]

The text was published, probably in 1510, and pirated the same year by de Worde.

Lady Margaret Beaufort was an energetic patron of translations: indeed, a recent study devotes far more attention to her activities as a patron than to her

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[48] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 432, fol. 1[r].

[49] STC 14508.

[50] STC 24541.3, sig. Bii[v].

[51] STC 19898, ?1510. See G.B. Parks, 'Pico della Mirandola in Tudor Translation', in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. by Edward P. Mahoney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 352–69, and Erler, 'The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women', p. 9.

[52] Ed. by Anthony S. G. Edwards in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, 16 vols in 19 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963–1997), I: *English Poems, Life of Pico, Last Things*, ed. by Edwards, Katherine Gardiner Rodgers, and Clarence H. Miller (1997), pp. 51–75 (p. 52).

own achievements as a translator.[53] In 1491, at her command and that of her daughter-in-law, Henry VII's Queen Elizabeth, Caxton printed the popular devotion attributed to St Bridget of Sweden and known as the *XV Oes*.[54] In 1504, de Worde printed a version of the *Imitatio Christi*,[55] 'translate into englissh [...] at ye speciall request & commaundement of ye full excellent pryncesse, Margarete'.[56] The Lady Margaret had commissioned Dr William Atkinson to translate Books I–III, and had herself contributed a translation (from French) of Book IV. Indeed, the *Imitatio* was translated more than once for women: it is possible that both the earlier, mid-fifteenth-century, translation of this devotional classic was made for the nuns of Syon,[57] and a subsequent version that is often attributed to Richard Whitford.[58] The introduction to the latter actually dares to criticize Lady Margaret's earlier effort, on the sound linguistic grounds that she worked from the French rather than the original Latin:

> [F]or as moche as it was translatyd by the sayd noble prynces out of frenche it coulde not folowe the latyn so nyghe ne soo dyrectely as yf it had ben translatyd out of latyn. And therfore it is now translatyd also out of latyn/ & yet neuertheles it kepyth the substaunce & the effecte of the fyrst translacyon out of Frenche though somtyme it vary in wordes as to the reders wyll appere.[59]

The formidable Lady Margaret, who was dead by then, was in no position to respond, or to retaliate.

The diet that translators offered women in this period is not unrelievedly religious. The earliest secular — although still high-minded and quintessentially didactic — text translated for a female audience was made *c.* 1450. *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* was presumably translated for girls and women, as

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[53] Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 65–113.

[54] STC 20195–20196.5; see also the facsimile edition, *The Fifteen O's, and Other Prayers*, ed. by Stephen Ayling ([London]: Griffith and Farran, 1869).

[55] *The Earliest English Translation of the First Three Books of the De Imitatione Christi*, ed. by John K. Ingram, EETS, e.s. 63 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893).

[56] *The Earliest English Translation*, p. 153.

[57] *The First Translation of the Imitatio Christi*, ed. by Brendan Biggs, EETS, o.s. 309 (London: Oxford University Press), p. lxxix.

[58] STC 23961 (1531?) and many subsequent editions.

[59] STC 23961, Sig. Aiiʳ.

the original was written, according to the author, as 'a boke of ensaumples, for to tech my doughtres, that thei might vnderstond how thei shulde gouerne hem, and knowe good from euell'.[60] Only one copy of this version survives, in British Library, MS Harley 1764, which, according to Thomas Wright, its nineteenth-century editor, belongs to the reign of Henry VI. He regarded this version as in many respects better than Caxton's, but it is incomplete (it only goes as far as fol. 54ᵛ). Caxton's more familiar version was printed in 1484, translated 'by the request & desyre of a noble lady which hath brouȝt forth many noble & fayr douȝters', 'in especial for ladyes & gentilwymen douȝters to lordes & gentilmen'.[61] Norman Blake argues that the patron was Queen Elizabeth Woodville;[62] but given the relatively humble formula, 'by the request and desire' of the patron (see further below), it is possible that someone less exalted was involved. Around 1489 Lady Margaret provided the examplar and demanded the translation of one of the few secular works patronized by women in this period: at her command Caxton translated the romance *Blanchardin and Eglantine*,[63] but his intent was, at least overtly, didactic and moral. The translator considered the text 'honeste and joyefull to all vertuouse yong noble gentylmen and wymmen for to rede therin',[64] and thought such young ladies as well occupied in learning sexual fidelity from such texts — 'for to lerne to be stedfaste and constaunt in their parte to theym that they ones have promysed and agreed to' — as to 'studye overmoche in bokes of contemplacion'.[65]

Essentially these books were not translated to entertain or provide recreational reading: they were educational and didactic texts. So too was Richard Hyrd's translation of the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives's *Instruction of a Christian*

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[60] *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, ed. by Thomas Wright, EETS, o.s. 33 (London: Oxford University Press, 1868; repr. New York: Greenwood, 1969), p. 3.

[61] *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, trans. and printed by Caxton, ed. by M. Y. Offord, EETS, s.s. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 3.

[62] Norman F. Blake, 'The "noble lady" in Caxton's *The Book of the Knyght of the Towre*', *Notes & Queries*, 210 (1965), 92–93.

[63] *Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, ed. by Leon Kellner, EETS, e.s. 58 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890, repr. 1962).

[64] Norman F. Blake, *Caxton's Own Prose* (London: Deutsch, 1973), p. 57.

[65] *Caxton's Own Prose*, p. 58 . See also Jennifer Summit, 'William Caxton, Margaret Beaufort and the Romance of Female Patronage', in *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 151–65.

Woman, published in 1528.[66] (The Latin original was published in 1523.) Hyrde included a dedicatory letter, dated 5 April 1523, to Henry VIII's first wife, Queen Catherine of Aragon, who had commissioned the Latin text, in which he defended the education of women. Another translation of an educational text was made sometime before June 1530 by Sir Thomas Elyot. This was 'The Education or Bringinge up of Children',[67] a translation of a pseudo-Plutarchian text, the Latin version of which went through numerous editions. He dedicated it to 'his only entierly beloued syster Margery Puttenham', who (unlike Susan Fettyplace) really *was* his sister. After considering the unhappiness that results from ill-regulated children he remarks:

> [G]ood syster, for as moche as I do consyder, with what fertilite almighty god hath endued you, to my great comforte, if your chyldren do prospere in vertue and lernynge, I therfore in tymes vacant from busynes & other more serious study, as it were for my solace & recreation, haue translated for you this lytell treatise.[68]

He admits to some censoring of his text: 'I haue omitted to translate some parte of this matter [...] partly for that it is strange from the experience or vsage of this present tyme, partly that some vices be in those tonges [sc. Greek and Latin] reproued, whiche ought rather to be vnknowen, than in a vulgare tonge to be expressed.'

This paper began by referring to women as constituting a niche market for translators: perhaps it would be truer to call them a captive audience. For if we read these texts, and in particular their dedications and apologias, with attention, it is clear that translating for women is blatantly a gender power game. By means of translation, men teach women and in various ways acculturate them into the gender roles they want them to fill. Men have the linguistic knowledge; they have access to the texts, both physically and metaphorically; they also have the leisure to translate. On request (and the frequent use of that word is very pronounced) they may, if they think the request suitable and if they can spare the time, make the translation. Alternatively they may translate, unprompted and unasked, texts that they consider either appropriate to or useful for women. This unequal balance of power still rules even when the women, whether patrons or dedicatees,

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[66] STC 24856 and subsequent editions. See also Diane Valeri Bayne, '*The Instruction of a Christian Woman:* Richard Hyrde and the Thomas More Circle', *Moreana*, 45 (1975), 5–15; and the chapter by Ursula Potter in the present volume.

[67] STC 20056.7, 20057 (1532?).

[68] Sig. Ai[r].

are the social superiors of the translators. Furthermore, in one way or another, most of the texts translated, being didactic, then attempt to control and regulate women's behaviour — whether as nuns, anchoresses, laywomen or noblewomen. The cycle could only be broken (if at all) once women acquired their own knowledge of languages and started to make their own translations. But of these texts, only one is known to have been translated by a woman. There were other women translators in this period, but that is another story.[69]

The dynamics behind these translations are therefore complex. Seen from one point of view, it is female desire for translation that stimulates male response. But that female desire, of course, arises from female lack — of knowledge of Latin, usually, theirs being either completely nonexistent or deficient. Indeed, it is almost disconcerting how often the dynamics of translation are cast rhetorically in these erotic terms. For instance, the translator of Suso is 'stirred' to respond to his lady's (and daughter's) 'desire'. And 'desire' is often coupled not only with 'request' but also with 'instance' (in the sense of 'urgent entreaty' or 'solicitation').

But the translator might also act for other reasons. Only once is money mentioned (by Caxton, who points out that Margaret Duchess of Burgundy gave him annual 'fees'). But translation could be commanded, rather than merely requested, by women of royal blood such as Lady Margaret Beaufort, Queen Elizabeth of York, or Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. Caxton implicitly recognizes this vital distinction between 'request' and 'command', and the way in which it is socially conditioned, in the prologue to *Blanchardin and Eglantine* when he comments that he made the translation 'at th'ynstaunce and requeste of my sayd lady, whiche I repute as for a commaundemente'.[70]

Finally, one could also read these translations as negotiations of familial relationships, which, in medieval literature, are essentially as much didactic as nurturing. Not for nothing is the recipient often named as a 'sister' or 'daughter' — or even both simultaneously — and the translator her 'father'. And it is intriguing how the spiritual or metaphorical relationships of the late-medieval texts, partly as a result of changing church structures, start to dissolve into the more literal relationships of the sixteenth century, with Sir Thomas Elyot

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[69] For example, the nun Hiltgart von Hürnheim, who first translated the *Secretum secretorum* from Latin into German, mentioned in the chapter by Steven J. Williams in the present volume, p. 47, n. 6.

[70] Blake, *Caxton's Own Prose*, p. 58.

translating for both his uterine and step-sisters. More to the point, though, the pattern of texts chosen for translation for women evolves but undergoes no dramatic transformation as the Middle Ages morphs into the early-modern period.

Literacy, Piety, Heresy, Control

Lawrence of Amalfi and the Boundary between the Oral and the Written in Eleventh-Century Europe

John O. Ward

This chapter presents an early-eleventh-century 'didactic' text with a difference. It is not a didactic text that functions as we would necessarily expect such a text to function, for it does not stand alone, but is in fact made up of a series of glosses upon another text.[1] These glosses need to be explained from their imagined didactic (classroom?) context; only then can they be seen to reflect and in turn properly illuminate that context. While the glosses are no masterpieces of medieval Latin, nevertheless, properly constructed from their imagined context, they do in turn tell us something important about that context in eleventh-century Italy, an intellectually and politically precocious part of medieval Europe. Occurring in a prestigious collection, the glosses make a rare comment on the relationship between *colloquialis interrogatio* (oral inquiry) and *textus* (written text), and give some evidence of contemporary rhetorical (classroom?) scholarship beyond what is currently known or suspected.

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[1] Most subjects in the medieval period passed through the gloss stage to the final stage of independent didactic treatise or summa. In some cases, of course, the gloss achieved a canonical status and was never obliterated or absorbed into an independent treatise. For example, in the field of theology and biblical scholarship, the celebrated *glossa ordinaria* on the Bible survived alongside independent theological summae and similar treatises. Compare Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993) pp. 9–10, 36, 52–57, 62, and 70, with the *Summa* of *Summae, S. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici Summa theologica, diligenter emendata de Rubeis, Billuart et aliorum; notis selectis ornata*, 6 vols (Turin: Marietti 1928). On Thomas, 'the greatest European philosopher of the thirteenth century', see the article by Brian Davies in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Jorge J. E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone, Blackwell Companions to Philosophy, 24 (Oxford: Blackwell 2003, 2006), pp. 643–59.

The glosses in question[2] form a portion of an interesting eleventh-century 'didactic/encyclopedic' manuscript: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z. L. 497 (1811), fols 105[vb]–06[vb].[3] This manuscript is a transcription of an archetype from the hand of Lawrence of Amalfi juxtaposing excerpts from grammarians, rhetors, philosophers, poets, and prose writers, classical and Christian, according to a scholastic programme geared to the study of the *trivium* (and the *quadrivium*).[4] The manuscript contains many texts of use in the didactic inculcation of the liberal arts of language and the techniques they were meant to foster: late antique grammatical texts, a florilegium of classical poetic excerpts, a Latin *Iliad*, the *Distichs* of Cato, and a series of dialectical texts: Porphyry's *Isagoge*,[5] Aristotle's *De decem praedicamentis* and *Periermenias*, the pseudo-Augustine *Categoriae ex Aristotele decerptae, praemissis Alcuini versibus* (Categories taken from Aristotle, preceded by verses from Alcuin), the *De divisione diffinitionum ex Marii Victorini libro abbreviatio* (Concerning the [sub]divisions of definitions, abbreviated from

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[2] This chapter is intended as the first of a series of three studies on the uses in the period prior to the twelfth century of the Graeco-Roman rhetorical legacy, which is the foundation for the liberal art of 'rhetoric', one of the most important (if least studied) of the late-antique canon of seven: see *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David L. Wagner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). A second study is intended to redeem the innovative *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* of Alcuin from the strictures of Lucia Calboli Montefusco in her 'Un catechismo retorico dell'alto Medioevo: La *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* di Alcuino', in *Ars/Techne: Il manuale tecnico nelle civiltà greca e romana: atti del convegno internazionale, Università G. D'Annunzio di Chieti-Pescara, 29–30 ottobre 2001*, ed. by Maria Silvana Celentano, (Alessandria: Orso, 2003), pp. 127–44. A final study will describe and assess the tri-columnar *De inventione* commentary found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Lat. 49: see Mary Dickey, 'The Study of Rhetoric in the First Half of the Twelfth Century with Special Reference to the Cathedral Schools of Northern France' (unpublished B. Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, St Hilda's College, 1953), and Dickey, 'Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1968), 1–41.

[3] S. xi (mid.). I would like to thank the (former) Director of the Marciana, Giorgio E. Ferrari, for his help in acquiring a photographic copy of these folios.

[4] The *trivium* comprised grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the *quadrivium* comprised arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Together these made up the 'seven liberal arts' of the Middle Ages; see *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*.

[5] Porphyry was a Greek scholar and neoplatonist philosopher who died early in the fourth century AD, and wrote a celebrated 'introduction' (usually called *Isagoge* from the Greek *eisago*, 'to lead into') to the 'Categories' or the first part of Aristotle's logical collection known as the *Organon*. Translated by Victorinus in the fourth century and by Boethius in the sixth century, it had a great influence on later medieval philosophical thought.

the book of Marius Victorinus), and similar texts.[6] The collection is pre-eminently didactic, in that it contains materials of use primarily for the teaching curriculum of the language arts in the period, reflects (as we shall see) the ambience of the classroom, and assembles texts that would hardly have had any other realistic audience.

The glosses under discussion constitute the textual remains of, or notes on, oral lectures given at Monte Cassino Abbey in the second quarter of the eleventh century, on Cicero's *De inventione*, a key text in the medieval use of the Graeco-Roman rhetorical legacy. We are in no doubt of this, as this portion of the text is headed in red 'GLOSE SUPERETHO*RICAM* CICER*ONIS De inventione*', although the source text — Cicero's *De inventione* — is not itself present in the manuscript. The glosses take up three bi-columnar folios (four columns and part of a fifth) only and consist in the main of a series of definitions from the fourth-century commentary on the *De inventione* by 'the famous African rhetor and, later, convert', Marius Victorinus, whom Augustine mentions in his *Confessions*, Book VIII, Chapter 2.[7] A knowledge of some additional material is displayed — Augustine is cited on 'natura' and the Stoics on the philosopher-king — but the general impression is of a series of notes on important matters arising out of someone's *lectura* on the *De inventione*, a *lectura* which seems to have concentrated as much upon general education and philosophical matters as upon the technicalities of rhetoric. Hence the extensive use made of Victorinus's commentary, which treats the *De inventione* in a broad neoplatonic context, and the absence of any apparent use of the late-antique commentary by Grillius on the same text; Grillius was a late-Byzantine grammarian (*c*. AD 450–515) whose commentary on the *De inventione*, which has survived in small part, represents

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[6] See *Aristoteles Latinus, codices descripsit Georgius Lacombe, pars posterior*, ed. by Georges Lacombe (London: Cambridge University Press, 1955), no. 1650, pp. 1123–24; and Birger Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles*, II: *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IXᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle: Livius — Vitruvius, florilèges, essais de plume* (Paris: CNRS, 1985), no. C. 72, pp. 875–76.

[7] See Carol Harrison, *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 12. Victorinus is called 'Marius' in Pierre Hadot, *Marius Victorinus, recherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvre*s (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1971), 'Q. Fabius Laurentius Victorinus' in Carolus Halm, *Rhetores latini minores* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863), p. 153 (the edition used for the present chapter), and 'Marius' in *Marii Victorini Explanationes in Ciceronis Rhetoricam*, ed. by A. Ippolito, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 132 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006). The Victorinus extracts in these glosses bear some similarities to a collection found in Leningrad (St Petersburg), Publichnaja Biblioteka im Saltykova-Schedrina F.v. class., 8, fols 67ᵛ–68ʳ, s. ix.

a much more specifically grammatical and rhetorical approach than that of Victorinus.[8]

The Venetian manuscript with which this chapter is concerned was compiled, it seems, around the middle of the eleventh century (*c.* 1045–63) by students of Lawrence, or possibly even by Lawrence himself in the last years of his life, and reflects his teaching. It seems, in fact, to be a handbook of the arts assembled by Lawrence. The glosses in question are immediately preceded by Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*,[9] and followed by a table displaying 'argumentum dialecticae artis: substantia'[10] and Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Alcuin's work is in turn preceded by grammatical/poetical treatises and works.[11] The glosses on the *De inventione* consist in the main of extracts from Victorinus's commentary on the same text. The 'lemmata' (which are underlined in the edition provided below) are, in fact, not from the Ciceronian text, but from the Victorine commentary. The primacy of Victorinus in this regard is underlined in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 7749, (s. ix),[12] where Victorinus is the primary text and the

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[8] See *Grillius: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rhetorik*, ed. by Josef Martin, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, 14, 2–3 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1927); *Grillius, Commentum in Ciceronis Rhetorica*, ed. by Rainer Jakobi (Munich: Saur, 2002); Jakobi, *Grillius: Überlieferung und Kommentar*, Untersuchungen zu antiken Literatur und Geschichte, 77 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

[9] See Halm, *Rhetores latini minores*, pp. 523–50, and *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by Wilbur Samuel Howell, Princeton Studies in English, 23 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941).

[10] 'A diagram representing the subject-matter (*argumentum*) of the art of dialectic: substance, divided into corporeal and incorporeal, animate and inanimate, animal and 'animal-plant' (*et animal plantabile*), rational and irrational, mortal and immortal' (fol. 106vb). All translations are mine.

[11] See *Aristoteles Latinus*, p. 1124: 'In interlineis ad Porphyrium occurrunt notulae coevae. Codex [...] continet, inter alia, Artem Donati, Priscianum de accentibus, Salomonis dicta, Iliadem Latinam [...] et quamdam orationem ad Mariam Virginem, italico sermone saec. XIV exaratam.'

[12] The manuscript stems from the Loire region; it belonged to Richard de Fournival and is no. 36 in his *Biblionomia*: see Richard Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1973), 253–69 (pp. 256 and 260, Plate 22). The Victorinus text (twenty-eight very neat lines per page, folios 1–77^v) forms the principal text on each page, but the text of the *De inventione* (fols 1^v–57^v) is found in larger script as a marginal gloss occupying the outer margin of each folio (in red, with black for fols 53–55) and frequently also the top and bottom margins. From *De inventione*, II. 15. 16, *controversiam* onwards, the scribe has stopped writing in the text of the *De inventione* (fol. 57^v). The Victorinus text has some textual variants written by the scribe suprascript with insertion in the inner margins of passages omitted from the text (for example, fols 4^r, 9^v, 21^v, 62^v). There are also in the left margin of the right page headings and key

De inventione in fact forms the marginal gloss. Victorinus also forms the backbone of the extensive marginal gloss found in Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 49.[13] Once again we are reminded of the fact that the 'revival of learning' in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was launched not from the acclaimed texts of the classical period in Graeco-Roman literature, but from the labours of late-antique scholars such as Augustine, Chalcidius, Prudentius, Claudian, Victorinus (together with the other 'rhetores latini minores', edited by Carolus Halm), Donatus, Priscian, and Martianus Capella.

Lawrence was a monk of Monte Cassino before 1030, after which he became Bishop of Amalfi until his exile in 1039, whence he fled to Florence, and after that Rome, where, so far as we know, he spent the rest of his days, and among other things instructed Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII.[14] Lawrence died just before mid-century, and may well have been a pupil of Gerbert of Reims,[15] from whom, perhaps, he inherited his interest in rhetoric. At Monte Cassino, too, lay the famous Carolingian grammatico-rhetorical manual, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 7530.[16] In his brief and suggestive comment on the significance of the rhetorical teaching of Lawrence of Amalfi, Gian Carlo Alessio

words (some in green) with one or two notes in later hands in the inner margins. In the red text of the *De inventione* there are occasional short interlinear comments in black ink, intended to summarize, paraphrase, and make the meaning explicit. The text of Victorinus has more tables than in the edition of Halm, *Rhetores latini minores*. The *De adtributis* extract (from a lost *De inventione* commentary — it normally follows Victorinus in the manuscripts) is found on fols 77ᵛ–80. Fol. 80ᵛ contains miscellaneous notes on the *artes* mentioning 'Priscianus maior, Virgilius cum Servio, Oratius, Beda de temporibus, Persius, Boethius de Trinitate, Martianus, abbreviatio compoti, Ysagogas, Categorias, Perihermenias, Topica, Calchidius, Cicero de rhetorica, Cicero de partibus oratoriae, Victorinus' and other texts. Is this intended to be a basic contemporary programme in the arts, designed as an introduction to the classical/late-classical text and commentary?

[13] See n. 2, above.

[14] See in general Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Gregor VII: Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2001).

[15] See John O. Ward, 'From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 25–67 (pp. 44–45).

[16] This celebrated manuscript from the eighth century contained the major late-antique grammatical and rhetorical texts considered foundational in the Carolingian and later periods. Halm used the manuscript for many of the texts in his *Rhetores latini minores*. See Louis Holtz, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 7530, synthèse cassinienne des arts libéraux', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 16 (1975), 97–152.

claims that Monte Cassino in Lawrence's time was heir to the late-antique philological tradition of direct study of the classical rhetorical authors, a tradition that was to flourish in the northern schools of the twelfth century at a time when the Italian rhetorical example was progressively stressing acquisition of linguistic and stylistic skills, rather than the general educational formation favoured in the north.[17] Certainly the texts in the manuscript under consideration here stress the acquisition of trivial (and quadrivial) skills, pointing the way, in regard to the former, to the slightly later but highly important dictaminal writings of Alberic of Monte Cassino.[18] The significance of this geographical area, with its strong papal and imperial connections, for the developing study of the two primary classical rhetorical texts, the *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium*, has been underlined by Ruth Taylor-Briggs[19] and Maddalena Spallone.[20] Lawrence's other works seem uneventful and perhaps characteristic for a monk: 'passio Sancti Wenzeslai Regis'; 'versiculi in Augustini Casinensis margine adscripti'; 'sermo in vigilia Sancti Benedicti'; 'vita Sancti Zenobii episcopi'; 'epistulae exegeticae'; 'De divisione'.[21]

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[17] See Gian Carlo Alessio, 'La tradizione retorica', in *Dall'Eremo al Cenobio: La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, ed. by Alessio (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1989), pp. 321–27 (and Plate 129).

[18] See Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 203–11. Alberic was an eleventh-century monk of Monte Cassino who wrote pioneering works on Latin composition: a *Dictaminum radii* or *Flores rhetorici* ([Shining] Rays of Composition or Flowers of Rhetoric) and a *Breviarium de dictamine* (Digest of Composition). Alberic's works addressed letter composition as well as composition in general and hence are to be distinguished from purely epistolary manuals, which dealt only with letter writing; see Murphy, ibid., p. 211.

[19] See P. R. Taylor, '*Codices Integri* and the Transmission of the *Ad Herennium* in Late Antiquity', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 23 (1993), 113–42 (p. 131).

[20] See Maddalena Spallone, 'La trasmissione della *Rhetorica ad Herennium* nell'Italia meridionale nel XI e XII secolo', *Bollettino del comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini, a cura dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, 3 (1980), 158–94 (pp. 187–90).

[21] See *Laurentius, monachus Casinensis Archiepiscopus Amalfitanus: Opera*, ed. by Francis Newton, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die deutschen Geschichtsquellen des Mittelalters 500–1500. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 7 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1973); John O. Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric in Treatise, Scholion and Commentary*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 359, s.v. 'Lawrence of Amalfi'; W. Holtzmann, 'Laurentius von Amalfi: ein Lehrer Ildebrands', *Studi Gregoriani*, 1 (1947), 207–36; and Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

Orality and Literacy

The context that may explain some of the more peculiar features of the glosses discussed here is the growing importance and broadening practice of reading and writing in the educational and administrative processes of the eleventh century. The growth of literacy in the period has, indeed, occasioned much comment among scholars.[22] Brian Stock has suggested that the holders of literacy in certain situations placed themselves *outside* the context in which they had acquired this literacy and surrounded themselves with nonliterate people.[23] In this way they formed a 'textual community', that is, a group of semiliterate people who could 'spread the word', so to speak, but who depended for their access to the word on their leader, who had a certain charismatic authority that he owed both to his communicative skills and to his ability to interpret or decode 'the book' which still had semi-magical associations at this stage. Stock has argued that from around the 'admittedly arbitrary date' of the year AD 1000, 'there were both oral and written traditions operating simultaneously in European culture', but that

> from about the second half of the eleventh century, a widespread transformation began to take place. Oral traditions did not simply decline, although that happened to some degree as the force of the written word became progressively stronger. Instead, they realigned

[22] See in particular: *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, ed. by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Guy Lobrichon, 'The Chiaroscuro of Heresy: Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine as Seen from Auxerre', in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 80–103 (this volume was originally published as *Historical Reflections*, 14.3 (1987)); R. I. Moore, 'Literacy and the Making of Heresy *c.* 1000–*c.* 1150', in ibid., pp. 19–37; Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), especially chap. 2; Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), chap. 5 and pp. 104–06 and 115–17; Stock, 'Literacy and Society in the Twelfth Century', in *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983)*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (Woodbridge: Brewer 1985), pp. 1–4 (a fuller text appears in his 'Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory, and Social Organization', *New Literary History*, 16 (1984), 13–29); John O. Ward, 'The First Crusade as Disaster: Apocalypticism and the Genesis of the Crusading Movement', in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman*, ed. by Albert Bat-Sheva, Yvonne Friedman, and Simon Schwarzfuchs, Bar-Ilan Studies in History, 4 (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995), pp. 253–92. A good collection of texts to illustrate Stock's thesis is R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Arnold, 1975).

[23] Passively literate, perhaps, in Moore's sense; see 'Literacy and the Making of Heresy'.

themselves so as to be able to function in relation to a reference system based upon texts.[...] The spoken and the written were therefore drawn into closer interdependence than they had been at any time since the end of the ancient world.[24]

It has been further suggested that the shift from orality to literacy involved not only a heightened concern with persuasion and polemic, but also absorption of the complete Graeco-Roman rhetorical arsenal for effecting persuasion. C. Stephen Jaeger speaks of the power of poetry in eleventh-century society[25] and it is clear that the new wielders of literacy assumed a peculiar and sovereign power to 'invent' their subject matter, for investigative, expressive, emotional, and persuasive purposes.[26] Guy Lobrichon, for example, has stated:

> Armed with the pen and its literary techniques, the intellectual made manifest his ability to reveal all knowledge: his function among men was to open channels of communication between the hierarchized levels of reality, from the most material to the most spiritual. Mere scribe or compiler and author, the medieval intellectual always went beyond the depiction of a reality a modern person would consider univocal.[27]

This capacity and need for invention not only assumed (in our terms) a substitution of rhetoric for reality (in medieval terms perhaps, a substitution of 'revealed truth' for 'observed accident'), but also depended upon some measure of absorption of the techniques of literary fiction, that is, the techniques taught by the ancient rhetors. More general techniques for persuasion, such as the ancient doctrine of the indirect speech opening or *insinuatio* (for difficult situations when the minds of the audience are against the speaker and his brief due to the turpitude of the case or some other repellent aspect), came into prominence during the polemics of the investiture controversy in the later eleventh century.[28] Research into these aspects of the topic has accelerated in recent years and new texts have come to light that hold considerable potential for increasing our understanding of the issues at stake.[29]

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[24] Stock, 'Literacy and Society in the Twelfth Century', p. 1.

[25] See C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 141.

[26] See Gerald Bond, *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

[27] Lobrichon, 'The Chiaroscuro of Heresy', p. 86.

[28] 'Insinuatio' is dealt with, for example, in Cicero's *De inventione*, I. 17. For the link with the investiture controversy see Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, pp. 136, 144, 247, 253, and 288.

[29] See my own publications as follows: 'From Marginal Gloss to *Catena* Commentary: The Eleventh-Century Origins of a Rhetorical Teaching Tradition in the Medieval West', *Parergon*,

The opacity of many of the glosses found in the Venetian manuscript, and their tantalizing references to orality and literacy to be discussed below, only serve to underline an important phenomenon, perhaps best illustrated by the work of Jaeger, who asserts that 'something was going on at the early cathedral schools that is not transmitted clearly by the sources or set in intelligible structures by current frames of explanation'.[30] Whether monastic or secular, the educational culture of the eleventh century was 'a charismatic culture' that 'cannot be assessed by weighing and measuring its documentation, which by its very nature it tends not to produce'.[31] Jaeger argues that '[t]exts represent the rigidifying of thought, which develops in the living dialogue through assertion, challenge, and response'.[32] In the eleventh century, education had become 'a process of transmitting personal qualities through the charismatic effect of a well-disciplined, well-"composed" teacher'.[33] This engendered an emphasis upon an oral, face-to-face, culture; the discipline of manners was linked with eloquent speech, and there was a conscious link between letters and conduct in ecclesiastical education that produced 'men who would work well at court and in the episcopate and serve the *utilitas ecclesie et rei publicae*'.[34] The focus was upon the person of the teacher:[35] 'Teaching by example became the dominant pastoral duty in the new houses of canons regular that burgeoned after the second half of the eleventh century.'[36] The formation of character, the cult of personality,

13.2 (1996), 109–20; 'Rhetoric in the Faculty of Arts at the Universities of Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages: A Summary of the Evidence', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Union Académique Internationale: Bulletin du Cange), 54 (1996), 159–232; 'The *Catena* Commentaries on the Rhetoric of Cicero and their Implications for Development of a Teaching Tradition in Rhetoric', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching*, 6.2 (1998), 79–95; 'Alan (of Lille?) as Rhetor: Unity from Diversity?', in *Papers on Rhetoric V: Atti del convegno internazionale 'Dictamen, poetria and Cicero: coherence and diversification', Bologna, 10–11 Maggio 2002*, ed. by Calboli Montefusco, Papers on Rhetoric/Università degli studi di Bologna, Dipartimento di filologia classica e medievale, 7 (Rome: Herder, 2003), pp. 141–227. For the latest information and bibliography see *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. by Virginia Cox and John O. Ward (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[30] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 2.

[31] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 4.

[32] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 6.

[33] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 11.

[34] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 48.

[35] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 62.

[36] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 79.

the courtier-philosopher, elegance of manners, and friendship were brought into sharper focus: 'The schools nourished an ideal of amiability, charm, good humor, mutual love and respect in the shared life of student and teacher. Administrative service was the context in which these "virtues" became effective.'[37] The early-eleventh-century monastic educator Onulf of Speyer rejected rhetoric in favour of *mores*,[38] and poetry became the 'end point and fulfillment of studies'.[39] By the twelfth century, however, '[m]agisterial authority has shifted away from men and into texts',[40] and 'the "discipline of manners" had been largely displaced at the schools and replaced by definitions and systematizing, frameworks of argumentation and harmonizing of inconsistencies.'[41] Unlike the Renaissance humanists, '[t]he humanists of the twelfth century wrote out of nostalgia [...]. Their works are shoring to stave off the inevitable collapse of a culture passing out of existence.'[42]

The glosses that form the subject of this chapter are both a witness to these developments and also (I will argue) the consequence of being caught in this transition from (scholastic) orality to full literacy.[43] They seem to represent only partially and incompletely a literate report on oral discussions that must have preceded and motivated them. To facilitate discussion, a text and translation of these glosses will be found at the end of this chapter.

[37] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 106.

[38] Jaeger, *Envy*, pp. 136–38.

[39] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 141.

[40] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 131.

[41] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 218. See *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, trans. by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 68 (I. 24); Cary Nederman, *John of Salisbury*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 288 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), especially pp. 44–51; Stock, 'Literacy and Society in the Twelfth Century', pp. 1, 2; Peter Godman, *The Silent Masters: Latin Literature and Its Censors in the High Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), reviewed by John O. Ward and Katie Chambers, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 8 (2001/02), 415–46; Ward, *Ciceronian Rhetoric*, pp. 20, 42, 93, 99, 113–16, 136, and 243.

[42] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 9; see also Jaeger, 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 1151–83.

[43] See Constant Mews, 'Orality, Literacy and Authority in the Twelfth-Century Schools', *Exemplaria*, 2 (1990), 475–500, for another comment on the passage from (scholastic) orality to full literacy (this time in the works of Abelard).

The glosses fall naturally into what may be seen as three distinct groups of extracts. The first group of extracts consists of thirty fairly brief glosses upon the *De inventione*, unlinked and not in sequential order as far as the texts of Victorinus or Cicero are concerned. The glosses deal mainly with behaviour and morality, beginning with the distinction, found at *De inventione*, I. 2. 3, between '[every] useful and honourable [occupation]' (that which is *utilis* and *honestum*). Perception and cultivation of what is 'useful' and 'honourable' in life is indeed a foundation stone of civilized living, and both the *De inventione* and the rhetorical curriculum start with it. The glosses then proceed to excerpts and paraphrases designed to illustrate and/or explain *sapientia/eloquentia* ('wisdom and eloquence', *De inventione*, I. 1. 1), *ratio* ('reason', *De inventione*, I. 13. 18), *civitas* ('the city-state', Victorinus, ed. Halm, p. 158), *materia* (*artis*, 'subject-matter', *De inventione*, I. 5. 7), *constitutio* ('issue at stake in a case', *De inventione*, I. 8. 10– I. 12. 16), *propositio* ('major premise', *De inventione*, I. 34. 57–I. 41. 77, especially I. 37. 67), *comparatio* ('comparison', *De inventione*, I. 11. 15, II. 24. 72– II. 26. 78), *concessio* ('concession', *De inventione*, I. 11. 15, II. 31. 94), *remotio* ('shifting of the charge', *De inventione*, I. 11. 15, II. 29. 86–II. 30. 94), *principium* and *insinuatio* ('direct and indirect opening to a speech' *De inventione*, I. 15. 20–I. 18. 2), the *septem circumstantiae* ('seven circumstances [giving particularity to a general issue]', Victorinus, ed. Halm, p. 207), *partitio* ('partition', *De inventione*, I. 22. 31), and *diffinitio nature* ('definition of nature', *De inventione*, I. 24. 34–35).

At this point the glossator displays the peculiarly medieval tendency to see all elements of knowledge as part of a total scheme of knowledge, and his interest accordingly turns towards the relationship between God and nature. This discussion is a good illustration of what Martin Irvine calls the 'supplementary' information that is necessary to keep ancient texts relevant in distant ages, and which makes up the bulk of medieval commentary material.[44] After limping across a few succeeding passages in Victorinus, the gloss diverts (without explanation) into a discussion citing Augustine and 'the apostle'. What then follows, however, is a world away, and even more intriguing.

Following this classroom discussion of the ethical implications of the *De inventione* and Victorinus's commentary on it, together with introductory discussion of some of the parts of the art of rhetoric, there are two apparently

[44] See Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 391.

'separate' sections (Extracts groups 2 and 3: 'Solubillimum nodum [...]' and 'Si sententiae circumstantia [...]'), which appear nevertheless to derive from the same author. These contain close discussion of the meaning and relevance of certain legal situations illustrated from the *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium*, but taught at first orally, then by reference to written study and statement, and finally by a return to an oral situation. Lawrence's teaching, reflected in this document, specifically refers to *colloquialis interrogatio* which initially 'rendered insoluble the soluble node of a *quaestio* proposed by you' ('Solubillimum nodum questionis a uobis propositae colloquialis interrogatio reddidit insolubilem'). There must have been discussion and illustration of contentious civil issues (*civiles quaestiones*), initially without reference to *praecepta* and texts and therefore 'insoluble', and then, a discussion of *civiles quaestiones doctae*, that is, issues contained in written texts, which rendered the insoluble oral questions soluble.

The 'civil issues' in question in Extracts groups 2 and 3 concern 'conflicting laws' and 'legal definition', both of which are discussed in the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* under questions of 'text' versus 'interpretation'.[45] It is significant that the surviving evidence of classroom discussion here concerns the interpretation of written texts. Whether the classroom covered the other rhetorical issues or *constitutiones* we do not know, but even in antiquity rhetorical controversies over written texts were considered vital to legal practice.[46] From other sources we know that in the twelfth century, issues at canon law frequently turned on such considerations and these doubtless made the rhetorical discussions of antiquity valuable.[47] The 'market niches' and user contexts of the discussions and teaching that probably lay behind the present document are therefore not at issue. What is unexplained is the set of circumstances that resulted in only parts of the teaching appearing in written form, or at least surviving in written form sufficiently substantially as to be incorporated into the Venice liberal arts manuscript. In this sense, the written text does not function as we would expect

[45] *De inventione*, II. 40. 116: 'in scripto versatur controversia cum ex scriptionis ratione aliquid dubii nascitur' (a controversy turns upon written documents when some doubt arises from the nature of writing); *Cicero, De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, with an English translation by H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) p. 285; *Ad Herennium*, I. 11. 19: 'in scripto aut e scripto'.

[46] See John O. Ward, 'The *constitutio negotialis* in Ancient Latin Rhetorical Theory', *Prudentia*, 1.2 (1969), 29–48.

[47] See *The Rhetoric of Cicero*, chap. 1.

today. Even in the twelfth century, rhetorical manuscripts usually contained a reasonably coherent and connected written statement of oral lectures, but this is not the case in the present document, which thus forms the first of a long series of medieval rhetorical *catena* commentaries.[48]

Leaving aside, then, the question of why only certain portions of the classroom discussions were preserved in the present document, I would propose that in this early usage pattern for the Graeco-Roman preceptive rhetorical tradition, we are dealing with teachers who *did* understand their material, who *did not* engage in the kind of philological research that characterizes modern rhetorical scholarship, but who were keen to upgrade their understanding and control of contemporary civil issues by close reference to and discussion of the civil cases and the preceptive material contained in the classical rhetorical manuals. In other words, they *used* these materials and did not rest content with merely knowing them, as we do today. Their not inconsiderable skills seem to have been devoted to understanding, teaching, and showing the practical uses for ancient written materials, rather than merely learning more and more about them. This distinction between 'using' and 'knowing' explains how in fifteenth-century humanist Italy there was room both for the Florentine form of humanism — best exemplified in the life and writings of Leonardo Bruni and based more on 'knowing' and being known to know — and the Veneto/Veronese form practised by Guarino da Verona, based more on 'using' and with less regard to literary notoriety and 'publication'. The latter was less philologically concerned, eschewed the writing of history,[49] and was aimed at composition or *dictamen*, and genteel knowledge of ancient texts, primarily for their moral worth, while the former, even in its most controversial interpretation and despite its increasing use of classicizing Latin for elite communication, manipulated history to make it serve as a persuasive touchstone for contemporary politicians who would themselves make much slighter use of the same classical exposure.[50] The distinction offered here does not mean that Florentines spent no

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[48] A 'catena' commentary is a 'chain' commentary; that is, the 'lemmata' or extracts from the original texts to which the glossator's comments are tied, when taken together, make up a kind of chain, each 'lemma' being a link, so to speak; see the references in n. 29, above.

[49] See Mariangela Regoliosi, 'Riflessioni umanistiche sullo scrivere storia', *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 31 (1991), 3–37.

[50] See Hans Baron, 'Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 22 (1938), 72–97, reprinted with some changes

time over the basic didactic manuals (the notebooks of Lorenzo di Antonio Ridolfi and Luigi de' Gianfigliazzi, at least, demonstrate the opposite),[51] or that they failed to employ the best Ciceronian Latin they could muster in their treatises and communications, or that they did not stress the moral utility of the classical texts they studied, but that the flourishing form of humanism owed more to republican experience, fashionable ancient historical precedents for current situations, and aristocratic political ambitions, than to court patronage, university teaching, and dictaminal practice. It is a challenge, therefore, for modern scholarship to evaluate correctly the distinction between 'knowledge-based' and 'use-based' humanist patterns and to recognize that medieval rhetorical scholarship conformed more to the 'use-based' pattern than the 'knowledge-based' pattern.

Further, the short set of glosses discussed here must represent only a garbled and incomplete version of what actually went on in a schoolroom, at a time when the normal use of texts there seems to have been exploratory and unreliable. These extracts therefore reflect and confirm the pedagogic world described by Jaeger, a world that preceded the much more fully literate and 'scholastic' age of the twelfth century. Jaeger has even spoken of pessimism and nostalgia as important elements of the twelfth-century intellectual attitude towards the past,[52] and Constant J. Mews has proposed that there is a recognizable divide in Abelard's own lifetime between the predominantly 'oral' and the predominantly

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in *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe: Selected Readings*, ed. by Fredric L. Cheyette (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), pp. 291–314; Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; rev. edn 1966); Baron, 'Leonardo Bruni: "Professional Rhetorician" or "Civic Humanist"?', *Past and Present*, 36 (1967), 21–37; Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), chap. 5; Gary Ianziti, 'Bruni on Writing History', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), 367–91; Ronald G. Witt, 'Introduction: Hans Baron's Renaissance Humanism' and 'The Crisis after Forty Years', *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 107–08 and 110–44 (= *American Historical Review* Forum on Hans Baron's *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, 1955); and Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); reviewed by Robert Black, *Vivarium*, 4 (2002), 272–97.

[51] John O. Ward, 'Renaissance Commentators on Ciceronian Rhetoric', in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. by James J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 126–73 (p. 137).

[52] Jaeger, 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance'.

'written' approaches to learning. Both Gillian R. Evans and R. W. Southern, indeed, have commented on the increasing professionalism inherent in written discussions of truth in the course of the twelfth century.[53] The glosses discussed in this chapter not only illustrate Jaeger's ideas about the written and oral in eleventh-century didactic situations, but show us the eleventh-century schoolroom in action, conforming educational practice to the existing corpus of ancient rhetorical materials, rather than necessarily inventing contemporary alternatives. We find not only a statement about oral and written in the classroom situation, but also a utilitarian attitude towards the classics of the past, an attitude now almost lost in time, but salutary and bracing for those who would review our own attitude towards the ancient classics.[54] Although a full understanding of this text and its companions must await a more extensive study of the whole Venetian codex, it can be asserted at this point that nowhere else is there found such an explicit comment on the oral and the written in the schooling of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Quite what is meant by the extracts is unclear (Jaeger would perhaps take this to be normal for an eleventh-century scholastic text), but the challenge to explore further the half-light at the dawn of the literate in medieval schooling has been laid down. A presentation of the text itself, with translation and commentary, will be followed by a general conclusion.

[53] Gillian R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), preface; R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995 and 2001), reviewed by R. M. Thomson, 'Richard Southern and the Twelfth-Century Intellectual World', *Journal of Religious History*, 26 (2002), 264–73; Mews, 'Orality, Literacy and Authority in the Twelfth-Century Schools'; and John O. Ward, 'Rhetoric, Truth, and Literacy in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century', in *Oral and Written Communication: Historical Approaches*, ed. by Richard Leo Enos, Written Communication Annual: An International Survey of Research and Theory, 4 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990), pp. 126-57.

[54] See the discussion in Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath, *Who Killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (New York: Free Press, 1998).

Fig. 1: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497,
GLOSE SUPERETHORICAM CICERONIS *De inuentione*, fol. 105ᵛ.

Fig. 2: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497,
GLOSE SUPERETHORICAM CICERONIS *De inuentione*, fol. 106ʳ.

Fig. 3: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497,
GLOSE SUPERETHORICAM CICERONIS *De inuentione*, fol. 106ᵛ.

Lawrence of Amalfi (?), On Rhetoric (Glosses on the 'De inventione'), Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z.L. 497, Text, Translation, and Commentary[55]

Extracts Group 1

[fol. 105vb, l. 19] GLOSE SUPER ETHO*RICAM* CICER*ONIS* De inuentione (in red). CICERO duplex *e*ss*e* honestu*m* persuadet.[56] Vnu*m* solum atq*ue* puru*m*. utpote cum aliq*u*id alicui prestat*ur* nec gra*tia* reposcit*ur*. Alteru*m* u*er*o honestu*m* cum utili. q*u*o*d* est cum gra*tia* reposcit*ur*.

Glosses on the *Rhetoric* of Cicero 'Concerning invention'. Cicero persuades [us that] the upright is twofold, one alone and pure, as when something is given to someone and no favour is demanded; the other, however, 'upright with the expedient', which is when a favour is demanded in return.

With the change from 'docet' to 'persuadet' note the transfer of the context from a teaching one to an (oral) persuasive one. This gloss on *De inventione*, I. 2. 2 (Stroebel, 3b. 5) is moral and behavioural in content, and makes no reference to the preceding textual material that was of such consummate interest to later teachers, for example Menegaldus, whose gloss on this *lemma* is preceded by twenty-four (typed) pages of comment.[57] Menegaldus points out that the *res*

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[56] Victorinus, 162. 16: 'docet'.

[57] See John O. Ward, '*Artificiosa Eloquentia* in the Middle Ages: The Study of Cicero's *De inventione*, the *Ad Herennium* and Quintilian's *De institutione oratoria* from the Early Middle Ages to the Thirteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Schools of Northern France', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1972), II, 71.

utilis is divided into *utilis* alone and *honesta* alone, or *honesta et utilis*. The *utilis* applies to merchants and robbers, the *honesta* to philosophers and hermits. The *honesta mixta cum utilitate* is found among the *rectores civitatum*. This reflects contemporary observation and a reading of Victorinus, 162. 22–23. See Victorinus, 162. 15–17, 20, 33–34; ed. Ippolito, p. 18, lines 114–16, 119–20, 136–37.

> [fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 26] <u>Anima</u> <u>ita</u> <u>est</u> <u>ut</u> <u>uinu*m*</u>. p*ro* <u>uase</u> eni*m* <u>in quo</u> mittit*ur*. id est corpore. <u>aut</u> <u>seruat</u> <u>aut</u> <u>amittit</u> <u>uinolentia*m*</u>.

> The soul is like wine, for, according to the container, that is the body, in which it is kept, it either keeps or loses its strength [i.e., intoxicating capacity].

Victorinus, 161. 12–14 (Ippolito, 16. 54–56) on *De inventione*, I. 2. 2, reading 'violentiam' for 'vinolentiam'. This 'gloss' takes us back to S 2b. 28 and adopts what Victorinus baldly puts forward as a 'rerum similitudo': the soul is like wine. The vase/container in which it is put causes it either to retain or lose its 'force' or 'strength' (reading 'violentiam', although 'vinolentiam', 'capacity to intoxicate', would not be inapt). Thus the soul, in so far as it comes into a chaste and pure body (or the opposite) will retain or lose its *natura*. At this point in the *De inventione*, Cicero is attributing the origins of civilization to a certain great and wise man ('quidam magnus vir et sapiens'), the Ciceronian *lemma* to which the present similitude is presumably attached. The body of this virtuous figure presumably enabled its soul to retain its proper *natura* and the figure recognized that humans wandering around in the wild like brutes had some spark of the divine that could be drawn out to great general advantage. The commentator/scribe is obviously 'drawing out' titbits of general wisdom from what must have been a fuller commentary on the *De inventione*, out of order and in very abridged Latin that seems to act only as a reminder of oral teaching, much as a Carolingian capitulary recalled fuller contents to the reader.[58] The written word does not seem to have completely emerged in this intellectual arena to carry the full weight of meaning: it can only recall things generally transmitted and retained orally, acting as a prompt. See also the citation of Wieland in commentary on fol. 106ʳᵇ, l. 34, below.

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[58] See Edward Perroy, 'Carolingian Administration', in *Early Medieval Society*, ed. by Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967) pp. 129–46.

[fol. 105vb, l. 28] <u>Sapientia</u> q<u>uidem</u>. <u>sed</u> <u>eloquentia</u> <u>opitulante</u> p<u>erficit</u> rethorica*m*.

Wisdom indeed, but with eloquence assisting, completes rhetoric.

Victorinus, 163. 41–42 (Ippolito, 20. 200–01), on *De inventione*, I. 2. 3 (S 3b. 9–10): 'sapientia perficere'. Victorinus says that there are many things which are complete in themselves and many which require habit and use to be complete. The athlete and the orator require practice for their art to be complete. Wisdom is complete in itself: it does not need voice, except when it wishes to operate by way of external acts. Wisdom can persuade by doing/making something (which another can then imitate from sight), or it can persuade that something should be done or not done, using natural words, or else eloquence. Cicero, argues Victorinus, implies here that eloquence rather than natural words must have been used. This, in an ornate way, is to point out what Cicero in fact is saying. All that the medieval commentator wishes to retain here, however, is the didactic maxim that rhetoric (not eloquence) is completed by wisdom. Were the oral lectures on the text more expansive at this point? What principles of order and selection govern the extracts/passages found in this portion of the Venice manuscript? See G. Nuchelmans, 'Philologia et son marriage avec Mercure jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle', *Latomus*, 16 (1957), 84–107; and Cary J. Nederman, 'The Union of Wisdom and Eloquence before the Renaissance: The Ciceronian Orator in Medieval Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 18 (1992), 75–95.

[fol. 105vb, l. 30] Quida*m* <u>re</u> <u>ignorata</u>. <u>speciem</u> <u>solam</u> <u>sequi</u> c<u>oeperunt</u>. i<u>d</u> <u>est</u> <u>preterita</u> <u>sapientia</u>. <u>solam</u> <u>dicendi</u> <u>copiam</u> <u>consequuti</u> <u>sunt</u>. <u>Mel</u> quippe <u>habet</u> <u>rem</u> ipsam i<u>d</u> <u>est</u> <u>dulcedinem</u> sui. <u>habet</u> et <u>speciem</u> i<u>d</u> <u>est</u> <u>colorem</u>. <u>quo</u> <u>quasi</u> <u>facile</u> <u>ita</u> <u>ut</u> <u>est</u> <u>dulce</u> <u>credatur</u>.

Certain men, ignoring the substance, begin to adhere to appearance alone, that is, ignoring wisdom, they pursue only fluency in speaking. For honey has its own essence, that is, its sweetness, [but it also has] appearance, that is colour, from which it may be believed, easily as it were, that it is sweet.

Victorinus, 165. 35–36, 44–166. 1 (Ippolito, 23. 303–24. 305, 314–19), on *De inventione*, I. 2. 3 (S 3b. 27); 'facile' may be an error for 'facie', but it does make some sense. Note that the commentator has constructed a tolerably complete *sententia* from two widely spaced comments in Victorinus. Victorinus points out that every perfect good which nature has bestowed upon human affairs without

any corresponding drawback has both a substance and an appearance: honey is sweet and looks it too, just as a virtuous man will have a beautiful body. In the same way, in public affairs, wisdom is the substance and eloquence the 'species' or appearance.

> [fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 35] <u>Ratio</u> <u>est</u>. rei <u>gerend*a*e</u> <u>ordo</u> necessarius. <u>Vt</u> puta hoc primu*m* debet fieri. <u>deinde</u> illud. tertio istud.

> Reason is the necessary order of doing anything; for example, this ought to happen first, then that, then the other.

Victorinus, 160. 5–7 (Ippolito, 13. 186–14. 189), adapted, on *De inventione*, I. 2. 2 (S 2b. 13–17). Victorinus is providing definitions to help his gloss, not to help his text. 'Vt puta' is a Victorinian phrase: 165. 4; 174. 5; 183. 38, 43 etc. (Ippolito, 22. 264; 38. 147; 55. 69, 76 etc.).

> [fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 37] <u>Ciuitas</u> <u>est</u> <u>collecta</u> <u>multitudo</u> <u>hominu*m*</u>. <u>ad</u> <u>iure</u> <u>uiuendu*m*</u>.

> A state is a multitude of men collected together for living according to law.

Victorinus, 158. 12 (Ippolito, 10. 85–86), on *De inventione*, I. 1. 1 (S 1b. 9) 'multas urbes'; also 162. 12 (Ippolito, 17. 109–10). See also 164. 12 (Ippolito, 21. 216–18).

> [fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 39] <u>Omn*es*</u> homin*es* <u>habend*a*e</u> <u>sapienti*a*e</u> <u>materiam</u> <u>continent</u>.

> All men have the capacity for wisdom.

Victorinus, 166. 17 (Ippolito, 25. 9–11), on *De inventione*, I. 3. 4.

> [fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 40] <u>Calidi</u> <u>homines</u> <u>et</u> <u>dicaces</u>.

> Clever and fluent [men].

Victorinus, 166. 20, 24 'callidos et disertos', 26 'callidi', 44 'callidi sunt qui dolo ac fraude exitum virtutis imitantur', 168. 24 'disertis ac dicacibus' (Ippolito, 25. 15, 20–21, 22; 26. 45–46; 29. 4), commenting on *De inventione*, I. 3. 4, Cicero's account of how unprincipled but eloquent persons took over direction of the state in unspecified historical times. The words in this gloss are clearly again only a written reminder of oral lectures since the sentence is incomplete.

[fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 41] <u>Sapientia</u>. et <u>artificiosa</u> <u>eloquentia</u> <u>constat</u>. <u>scientia</u>.

Knowledge consists of wisdom and artificial eloquence.

Victorinus, 172. 14–21 (Ippolito, 35. 50–58). See also Victorinus, 158. 40–159. 26 (Ippolito, 11. 119–12. 155).

[fol. 105ᵛᵇ, l. 42] <u>Fabri</u> <u>materia</u> <u>est</u> <u>in</u> <u>eo</u> <u>ubi</u> <u>facit</u>. i<u>d</u> <u>est</u> <u>ferru</u>*m* quod <u>tundit</u>. et <u>est</u> <u>fabri materia</u> [fol. 106ʳᵃ] <u>in</u> <u>eo</u> <u>unde</u> <u>facit</u>. <u>id</u> <u>est</u> malleus <u>de</u> <u>quo</u> <u>tundit</u>. <u>In</u> <u>duplo</u> quippe consistit.

The material of the smith is in that wherein he does [his work], that is, the iron which he strikes; the material of the smith is also in that whence [i.e., with which] he does [his work], that is, his mallet, with which he strikes. And so it consists in this double sense.

Victorinus, 174. 5–7 (Ippolito, 38. 147–49), on *De inventione*, I. 5. 7 (S 6b. 21); 'malleus' is substituted for Victorinus's (repeated) 'ferrum'.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 2] Stoici dicunt. sapiente*m* etia*m* si seruitute seruiat e*s*se regem.

The Stoics say that the wise man, even if he serves in servitude, is a king.

Text from which this sentence could have been constructed can be found in Cicero, *De finibus*, III. 22. 75; see also Lactantius 'De falsa sapientia philosophorum', PL, VI, cols 423B–C: 'Apud Stoicos [...] sapientem gratia [...] solos sapientes esse [...] si servitutem serviant, reges [...]'.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 4] Consistit eni*m* constitutio ueluti duob*us* pedib*us*. Intentione et depulsione. Quo*rum* si quelibet desit. non erit constitutio. sed quidda*m* alogum u*el* asistatum.

The 'issue' consists as it were in two steps, in accusation and defence, [and] if one of these be absent, there will not be an 'issue' but [only] something irrational and incapable of status.

This passage reveals a knowledge of Greek rhetorical theory a little beyond the orbit of the *De inventione*: see for instance Grillius, ed. by Martin, 49. 10; ed. by Jakobi, 51. 6–7 (on *De inventione*, I. 8. 10); and Fortunatianus in Halm, *Rhetores*

Latini Minores, 84. 21 or in *Consulti Fortunatiani, Ars Rhetorica, introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione italiana e commento*, ed. by Lucia Calboli Montefusco (Bologna: Pàtron 1979), 71. 16 and 288; and 586. 21. Also Victorinus, 181. 30, 'asystata controversia' (Ippolito, 51. 133) and Julius Victor (Halm, *Rhetores latini minores*, 374. 29).

> [fol. 106ᵃ, l. 8] <u>Om*n*is</u> <u>constitutio</u> <u>sic</u> <u>est</u> <u>ut</u> <u>aspectus.</u> <u>aut</u> <u>eni*m*</u> <u>aliquid</u> <u>uidere</u> <u>uolumus</u> <u>nec</u> <u>uidem*us*</u> <u>ut[59]</u> <u>est</u> <u>coniectura.</u> <u>aut</u> <u>cum</u> <u>uidem*us*</u> <u>aliquid</u> <u>et</u> <u>querimus</u> <u>quid</u> <u>sit.</u> <u>et</u> <u>est</u> <u>finis.</u> <u>aut</u> <u>cum</u> <u>uidemus</u> <u>quid</u> <u>sit.</u> <u>et</u> <u>querimus</u> <u>quale</u> <u>sit.</u> <u>et</u> <u>est</u> <u>qualitas.</u>

> Every 'issue' is like an aspect, for either we wish to see something and we do not see it, as is the conjectural case, or when we see something and we ask what it is and this is [a question of] boundary [i.e., definition], or when we see what it is and we ask of what kind it is and this is quality.

Victorinus, 179. 19–22 (Ippolito, 47. 21–24), on *De inventione*, I. 8. 10 (S 9b. 14).

> [fol. 106ᵃ, l. 13] Hoc <u>int*er*est</u> <u>int*er*</u> <u>diffinitione*m*</u> <u>et</u> <u>descriptione*m*.</u> <u>Diffinitio</u> <u>talis</u> <u>est.</u> <u>Homo</u> <u>est</u> <u>animal</u> <u>rationale.</u> mortale.[60] <u>risus</u> <u>capax.</u> <u>Descriptio</u> <u>u*er*o</u> <u>talis</u> <u>est.</u> <u>Homo</u> <u>est</u> <u>qui</u> <u>erectu*m*</u> <u>uertice*m*</u> <u>rotundo</u> <u>capitis</u> collo[61] <u>attollit.</u> <u>Cui</u> <u>sunt</u> <u>sub</u> <u>collo</u> <u>humeri.</u> <u>brachiaq*ue*</u> <u>demissa.</u>

> This is the difference between definition and description. Definition is thus: man is a rational animal, mortal, and capable of laughter. Description however is thus: man is he who raises erect the crown of his head from his rounded neck, whose upper arms and forearms are hanging down from below his neck.

Victorinus, 182. 18–21 (Ippolito, 52. 182–86), on *De inventione*, I. 8. 11 (S 10b. 22–23). 'Vertex' regularly means 'the top or crown of the head': see for example Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary, Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933; first publ. 1879), p. 1977.

[59] Victorinus: 'et'

[60] Victorinus: 'bipes'

[61] *om*. Vict.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 19] <u>Vbicumq*ue* en*im* 'si' est. sub quada*m* condicione</u> <u>p*ro*positio est. Si in*qui*d hoc est. illud non est. hoc aut*em* est. Igitur illud</u> <u>non est.</u>

For wherever [it is], if it is, it is a proposition under some condition. If he says 'this is', [then] 'that is not'. However, 'this is', therefore 'that is not'.

Victorinus, 183. 15–16 (Ippolito, 54. 39–41). See also Victorinus, 185. 4–6 (Ippolito, 53. 28–30) citing *De inventione*, 1. 9. 12; 243. 29, on *De inventione*, I. 34. 57 (S 45b. 23–24). Cicero, *De inventione*, I. 31. 51 and I. 34. 58 provide more complicated examples than the ones quoted here.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 22] [I]STE ordo uictorini <u>de his quattuor. Comparatio feci.</u> <u>sed p*ro*fui. Relatio feci. sed p*ro*uocatus sum i*d est* meruit. Remotio feci. sed</u> <u>alt*er* me impulit ut facere*m*. Concessio feci. sed uenia*m* precor.</u>

The order of Victorinus regarding these four [types of *constitutio*]: comparison ('I did it, but I stood to profit'); retort ('I did it, but I was provoked', that is, 'he deserved it'); shifting the charge ('I did it but another drove me to do it'); confession [and avoidance] ('I did it, but I crave pardon').

Victorinus, 190. 37–38, 45–191. 2, 9–15 (Ippolito, 66. 62–67. 91); see *De inventione*, I. 11. 15 (S 13b. 27).

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 27] Ratio eni*m* semp*er* de preterito est facto. de futuro aut*em* cum queri*tur* ratiocinatio d*icitu*r. <u>Honestu*m* cause genus putat*ur*. cum</u> aut id defendimus quod ab om*nibus* defendendu*m* uidetur. aut id oppugnam*us* quo*d* ab om*nibus* uidetur oppugnari debere.

Reasoning is always about a past deed, but when enquiry is made concerning a future deed, it is called ratiocination. It is thought to be an upright kind of case when we either defend that which is seen by all as worthy of defence, or we oppose that which is seen by all as worthy of opposition.

See *De inventione*, I. 15. 20, but the wording seems original. There is nothing immediately apposite in Victorinus ad loc. (193. 41; 196. 3; 224. 4–9; 260. 36–261. 2) (Ippolito, 72. 20; 75. 110; 122. 201–123. 207; [ ]).

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 32] Utemur etia*m* nos principiis in honesto genere. sed breuioribus et paulo erectioribus.

We shall also use the direct openings in the upright kind [of case], but [they should be] briefer and somewhat loftier.

See *De inventione*, I. 15. 20, but the wording seems original. There is nothing immediately apposite in Victorinus ad loc. *De inventione*, I. 15. 21 (S 19b. 28), suggests that the *principium* is dropped in a *causa* that is really in the *honestum genus*.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 34] Vtpote non dica*m* q*uo*d matre*m* futuit. neque illud q*uo*d patrem occidit. sed tam*en* semp*er* dicit.

Now I will not say that he fucked his mother, nor that he killed his father, but yet he [my opponent? Oedipus?] always says this.

'Futuo' appears in Catullus 97. 9 and a number of Martial's epigrams. For the area of rhetorical doctrine see *De inventione*, I. 17. 24, 'et dissimulare'. Winterbottom, noting that the reference is to Oedipus (who is not referred to in either the *De inventione* or the *Ad Herennium*), describes the use of 'futuo' in such a genre as inconceivable. Its use here is clearly a case of parts of an oral presentation and/or the master's notes to himself being recorded. No doubt the case of Oedipus was seen as one involving 'turpitudo', and therefore requiring 'insinuatio' rather than 'principium'. The reference *may* be to Seneca's *Oedipus*, where the hero openly and amply (in the end) admits his crime and speaks of criminal charges and trials. See also Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, ed. and trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), V.3 ext. 3f, I, 492–93.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 36] S̲i̲ i̲t̲a̲ s̲e̲ h̲a̲b̲e̲b̲i̲t̲ n̲e̲g̲o̲t̲i̲u̲*m̲*. u̲t̲i̲l̲e̲ e̲r̲i̲t̲ r̲e̲b̲*u̲s̲* n̲o̲u̲i̲s̲ e̲t̲ r̲i̲d̲i̲c̲u̲l̲i̲s̲. r̲i̲s̲u̲m̲ i̲u̲d̲i̲c̲i̲b̲*u̲s̲* a̲u̲t̲ i̲o̲c̲u̲*m̲* m̲o̲u̲e̲r̲e̲.

If the matter is of this kind, it will be useful with new and laughable things to make a joke or move the judges to a smile.

Victorinus, 199. 35–37 (Ippolito, 82. 76–77) on *De inventione*, I. 17. 25.

[fol. 106ʳᵃ, l. 39] Callias excusans iniuncta*m* sibi legatione*m*. finxit apologon uulpis dicentis. leonis uestigia me terrent non aspicientia retro. Sic etia*m* demostenes aduersus philippu*m* mandante*m* ut sibi demostenes

[fol. 106ʳᵇ] idem cum reliquis oratoribus dirigeretur. finx*it* fab*ulam* de f*o*edere lupo*rum* cupientiu*m* morte*m* canu*m*.

Callias excusing himself from the embassy which had been enjoined upon him, adduced the fable about the wolf saying 'the footprints to the lion['s den] which are all one way drove me to panic'. So also Demosthenes against Philip, who was commanding that the same Demosthenes be sent with the other orators, made use of the fable about a pack of wolves desiring the death of dogs.

The sections of the *De inventione/Ad Herennium* dealing with *insinuatio* usually attracted many examples in the later commentaries. Those mentioned here are not otherwise found and may derive from the teacher's own research. Frances Muecke draws my attention to Horace, *Epistle*, 1. 1. 73–75: 'olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni | respondit, referam: quia me vestigia terrent, | omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum', which is obviously what the author has in mind here. The fable is Aesop's[62] and was used before Horace by Lucilius in Book XXX of his *Satires*. It is not clear how the fable became attached to the situation of Callias. Demosthenes is also alleged by the glossator to refer to an Aesopian fable: his aversion to entering, as it were, the 'cave of Philip' is matched by the reluctance of the dogs to enter the den of the wolves, who have invited them to leave their flocks and 'be friends'.[63] Plutarch has Demosthenes respond to Alexander's demand that he be included in a delegation of ten orators to the Macedonian prince by alluding to this same fable (*Plutarch's Lives* (Dryden edition revised) vol. 3 (London: Dent, 1910, 1939), pp. 174, 179), but the source may well be Isidore's *Etymologies* (I. 40. 7): 'Sic et Demosthenes orator fabulam usus est adversus Philippum, qui cum ab Atheniensibus postularet ut sibi decem oratores darentur, et discederet, finxit ille [hanc] fabulam qua dissuaderet, dicens lupos aliquando pastoribus, quorum diligentiam decipere voluissent, suasisse ut in amicitiam convenirent, ea tamen condicione, ut si canes, in quibus erat causa iurgiorum, iure illis traderentur: adnuisse pastores et in spem securitatis dedisse canes, quos ovium suarum vigilantissimos custodes habebant. Tunc lupi, adempta omni formidine, omne quod in gregibus illis erat, non pro satietate tantum, verum etiam pro libidine laceraverunt. Philippum quoque

[62] See *Aesop's Fables*, trans. by V. S. Vernon Jones (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1994), fable no. 11, p. 63; or *Fables of Aesop*, trans. by S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p. 13.

[63] Trans. by Vernon Jones, p. 139; trans. by Handford, no. 27, p. 29.

principes populi postulare, quo facilius possit opprimere spoliatam custodibus urbem.'[64] There are many references to Demosthenes in Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores*, pp. 624 and 637, but the anecdotes in our source do not seem to derive from these texts, nor from Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*, Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, or the sources covered in *Aesopica*, ed. by B. E. Perry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952). General reference works provide little assistance: see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung*, ed. by Georg Wissowa, later vols ed. by Wilhelm Kroll and Karl Mittelhaus, 49 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893–1978), V (1905), cols 169–88: Demosthenes (6) 'Der Redner'; and X (1919) pt 2, cols 1615–31 (28 figures by the name of Kallias). See also *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 194, 329–32; and William Smith, *A New Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology and Geography*, 2nd edn (London: John Murray, 1853), p. 138: 'Callias II, son of [Callias Hipponicus II] fought at the battle of Marathon, 490 [BC]. He was afterwards [sent as] ambassador from Athens to Artaxerxes, and according to some accounts negotiated a peace with Persia, 449 [BC], on terms most humiliating to the latter. On his return to Athens, he was accused of having taken bribes, and was condemned to a fine of 50 talents.'

> [fol. 106ʳᵇ, l. 3] In exordienda causa seruandum est. ut lenis sermo ˢⁱᵗ. et usitaᵗᵃ uerbor*um* consuetudo.

> In beginning a case a smooth discourse should be maintained and a customary usage in vocabulary.

See the *Ad Herennium*, I. 7. 11: 'Exordienda causa servandum est ut lenis sit sermo et usitata verborum consuetudo, ut non apparata videatur oratio esse.'[65] See also III. 12. 22, 'sedata vox in principio' for the idea.

> [fol. 106ʳᵇ, l. 5] Cum d*icitu*r roscius occisus est. Queri*tur* ubi. quando. quomodo. Porro in his septe*m*. om*n*is ad fidem argumentatio contine*tur*.

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[64] Text from *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarvm sive originvm libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), I, *libros I–X continens* (no pagination).

[65] *'Cicero', Ad C.Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 20.

quis. quid. quur.[66] vbi. quando. quemadmodum. quib*us* adminiculis Cicero addit octaua*m* i*d est* opinione*m*.

When it is said 'Roscius is killed', it is asked where, when, how. Again in these seven all argumentation as to truthfulness is contained: who, what, why, where, when, in what manner, with what means. Cicero adds an eighth, i.e., 'opinion'.

Victorinus, 204. 9; 206. 43–207. 10 (Ippolito, 89. 44–45; 94. 7–12); see also Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, 6–7; mentioned in Grillius, ed. by Martin, 9. 17–18 (ed. by Jakobi, 9. 16–17).

[fol. 106rb, l. 10] Partitio est. totius caus*ae* p*er* partes constitutio. Diuisio u*er*o est. reru*m* sub partitione iacentium.

Partition is the setting up of the whole case by way of its parts, but division is of the things lying beneath the partition.

Victorinus, 208. 39–40 (Ippolito, 97. 4–6), on *De inventione*, I. 22. 31; division is a subdivision of partition?

[fol. 106rb, l. 13] Ad docilitate*m* iudice*m* preparamus.

We dispose the judge towards docility.

Victorinus, 198. 11–14 (Ippolito, 79. 58–62), *De inventione*, I. 16. 23 (S 21b. 10–11). The phrasing appears to be in part original and, surprisingly, the royal plural appears in the midst of the classroom: is this the teacher addressing his class? Winterbottom suggests, on the contrary, that it represents court practice.

[fol. 106rb, l. 14] Difficilis est diffinitio natur*ae*. Queritur apud sap*ientes*. quid sit prius. d*eus* an natura? Si eni*m* natura prior est. ergo d*eus* natus est. atq*ui* d*eus* nasci non potuit. Si aut*em* d*eus* prior est. ergo nata est natura. que[67] si n̄asci[68] potuit. natura non est. Diffinitio deniq*ue* eius talis est.

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[66] Victorinus: 'cur'

[67] Victorinus: 'quod'

[68] The *n* of 'nasci' has an obliterated letter below it, with a deletion dot under it.

Natura e*st* ignis artifex. et cet*era*. Constant[69] eni*m* om*n*ia principe igne generari. Plato u*er*o optime. diffiniuit inquiens: natura est[70] dei uoluntas. d*eu*s eni*m* semp*er* uoluit q*uo*d uult. Sciendum u*er*o e*st*. natura*m* illud e*ss*e q*uo*d mundu*m* ultra mundu*m* aut*em* non e*ss*e natura*m* sed d*eu*m. Voluntate*m* u*er*o dei qua mundus est. eande*m* e*ss*e natura*m*.

The definition of nature is difficult. The question is raised among the wise: what came first, God or nature? For if nature is prior, then God was born. But God could not have been born. If God is prior, however, then nature was born. If she could have been born, then she is not nature. In the end the definition of it is thus: nature is a creative fire, etc. For they [the wise?] agree that all things are generated from fire as the first element. Plato best defined it, saying 'Nature is the will of God', for God always willed what he wills. But it should be known that nature is that which [is] the world, but beyond the world, it is not nature but God. Yet the will of God, by which the world is, is the same as nature.

De inventione, I. 24. 34: 'Naturam ipsam definire difficile est […]'; Victorinus, 215. 23–217. 24 (Ippolito, 108. 118–109. 138). In the present transcription the question mark represents the manuscript *siglum* for 'query'.

[fol. 106rb, l. 27] hoc quasi nature magis e*ss*e uidet*ur*. ut seruus quis an liber sit.

This seems to be more [a matter] of nature whether someone is slave or free.

Victorinus, 218. 16–17 (Ippolito, 113. 44–45); see also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, III. 6. 57: 'sitne liber qui est in assertione […]'. Winterbottom points out that of Halm's manuscripts for the text of Victorinus (p. 154), only Monacensis 6400 ('F') gives 'magis esse' for the 'esse magis' of the other manuscripts.

[fol. 106rb, l. 28] Sicut habitus in animo u*e*l corpore. alicuius rei p*er*fectio est. Ita eiusmodi inchoatio. affectio dicit*ur*.

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[69] Winterbottom points out that Victorinus has 'manifestum est', so the text was probably meant to read 'constat' (in which case the translation would be 'It is agreed …').

[70] At this point in the margin there is a 'quid sit natura' in a later humanist (?) cursive hand.

Just as a fixed character in mind or body[71] is the perfection of something, so the beginning of the same is called 'feeling'.

Victorinus, 218. 31–219. 5; 219. 15, 28–29 (Ippolito, 114. 64–82, 94; 115. 110–13), on *De inventione*, I. 25. 36.

[fol. 106rb, l. 31] <u>In animo duo debemus inspicere. prudentia et imprudentia i*d est* vtrum consilio an animi Impulsu quid fa</u>ctum sit.

In the mind we ought to notice two things: prudence and imprudence, that is, whether something has been done by counsel or by an impulse of the mind.

Victorinus, 225. 16–17 (Ippolito, 125. 35–37) and 309. 11 (= *De adtributis*)? See also *De inventione*, 1. 27. 41.

[fol. 106rb, l. 34] Q*uonia*m natura quemadmodu*m* ab augustino dep*romit*u*r*. Id est quod ^{uel} unicuiq*ue* rei natiuitas u*el* exortum originem sumministrat. Constat utiq*ue* natura*m* sem*per* in deo patre fuisse. cuius nulla natiuitas est. u*el* exortus. Quidam sane non infimo*rum* asseuerant docto*rum*. natura*m* nil aliud quam diuinum existere nutu*m*. q*uod* superiori nimiru*m* sententi*a*e pulcre concinit. Nam cum de deo ueracit*er* scriptu*m* sit. qui fecit qu*a*e futura sunt. quicq*ui*d [fol. 106va] aut*em* conditu*m* est. dei constiterit nutu. apud quem s*ecun*dum ap*ostolu*m uoluntatis commutatio non est. Sicut se*mper* in deo nutus. sic utiq*ue* se*mper* est in deo nat[u]ra.

Since nature, in accordance with what is revealed by Augustine, is that which either birth or originating circumstances[72] supplies to each thing as its origin, it is agreed that nature was always in God the father who had no nativity or originating circumstances. Assuredly some of the not least learned assert that nature is nothing other than divine will, which certainly harmonizes beautifully with the above opinion. For since it has been truthfully written of God, that he made everything which was to be, whatever was then established will stand by the will of God, for whom,

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[71] Hubbell (Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*) translates 'habitus' as 'stable and absolute constitution of mind and body'.

[72] Reading 'exortus' for 'exortum'.

according to the apostle, there is no change of will. Just as will is always in God, so certainly nature is always in God.

The references to Augustine and 'the Apostle' have yet to be identified, but Constant Mews draws my attention to Augustine, *Retractationes*, I. 15. 6 (7)[73] where a parallel discussion takes place using Ephesians 2. 3 ('et eramus natura filii irae, sicut et caeteri'):[74] 'Itemque in eo quod dixi: Natura esse malae animae nullo modo queunt, si queratur quomodo accipiamus quod ait apostolus: *Fuimus et nos natura filii irae sicut et ceteri*'. Augustine is discussing Adam as the perfect man and corrupt nature. He refers to 'what is properly called nature, in which we are created without fault—for that (other kind of) nature is so called on account of (man's) origin, which origin, as it has (its basis in) fault, is contrary to nature [...]'. According to Mews the phrase 'qui fecit quae futura sunt' (God makes everything that will happen) is frequent in Augustine.[75] The phrase is attributed by the editor in most places to Isaiah 45. 11. The allusion in the present text has 'the Apostle' cited to the effect that God does not change his will; this is a very general allusion. The sentiments seem to be an isolated and fairly summary version of what must have been the original (classroom?) discussion. Ruys draws my attention to the article by Gernot Wieland, 'Interpreting the Interpretation: The Polysemy of the Latin Gloss' which argues that 'manuscripts show us mediated texts [...] the evidence points to an altered, fragmented, and complemented record of a master's response to a text', and that 'the gloss serves in place of the teacher's tongue.[...] [T]he gloss also serves to put words into the mouths of teachers, [... and it] becomes alive again on the teacher's tongue. The written text therefore engenders the written gloss [...] but the written gloss in turn engenders the spoken word, i.e. orality'; the written glosses 'make it easier for the teacher to explain [the original text] orally'.[76] In the present case Augustine's text and the *De inventione* have engendered the master's discussion,

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[73] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Retractationum libri II*, ed. by A. Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), p. 48.

[74] *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, nova editio, ed. by A. Colunga and L. Turrado, 4th edn (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1965), p. 1134.

[75] See *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36, Aurelii Augustini Opera, pars 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), p. 497, l. 23 (*Tractatus* LXVIII. 1), p. 541, l. 14 (*Tractatus* LXXXVI. 1), p. 568, ll. 8–9 (*Tractatus* XCVI. 1), and p. 605, l. 24 (*Tractatus* CV. 5).

[76] Gernot Wieland, 'Interpreting the Interpretation: The Polysemy of the Latin Gloss', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 8 (1998), 59–71 (pp. 66, 71).

which has engendered this gloss, which can in turn only be fully interpreted by re-engendering the original oral discussion, which is difficult. In other words, in the present case, the parameters of Wieland's arguments are not quite met: something crucial has been lost in the transfer of the master's discussion to parchment.

[half a line gap in the manuscript]

Extracts Group 2

[fol. 106ᵛᵃ, l. 5] SOLVbillimu*m* nodu*m* questionis a uob*is* propos*ita*e. colloquialis interrogatio reddidit insolubile*m*. sine litera'riis p*ro*lata ponderib*us*. Scribatur itaq*ue* p*ro*positionis si tam*en* u*est*rae non displicet amplitudini[77] textus. quaten*us* uniuscuiusq*ue* sermonis euisceratis syllabatim latibulis. quid obici possit. et quid obiectionibus responderi. remotis interim rethoric*a*e libris intueatur. Nam si iuxta presentium latoris relationem mulieris mariticid*a*e si tam*en* analogic*a*e dici potest concessa licentia fuerit adquerendi rem una*m* ex om*n*ibus qu*a*e sibi placuerint. fortassis imperatoris exiget quasi rationabili interfectione*m*. per quem lex enecationis est p*ro*mulgata. u*el* eiusdem legis [78]postulabit cassatione*m*. q*uo*d om*n*ino ridiculum est. Sin u*er*o nequaquam ei licuerit impetrare quicquid passim. sed quicquid legalit*er* postulauerit. Q*uonia*m lex sibimet *e*sse contraria nullaten*us* ualet. ea petat mulier qu*a*e legi contraria non sunt. Nam suimet ipsius uita*m* quam legale p*ro*pt*er* maritale*m* int*er*fectione*m* condemnat examen. impetrare nullomodo quibit. Sed nec illius erit immunis ab interitu filius occiso qui tyranno p*ro*ximior. *secu*n*d*um non bene p*ro*lata*m* lege*m* p*er*himendus addicit*ur*. His ergo postulationib*us* exceptis. Id petat mulier q*uo*d petendu*m* est. quo accepto deducatur ad mortem. Scriptum quippe est. tyrann*us* sulpicius a seruo suo p*ro*ditus est p*ro*stratus. quem p*ro* eo q*uo*d hostem indicauerat manumitti. p*ro* eo u*er*o q*uo*d d*omi*nu*m* suu*m* p*ro*diderat. saxo tarpeio deici legalit*er* consules decreuerunt.

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[77] The word appears to have been emended from 'amplitudinis', with deletion dots around the final *s*.

[78] The original prefix *pro* has been deleted.

An oral investigation put forward without the authority of letters [i.e., unwritten] has rendered the highly soluble node of the question you have proposed insoluble. And so let a text of the proposition be written, if it does not displease your greatness, so that, with the hiding places of each speech teased out syllable by syllable, what can be objected and what can be replied to what is objected can be closely considered, with the books of rhetoric removed meanwhile. For if, according to the report of the bearer of these present matters, licence to acquire one thing from all those things which please her has been conceded to the female husband-killer[79] (if one can speak analogously),[80] she will perhaps demand as if [it were a] reasonable[81] [thing], the slaying of the emperor, through whom the law of slaying [that is, of a tyrant] was promulgated, or else she will demand the nullification of the same law, which is entirely ridiculous. But if it is by no means permitted to her to demand whatever [she wishes] indiscriminately, but [only] what she can demand legally, since the law can in no way be contrary to itself, [then] let the woman seek those things which are not contrary to the law. For in no way can she request her own life, which legal trial condemns on account of her slaying of her husband. But neither will her son be immune from death, who, as next of kin to the slain tyrant, is sentenced to perish according to the unfairly proclaimed law. With these demands excepted, therefore, let the woman seek what she must, and, when she has received her request, let her be led to death. For it is written: the tyrant Sulpicius has been killed, betrayed by his own slave, whom the consuls legally decreed should be freed because he had pointed out an enemy, but whom, because he had betrayed his own master, they decreed should be thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

With regard to the phrase: 'rem una*m* ex om*n*ib*u*s qu*a*e sibi placuerint', Winterbottom cites *De inventione*, II. 49. 144, 'quam volet rem'. He also notes that the story of Sulpicius is added as a parallel for such a case of conflict of laws, and suggests that the place where the details not found in the *Ad Herennium* are taken from might be Valerius Maximus 6. 5. 7: 'Sulpicium Rufum [...] a servo proditum comperisset, manumissum parricidam [...] praecipitari

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[79] Reading 'mulieri' for 'mulieris'.

[80] That is, having coined the term *mariticida* (husbandicide), on the analogy of *matricida* (matricide).

[81] Reading 'rationabiliter' (or 'rationabilis'?) for 'rationabili'.

protinus saxo Tarpeio [...]'.[82] Sulpicius was not a 'tyrant': see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 1023, and *Ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Caplan, p. 48, n. 'a'. Winterbottom considers this text to represent the solution in writing of a problem that had been raised and found to be insoluble when discussed in conversation ('colloquialis'). The solution is given the form of a letter (written with *cursus*) to the grand person ('uestrae amplitudini')[83] who had raised the issue ('a uobis propositae'), and had presumably taken part in the unsuccessful conversation. To a third person, the bearer of the present letter ('presentium latoris'), is attributed the erroneous view that the woman could ask for anything at all she wished. But it is this erroneous view that causes the problem; if we assume that she could only ask for something legally permitted to her, then there is no difficulty. Winterbottom finds this extract to be very different from what precedes it and suggests that it might perhaps have been grouped with it because of its relationship with the *De inventione*.

Extracts Group 3

[fol. 106va, l. 39] Si sententi*ae* circumstantia nihil aliud nisi q*uo*d hic eloqui*tur* Indicat. p*ro*fecto mirabillimu*m* erit si u*el* unus pre Iudiciu*m* passus fuerit. P*ro*p*ter* q*uod* mortis periculu*m* formidando reuersurus[84] ad hora discessit. u*el* alt*er* parte*m* [fol. 106vb] amittat p*ro*pria*m*. q*ui*a casu uulneratus. min*us* naualib*us* instrumentis fuerit suffragatus. Illi u*er*o qui moriturus marinis indiscriminib*us* es*s*et. nisi nauigantes eu*m* eruerent. Conueniens utiq*ue* fuit ut p*ro* adquisito munere uit*ae*. p*ro*prias in eruendo nauigium immo semetipsum uires nauit*er* exerceret.[85]

If the circumstances of the judgement indicate nothing other than is here stated, it will assuredly be a most wondrous thing if either the one person will have suffered an anticipatory sentence because, out of the fear of the

[82] Shackleton Bailey, II, 61.

[83] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900–2005), I, 33–45: 'amplitudo'.

[84] The manuscript here seems to have read originally 'reversuru*m*' with the *m* suspended. Subsequently, however, the suspension sign for *m* seems to have had a deletion dot added beside it (at the right) and a terminal *s* added to replace the suspended *m*.

[85] This was corrected to 'exerciret'? A superscript *i* has been added, but there is no deletion of the *e*.

danger of death he departed though intending to return before long, or that the other should lose his own part since, as he was wounded by chance, he was less help with the naval apparatus. But for the one who was about to die in the marine perils had not the sailors plucked him out, it was especially appropriate that in return for acquiring the gift of his life, he should indeed have diligently applied his own strength, in rescuing the vessel or rather, himself.

Winterbottom considers the author of Extracts group 3 to be the same as of the previous group of extracts (taking into consideration the 'portentous superlatives' *solubillimum* and *mirabillimum*) even though he notes that the two pieces do not go together. I myself find the sudden insertion of such a passage as Extracts group 2 into what is otherwise a series of ordinary statements or discussions (fragments of a 'commentary' or *reportatio* of classroom lectures) quite remarkable. It is the kind of insertion that would not take place in later 'fully literate' texts. The following comment by Jaeger is also relevant here: 'Eleventh- and early twelfth-century school life was a literary-poetic as opposed to an analytical-philosophical culture of learning. That culture required a literature of examples, not texts that posed problems for solving and for rational penetration'.[86] The scribe may not have fully understood what the text he was copying out actually meant. It would appear as though the teacher had chosen to resort to a written version of a delivered *controversia* or series thereof, on such topics as the conflict of laws: (i) a law proclaims that a tyrannicide shall have what he/she wishes; a woman married to a tyrant, slays him and demands the emperor's death (the emperor having been the one who proclaimed the law regarding tyrannicides in the first place — there is no reference to any 'emperor' at *De inventione*, II. 49. 144), or the preservation of her own life (which rightfully should be forfeit for slaying her husband), or that of her son (who, as the next tyrant, is liable to death: see *De inventione*, II. 49. 144: 'Tyranno occiso quinque eius proximos cognatione magistratus necato [...] sunt qui ex lege occidi puerum dicant oportere'); (ii) a slave deserves both manumission and death at the same time; (iii) some issue involving naval personnel, supplies, ships, and rescues: see *Ad Herennium*, I. 11. 19, *De inventione*, II. 51. 153–54, Fortunatianus, *Artis Rhetoricae libri tres*, ed. by Halm, pp. 100–01, ed. by Calboli Montefusco, pp. 102–03, and Grillius ed. by Jakobi, p. 80. Hilbert Chiu draws my attention to the 'De lege Rodia de iactu'

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[86] Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 128.

(the Rhodian law of Jettison) in *The Digest of Justinian*,[87] where Roman law in regard to ships and cargo is set out. Presumably these topics had come down to the eleventh-century classroom from sources such as the minor declamations of Quintilian, although there are many similarities between the illustration of conflict of laws in *De inventione*, II. 49. 144 (see Victorinus, pp. 297–98) and (i) above. In Cicero's text a woman who was married to and had a son by a tyrant, having killed the tyrant whilst in bed with him, demanded that the life of her son be spared according to the law that a tyrannicide shall ask the magistrate for whatever he [she] wishes. The case is rendered difficult by another law decreeing that when a tyrant has been slain the magistrate shall execute his five nearest relations. Issue (ii) seems to be related to the story about Publius Sulpicius included by the author of the *Ad Herennium* (I. 15. 25; see Caplan's note, p. 48), although the teacher in the present instance seems to have known both more and less than the *auctor ad Herennium*. Issue (iii) may also be related to the kind of illustration used in the *De inventione* under the heading of 'definitio', and in the *Ad Herennium* under the heading of 'ex scripto et sententia'. The text here seems at times to suggest the latter context ('sententia', 'perterriti') and at times the former ('hominem ad se sustulerunt'). It is clear, however, that Extracts group 3 are part of a classroom discussion of the *De inventione* example since they clearly refer to the text 'cum idem gubernator esset, in scapham confugeret' (in the gloss 'unus pre iudicium passus fuerit') and the text 'ille autem cuius merces erant' (in the gloss 'uel alter partem amittat'). The same example is foregrounded in the text of Fortunatianus (see Calboli Montefusco, *Consulti Fortunatiani, Ars Rhetorica,* pp. 336–37) and Grillius (ed. by Jakobi, p. 80). The meaning of 'pre iudicium' is unclear. In classical Latin it technically indicated a kind of pretrial, before the main trial, if some matter was in doubt and had to be settled before proceedings could properly begin (see Justinian, *Digest*, 40. 14. 6, where the status of the freedman is insufficiently clear to begin the trial, or 22. 3. 18). This is how it is used in the *De inventione* itself (at II. 20. 60, where the issue is translative and legal-technical); is our scribe aware of this meaning and is he implying that the status of the *dominus/gubernator* would have to be established by *praeiudicium* with possible translative implications? It is not impossible that the technical meaning is intended here, the idea being that the status of the persons involved in the claims trial would need to be clarified, but it would argue,

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[87] Latin text ed. by Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger, trans. by Alan Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 419–22.

perhaps, a rather precocious knowledge of Roman law. Nevertheless, in view of the usage in the *De inventione* itself, which is after all the text being 'glossed' in these extracts, this seems likely and interesting. The term can also, of course, mean a judgement prior to the proper time (see Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 3. 40) as well as its more usual senses (damage, prejudice, preceding judgement).[88]

Conclusion

It is clear that all three of these sets of extracts concern close discussion of Victorinus, the *De inventione*, and the *Ad Herennium* in a classroom atmosphere, with an emphasis upon general philosophical and behavioural or moral topics,[89] and upon the technicalities of classical rhetorical theory.[90] Yet this didactic text does not make clear the full context of the extracts or passages it presents, nor does it specify the relationship between the extracts or passages selected for presentation and those not selected, that is, between what is included in the gloss and what is not included. Hence the remarks of Jaeger cited above seem very apposite. The exact nature of the training offered and the audience for it is unclear. Nevertheless, the sources drawn upon, however garbled, seem to run outside and beyond what we know of the rhetorical curriculum of the time (or later). The references to Oedipus, Callias, Demosthenes, and Sulpicius (or an action of 'preiudicium'?) are not standard aspects of the rhetorical curriculum, nor is their use obvious in earlier medieval texts. Indeed, they may remind the reader of the flavour of a fragment that Pierre Courcelle ascribed (probably incorrectly) to Grillius.[91] Further, slight traces of the teacher's own language, approach, and methods seem to remain in the extracts presented here. As such, our 'didactic' text gives a tantalizing insight into the surprisingly rich classroom resources in the liberal art of rhetoric prior to the emergence of extensive texts testifying more fully to these resources. It may even be suggested that an education

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[88] See *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 1433a.

[89] Extracts group 1: 105vb, ll. 19, 26, 28, 30, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41; 106ra, ll. 2, 13; 106rb, ll. 14, 27(?), 28, 31, 34.

[90] Extracts group 1: 105vb, l. 42; 106ra, ll. 4, 8, 19, 22, 27, 32, 34, 36, 39; 106rb, ll. 3, 5, 10, 13; and Extracts groups 2 and 3.

[91] Pierre Courcelle, 'Pages inédits de Grillius sur le *De inventione*', *Revue de Philologie*, 29 (1955), 34–38. On this see the appendix to *The Rhetoric of Cicero* (see n. 29, above).

in rhetoric in the eleventh century provided a kind of 'master training', introducing students to instruction under the headings of morality, behaviour, language, the technicalities of the art of communication as found in the classical treatises, and relevant aspects of legal discussions of the time (conflict of laws, letter and intent, and similar topics). In the course of this instruction, some acquaintance with classical literary texts was provided. How such instruction related to the liberal arts curriculum of later times must await further research into the commentaries of that period.

MASTER VACARIUS, SPERONI, AND HERESY: LAW AND THEOLOGY AS DIDACTIC LITERATURE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Jason Taliadoros

In the last quarter of the twelfth century, the renowned English jurist (and lesser-known theologian) Master Vacarius (*c.* 1115x20–*c.* 1200) composed a didactic tract concerning the errors in religious beliefs of a friend, Hugo Speroni. Vacarius's treatise, the *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*, demonstrates its author's expertise in law and theology — disciplines that he assiduously applied to convince Speroni of the error of his ways. The *Liber contra* stands as an example of a didactic text applied to conflict resolution in the mid to later twelfth century, a method of instruction combining the recently revived interest in Roman law, the post-Gratian systematization of canon law, and the scholastic discipline of *theologia*.

Master Vacarius is best known for his introduction of the revived study of Continental Roman law into Angevin England at the time of King Stephen and his Plantagenet successors. His *Liber pauperum*, a collection of extracts from the *Digest* and *Code* designed for use by students unable to afford the bulky and expensive codices containing these seminal Roman law texts, became the basis for law teaching in Oxford in the early decades of the thirteenth century. His *Lectura Institutionum*, perhaps composed by a student from his lectures in the early thirteenth century, is a *vade mecum* to the introductory textbook on Roman law, the *Institutes*. While the location and exact timing of Vacarius's legal teaching is a matter of debate, his periods of service in the ecclesiastical courts of Canterbury (*c.* 1145–49) and York (*c.* 1149–*c.* 1200) are not: it is clear that he was a colleague and friend of some of the leading lights of the twelfth century, including John of Salisbury, Theobald of Canterbury, Gilbert Foliot, and Thomas á Becket. A collection of supra-legal treatises also flowed from

Vacarius's stylus: a short treatise on Christology (*Tractatus de assumpto homine*), a work from the same manuscript on marriage formation (*Summa de matrimonio*), and the *Liber contra*. These last works reveal Vacarius as a man who skipped between the intellectual boundaries of law and theology.[1]

The *Liber contra* survives in a unique manuscript, MS Chigiano A.V. 156, in the Vatican Library, and has been edited by Ilarino da Milano. He dated its composition just prior to 1177, when Vacarius was still at work in Archbishop Roger of York's household. This date is based on the lack of reference to Pope Alexander III's important 1177 decretals on the *aliquid est* issue, a topic of discussion in relation to christological issues in the last part of the treatise.[2] Supporting a later date after 1177 but before 1185, however, Nikolaus M. Häring and others suggest that the text coincides with the period in which the Speronists 'flourished' as a known heretical movement.[3] The former position seems the more likely. Vacarius, a papal judge delegate seven times between 1176 and 1180, was a conservative man and deeply respectful of papal politics. He was therefore unlikely to debate a matter such as the hypostatic union, itself the subject of papal decretals, without reference to such papal authority. Against the later date, Speroni and his ideas, as will be discussed below, were at this time clearly still a 'work-in-progress', and the Speronist movement was yet to reach the stage where it was recognized by the church as an officially proscribed popular heresy.[4]

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[1] Jason Taliadoros, *Law and Theology in Twelfth-Century England*, Disputatio, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

[2] Ilarino da Milano, *L'eresia di Ugo Speroni nella confutazione del maestro Vacario: Testo inedito del secolo XII con studio storico e dottrinale*, Studi e Testi, 115 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945), pp. 345–46. Leonard Boyle similarly suggests a date after 1170: 'The Beginnings of Legal Studies at Oxford', *Viator*, 14 (1983), 107–31 (p. 115). Lauge Olaf Nielsen and Stan Ebbesen point to several works on the *assumptus homo* (i.e., the christological issue) composed subsequent to Alexander's decretals, on which basis they assert that Alexander III's decretals did not definitively settle the issue between 1170–77: 'Texts Illustrating the Debate about Christology in the Wake of Alexander III's Condemnation', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen âge grec et latin*, 66 (1996), 217–51.

[3] Häring, 'The "Tractatus De Assumpto Homine" by Magister Vacarius', *Mediaeval Studies*, 21 (1958–59), 147–75 (p. 149, nn. 17–18); da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 59, 75; *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. by Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 152, 634. Peter Stein also gives a date of 'the 1170s or 1180s' in his introduction to Francis De Zulueta and Stein, *The Teaching of Roman Law in England around 1200* (London: Selden Society, 1990), p. xxv.

[4] Vacarius labels Speroni a 'heretic' only once in the treatise: Master Vacarius, *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*, in da Milano, *L'eresia di Ugo Speroni nella confutazione del maestro Vacario*, pp. 471–583 (§31 [V-5], p. 569). Hereafter references are to da Milano's edition, utilizing

As is related in the prologue to the *Liber contra*, Speroni had sent Vacarius a letter, no longer extant, in which he set out his ideas of a new religious schema. It is to these ideas that Vacarius's *Liber contra* provides a direct refutation.[5] It would appear that Speroni related his radical ideas to Vacarius because of their friendship. In the opening to the *Liber contra*, Vacarius greets Speroni as a onetime friend and associate: 'To Hugo Speroni, erstwhile companion and friend, Master Vacarius sends his greetings […]. I cannot bring myself to believe that you have forgotten that fraternal bond and fond friendship.'[6] He recalls their times as students together when they shared lodgings, and when Speroni used to trust his affairs to the more senior Vacarius, probably when they studied Justinianic Roman law together in the schools at Bologna.[7] It seems that Speroni studied law there around 1145,[8] while Vacarius would have studied a generation earlier in the early 1130s; thus Vacarius may have been a master of Speroni and this is how they came to share lodgings. The relationship of mentor-pupil, and their interest in Justinianic Roman law, no doubt prompted Speroni to confide in Vacarius his challenging vision of a religious revolution. Their common grounding in the Justinianic Roman law becomes apparent as Vacarius frequently relies on analogies from this juristic background and assumes Speroni's knowledge of it throughout the treatise. The intellectual friendship between the two is apparent in the tone of the work. Yet it is also significant that Vacarius signs himself 'dictus magister' in his salutation to Speroni, which he does not do in any of his other works, insisting in this way on his didactic status as 'master'.

Hugo Speroni was a prominent Piacenzan businessman and citizen from an aristocratic family who held consular office in that city between 1165 and 1167. Scholars have pointed to his involvement in litigation on riparian rights

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his paragraph (§) and page numbers. References to the prologue of the text use capital letters in square brackets, e.g. [A]. All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

[5] 'Multa enim contra Ecclesiam proponis in quodam libro, quem Leonardus, nepos meus, mihi tuo nomine tradidit. Quem legi et iterum et iterum relegi. Et cum in eo quedam egregie scripta inveniuntur, plurima postea repperi que quamvis bona sint et vera, quorundam tamen falsorum adictione corrumpuntur et inutilia sunt; maxime quia ad improbum finem revertuntur et deducuntur': Prologue, [A], p. 475.

[6] 'Hugoni Sperono, quondam socio et amico suo, Vacarius, dictus magister, salutem […]. Nolo te credere me oblivioni tradidisse fraternam societatis et familiaritatis dilectionem': Prologue, [A], p. 475.

[7] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 81.

[8] *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 152.

against the monks of St Julia at Brescia as sowing the seeds for his eventual antichurch and anticlerical heresy.[9] But, by 1177, when Vacarius composed his treatise, Speroni was not yet a recognized heretic. Even though the *Ab abolendam* of 1184 implicitly proscribed his ideas, neither he nor his followers were explicitly identified.[10] Several generations later, they did face direct condemnation by Frederick II in 1220, and in 1229 they were the object of a bull of excommunication from Pope Gregory IX.[11] By 1235 they were still sufficiently visible to be denounced by a Catholic writer in Piacenza.[12] The name of Speroni continued to occur regularly in official pronouncements for the remainder of the century, for example in the anonymous polemical text of 1235–38 called *Summa contra haereticos*.[13]

[9] For historiography on Speroni, see da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 60 n. 1; and Massimiliano Guareschi, 'Ugo Speroni e la tradizione storiografica', in *Storia ereticale e anti-ereticale del medioevo,* ed. by Grado Giovanni Merlo (Torre Pellice: Società di studi valdesi, 1997), pp. 24–48, especially p. 45, n. 102. For studies on the impact of this litigation on Speroni's antichurch views, see Pierre Racine, *Plaisance du Xᵉ à la fin du XIIIᵉ: Essai d'histoire urbaine* (Lille: Atelier reproduction de thèses, Université de Lille III, 1980), pp. 333–40, 355, 384, 392–93; Racine, 'Il movimento ereticale', in *Storia di Piacenza* (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmo di Piacenza, 1980–2003), II: *Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996–1313)*, ed. by Piero Castignoli and Maria Angiola Romanini (1984), pp. 375–90; Racine, 'La société piacentine au temps de la paix de Constance', in *La Pace di Costanza, 1183: un difficile equilibrio di poteri fra società italiana ed impero*, Studi e testi di storia medioevale, 8 (Bologna: Cappelli, 1984), pp. 119–33; E. Nasalli Rocca, 'Dottrine ereticali in Piacenza nei secoli XII e XIII', *Bolletino storico piacentino*, 42 (1947), 1–9; and *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 29.

[10] '[W]e include in the same perpetual anathema, all who shall have presumed to preach, either publicly or privately, either being forbidden, or not sent, or not having the authority of the Apostolic See, or of the bishop of the diocese; and also all who presume to think, or to teach, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the baptism, or of the remission of sins, or of matrimony, or of the other sacraments of the church, otherwise than as the Holy Roman Church teaches and observes': Pope Lucius III, *Ab abolendam*, in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation*, ed. and trans. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 170–72 (p. 171).

[11] Guareschi, 'Tradizione storiografica', p. 25, nn. 6–7.

[12] Salvo Burci, a noble layman of Piacenza, composed a polemic in 1235 against heretics in that city, called *Liber supra Stella* (*The Higher Star*), which made reference to Speroni beginning the sect fifty years earlier, i.e., in 1185: see *Liber suprastella/Salvo Burci; edizione critica e commento storico*, ed. by Caterina Bruschi (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2002), p. 112.

[13] The *Summa contra haereticos* described the Speronists' errors as comprising: original sin as residing 'only in the flesh, not in the soul'; 'that before the advent of Christ, good men ascended into glory'; their rejection of the Eucharist in similar manner to the 'Patarines'; and other 'common errors [...] in Book III': see *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 276. The editors

Speroni and his ideas were little known or understood before da Milano's edition of Vacarius's *Liber contra*, and subsequent scholarship on either man has failed to provide any detailed study of the legal-theological elements in the Speroni-Vacarius dialogue.[14] Da Milano focused on the theological implications of Speroni's ideas, particularly his unique ideas on predestination, possibly to the detriment of the historical context informing these theological debates.[15] Herbert Grundmann, following this approach, understood Speroni in the context of the twelfth-century apostolic 'movement' for religious reform, with antisacerdotalism as its driving force, leading to an extreme theological position on predestination.[16] This zealousness manifested itself either in the heresy of the Cathars, Poor Lombards, and Waldensians, or in the orthodoxy and relative safety of the reformist tendencies of the Franciscans and Cistercians.[17] But proceeding from Johannes Fried's consideration of Speroni as 'citizen and legist' in terms of his engagement in the legal, political, and social issues confronting twelfth-century Lombard Italy,[18] Massimiliano Guareschi has concluded that Vacarius and Speroni were representative of a group of intellectuals who combined

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suggest these 'common errors' were: 1) that the Roman Church does not possess the true faith, which exists only in the heretics' church and comes from God and the apostles; 2) that a wicked priest cannot fulfil his office; 3) that oaths are forbidden; 4) that temporal justice is against God's will; and 5) that purgatory does not exist: see *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 735, n. 43; see also pp. 29, 152.

[14] See Guareschi's comprehensive survey of the historiography in 'Tradizione storiografica', pp. 42–48.

[15] An example is da Milano's concluding remarks on Speroni's ideas of a fixed state of predestination as bringing salvific justification; he notes its uniqueness in the twelfth century, but its similarity with the Protestantism of Luther and Calvin: see *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 200–01.

[16] 'Nuovi contributi alla storia dei movimenti religiosi', in *Movimenti religiosi nel medioevo*, ed. by Herbert Grundmann (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), pp. 446–65; Herbert Grundmann, *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), p. 20. See also Raffaello Morghen, 'L'eresia nel medioevo', in Morghen, *Medioevo cristiano*, 2nd edn (Rome: Laterza, 1987), pp. 189–249.

[17] Giovanni Miccoli, 'La storia religiosa', in *Storia d'Italia*, 6 vols in 10 (Torino: Einaudi, 1972–76), II, pt 1: *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII* (1974), pp. 647–48; Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation,* 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 81–82. Lambert notes that both Cathars and Waldensians had their origins in a 'lay' heresiarch.

[18] Johannes Fried, *Die Entstehung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1974), p. 67.

the disciplines of theology and Justinianic Roman law, possibly representing the hermeneutic of the 'Justinianic Roman law theologian'.[19] In this they were unique among twelfth-century civilian lawyers, who, as a rule, were narrowly confined to their *leges* and not engaged in canon law or theology.[20] This chapter, building on Guareschi's tentative findings, will demonstrate that Vacarius's mode of argument employs orthodox scriptural exegesis, Roman law analogies, Roman and canon law normative precepts, orthodox theological reasoning, and dialectical disputation, including logic in particular. It is a didactic text that showcases the methods of the lawyer-theologian.

Although the *Liber contra* is ostensibly directed to Speroni alone, the intended audience is seemingly broader. Following the prologue, in which Vacarius directly names Speroni, he continues to addresses his former colleague in the second-person singular, but it seems likely that Speroni's co-religionists were also the target. Da Milano notes that what is now the unique manuscript of the *Liber contra* had been transcribed (imperfectly) from another manuscript, indicating that the *Liber contra* existed and was disseminated via several copies.[21] Although such evidence of manuscript survival is notoriously unreliable,[22] the internal evidence of the *Liber contra* also supports the existence of a more general readership. The comprehensive and exhaustive coverage of potential points of error and the clearly defined structure indicate that it was intended to instruct Speroni as well as others; it was no mere private letter between friends. It is akin to the genre of 'apologetics' handbooks' such as Alain de Lille's *Contra haereticos*.[23]

This further problematizes the extent to which Vacarius's treatise may be defined as 'didactic'. While clearly designed to teach and instruct, it is also 'apologetic', that is a 'formal apology for, or defence of, a person, doctrine, course of action' and 'polemic' in the sense that it is characterized by a 'controversial

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[19] Massimiliano Guareschi, 'Gli incontri di un canonico legista. Magister Vacarius teologo e polemista', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religioso*, 36 (2000), 381–414 (p. 390). Guareschi notes, however, that there could be no paradigmatic value to Vacarius and Speroni in the sense of promoting a 'school' of such civilian-theologians, since they were not emulated by others.

[20] Guareschi, 'Tradizione storiografica', p. 47.

[21] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 6, 15.

[22] On the survival of medieval manuscripts, see Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Introduction', in the present volume, and Steven J. Williams, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets* as a Didactic Text', in the present volume.

[23] *Patrologiae cursus completus [...] Series Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), CCX, cols 306–430; hereafter cited as PL.

argument or discussion'. These descriptors need not be mutually exclusive, however. The didactic nature of Vacarius's text becomes evident when we examine its responses to Speroni. From Vacarius's account, it would appear that Speroni formulated a religious heresy which centred on a concept of predestination by which salvation and justification were confined to those who, through the foreordination/predestination of God, possessed an inner holiness or purity, a state attainable neither by good works nor sacraments. As a consequence, Speroni denied the validity of the sacraments, particularly baptism, the Eucharist, and confession; he also rejected the sacrament of holy orders and the priesthood because, he insisted, all priests were bound by sin (or 'indelibly stained by sin'), so that they defiled rather than sanctified whatever they touched.[24] Vacarius's *Liber contra* is a refutation of the unorthodox ideas of his younger friend couched in the language of gentle reproval. The gentle tone is replaced only occasionally with a more urgent and strident attitude. Throughout, however, Vacarius deals with Speroni's ideas systematically: he begins with a brief summary of the offensive concept, along with its scriptural 'authority', then he provides a rebuttal argument, also based on scriptural authority as well as implicit patristic authority. The explicitness of this dialectic structure has enabled the editor to break down each of Speroni's and Vacarius's arguments by *capitula* and subsection.[25]

Vacarius begins the prologue to the *Liber contra* outlining the three sacramental matters that will dominate the work, namely holy orders, baptism, and the Eucharist.[26] Underpinning these matters, however, Vacarius notes Speroni's idiosyncratic notion that justification will take place by predestination alone, without the need for good works.[27] In addition, he sets out Speroni's flawed understanding of who could be a Christian and the inefficacy of ecclesiastical orders and institutions.[28] The body of the *Liber contra* discusses these ideas in more

[24] *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 29.

[25] The editor, da Milano, provides Roman numerals for Speroni's ideas (e.g. §19 [I]) and Arabic numerals for Vacarius's responses (e.g. §19 [1]); see *Ugo Speroni*, p. 13.

[26] On priests, see Prologue, [B]–[C], pp. 475–76, and [F]–[G], pp. 478–79; on baptism, Prologue, [D], p. 477; and on the Eucharist, Prologue, [E]–[F], pp. 477–79.

[27] On predestination, see Prologue, [C], p. 476; on predestination vis-à-vis works, Prologue, [H]–[I], pp. 480–81.

[28] On religiosity, see Prologue, [G], p. 479; on orders and institutions, Prologue, [G], pp. 479–80.

detail, although considerable overlap and repetition occur as a result of Vacarius taking an argument-by-argument approach to the ideas of Speroni's nonextant piece, rather than a thematic one. The treatise comprises thirty-two capitula, of which twelve (including the first eight) relate to 'unworthy' priests,[29] thirteen to baptism,[30] six to the Eucharist,[31] and the final one to Christology.[32] Discussion of the sacraments of confession, baptism, and the Eucharist occupies all but seven sections of the treatise while justification takes up eight.[33]

Predestination

From this outline it is clear that the issue on which Vacarius is most insistent on instructing and correcting Speroni via the legal-theological discourse of the *Liber contra* is the latter's misunderstanding of predestination as a fixed and immutable state. Speroni argued that 'only the pure could be purified'.[34] He explained this in the context of justification, or remission of sins,[35] that someone who 'desired' purity 'in his heart' was purified internally, even if that person were externally impure.[36] In Speroni's view, those few who were predestined to life 'inwardly', that is 'before God's eyes', had life, even if they were defiled amongst men for committing crimes:

[29] §1–8, pp. 483–99; §19–20, pp. 521–44; §26, pp. 552–53; §28, pp. 557–60.

[30] On baptism see §9, pp. 499–50; §11–13, pp. 502–13; §15, p. 516; §18, pp. 519–21; §31, pp. 565–72; on baptism (particularly of infants) and Original Sin, §16–17, pp. 517–19; §28, pp. 557–60; and on baptism and circumcision, §13, pp. 510–13; §18, pp. 519–21; §23, pp. 547–48.

[31] §10, pp. 501–02; §19–20, pp. 521–44.

[32] § 32, pp. 572–83.

[33] Four sections deal with justification and its relationship to predestination (§8, pp. 497–99; §12, pp. 506–10; §17, pp. 518–19; §31, pp. 565–72); four with its link to works (§24, pp. 548–50; §27, pp. 553–57; §30, pp. 562–65; §31, pp. 565–72). Much of the remainder of the treatise treats those who could be Christians (§21–22, pp. 544–47; §25, pp. 550–52); ecclesiastical orders and institutions (such as holy days: §27, pp. 553–57; buildings, bells, etc.: §19, pp. 521–31); confession (§31, pp. 565–o72); and the last section deals with Christology (§32, pp. 565–72).

[34] *Liber contra*, [C], p. 476; §8, p. 497.

[35] Philipp Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 160.

[36] 'Sed ego scio quid dices, scilicet quod secundum interiorem hominem aliquis est mundus, qui secundum exteriorem est immundus'; §8 [II], p. 498. See also: Prologue, [C], p. 476; §8 [I]–[III], pp. 497–99; §12 [I]–[IV], pp. 506–10.

> But inwardly, that is before God, they were pure, because, in his sight, those things that will be before us and will come to pass, His Most Highness sees them again as though they are present before Him.[37]

Speroni's perception of predestination as fixed has some similarity with Augustine's discussions of the 'elect' and considerations of grace, foreknowledge, and free will.[38] His stance on this issue was unique in twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century contemporary heresies: Heinrich Fichtenau depicts it as an autonomous intellectual development representative of the dynamic religiosity of the twelfth century; he claims Speroni did not seek the destruction of church institutions, but rather to bolster them.[39] In a similar vein, Grado Giovanni Merlo notes that Speroni did not espouse outward asceticism or apostolic poverty characteristic of many 'popular' twelfth-century religious movements such as Catharism or Waldensianism,[40] but instead an 'intellectual' interiority which presented a challenge to the intellectual dominance of the clergy.[41] Da Milano has drawn comparisons between Speroni's ideas and early-modern Reformed Churches, such as the Calvinist.[42]

Vacarius takes issue with Speroni's conception of predestination and utilizes legal and theological didactic techniques for this purpose. Vacarius refers to the Justinianic Roman concept of *manumissio testamento*, the liberation of a slave by operation of the last will of his master: just as the Passion of Christ was a precondition for mankind to be freed from sin, he explains, so the death of a master is required before a slave can become a freedman. In both cases, liberation exists simultaneously with the condition of slavery; liberation only arises in the

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[37] 'Intrinsecus autem, id est apud Deum, fuerant mundi, quia in conspectu suo Altissimus ea, que futura apud nos et que preterierunt, tamquam presentia respicit': §12 [I], p. 506.

[38] Augustine's position on predestination is far from simple; he opposed the Pelagian heresy, in which free will left no place for grace, but noted that free will had to be set free from sin by a preceding grace: see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new edition with epilogue (London: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 505–13.

[39] Heinrich Fichtenau, *Ketzer und Professoren: Häresie und Vernunftglaube in Hochmittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1993), pp. 149, 280; Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200*, trans. by Denise A. Kaiser (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 305–06.

[40] I use the phrase 'popular' in the sense of 'movements with a substantial following among laymen [...] [and] on a larger scale': see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 8.

[41] Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievali* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), pp. 63–67.

[42] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 200–02.

future after the death of the liberator.[43] In this way, according to Vacarius, the predestined do not have justice and sanctity simultaneously; justice they have from eternity, but sanctity they attain in time. At the heart of his account is the Augustinian definition of predestination as a 'preparation for grace' (*gratiae preparatio*), that is, as a step towards grace, rather than grace itself.[44]

Vacarius rejects Speroni's distinction between the 'interior' and 'exterior', that is the proposition that moral conduct and actions ('exterior') could be considered as unrelated to one's spiritual condition before God ('interior'). Such a distinction, he states, vitiates the indivisible unity of the individual.[45] Two opposing moral states cannot exist in the same person at the same time, without splitting or duplicating that person. This reluctance to distinguish the interior from the exterior person reflects the orthodox Augustinian understanding of predestination as requiring both divine action (the preparation of grace) and human free will in the performance of good works:[46] it is not enough merely to desire freedom from sin inwardly; one also has to stop sinning.[47] Emphasizing this orthodox understanding, Vacarius takes up Speroni's reference to the 'eternal present'. Far from validating a fixed state of purity, the 'eternal present' reveals that there are necessarily impure as well as pure people from before time, but those who were pure from before time are not necessarily pure thereafter.[48]

There is no shortage of scriptural support for Speroni's notion of interior justification. In particular, it seems he drew on the so-called 'Pastoral Letters' of Paul to Timothy and Titus.[49] These texts emphasize God's gratuitousness in

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[43] 'Hoc modo dicitur etiam libertas dari in testamento': §12 [4], p. 509

[44] 'Et quia predestinatio nichil est aliud quam gratie preparatio': §31 [4], p. 569.

[45] 'Iste namque divisus est, ut alius sit interior et alius exterior, cum in eodem homine mundicia et immundicia simul esse non possunt, sive corporales sint, nisi in homine uno duo homines sint, alter interius et alter exterius': *Liber contra*, §8 [2], pp. 498.

[46] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 196–97.

[47] 'Et si hec falsa sunt, constat quod non sufficit desiderium cessandi, nisi cesset adulter ab adulterio, ut sit mundus': §8 [1], p. 497.

[48] 'Secundum predicta itaque etiam in conspectu Dei simul mundi et immundi nece[s]sario fuerunt': §12 [4], p. 509.

[49] §12 [II–2], p. 507, quoting Titus 3. 5, 'not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us'; and §12 [IV], p. 508, quoting II Timothy 1. 8–10, 'Who hath delivered us and called us by his holy calling, not according to our own works, but according

election, while de-emphasizing the virtue of works. It is interesting that Paul's notion of justification is premised on a 'judicial' relationship, that is, with God judging man and the righteous being acquitted after such judgement.[50] Vacarius rejects Speroni's exegesis of these texts to the effect that 'only the pure are purified'. This is lacking 'in reason', he argues;[51] what else did 'to purify' (*mundare*) mean, than to render someone pure who was previously impure?[52] Implicitly then, the notion of a fixed state of interior perfection leading to salvation was flawed. At the heart of Speroni's claims was that the fulfilment of the 'law' required only love (*caritas*), and no other obligation.[53] Vacarius demonstrates, to the contrary, that the law requires works for its fulfilment.[54] The law referred to here is Scripture. Vacarius explains that although the New Law (New Testament) had freed humankind from the precepts of the Mosaic Law (Old Testament), it did not free them from the obligation to perform works; such works justified, and they proceeded from love (*caritas*), rather than the fear of the Old Law.[55] In contrast to Speroni's notion that one achieved justification interiorly within one's soul and by 'faith alone',[56] or by *caritas* alone, Vacarius stresses that interior faith alone does not achieve justice — but love in works does.[57] This is in conformity with Peter Lombard's restatement of the consensus position on faith

to his purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the times of the world'. There are other references: §[III], pp. 498–99 (Proverbs 22. 11); §12 [III], p. 508 (Ephesians 1. 3–5); and §12 [IV], p. 508 (Ephesians 2. 4–5).

[50] *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. by R. E. Brown and others (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1990), p. 1397.

[51] 'Quod solus mundus mundatur': rubric to §8, p. 497.

[52] 'Quid enim est mundare, nisi immundiciam removere, que immundum facit?': Prologue, [C], p. 476; 'Et adeo verum apparet esse hoc, quod immundi mundantur, ut ridiculum sit contradicere. Qui sunt enim qui magis indigeant mundari quam immundi?': §8 [1], p. 498.

[53] Prologue, [H], p. 480.

[54] 'Nam libertas, quae nobis datur per legem Ihesu Christi a servitute legis et operum eius non liberat, et non a servitute operum caritatis': Prologue, [H], p. 480.

[55] §24 [2], pp. 549–50; §27 [1–2], pp. 553–54.

[56] '*[E]x fide*', §24 [I], p. 548; see Galatians 3. 2: 'This only would I learn of you: Did you receive the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?'; and Romans 1. 17: 'For the justice of God is revealed therein, from faith unto faith, as it is written: *The just man liveth by faith*.'

[57] 'Et hoc est caritas, in qua iusticia est que iustificat': §24 [1], p. 549.

through works,[58] which included the concept that good works done before or without faith had no merit, while good works done in faith and love did have merit.[59]

Clergy

A further issue on which Vacarius finds it necessary to correct Speroni via his legal-theological treatise is the latter's opinion on the unworthiness of the church's clergy. Speroni's concept of inner justification inevitably led him to reject the need for clergy to assist in the salvific programme of mortal souls, and he set out the many and varied vices of priests.[60] Speroni's argument was that priests who possess moral defects should not and cannot be priests. His understanding was based on a literal reading of the Old Testament: certain defects in priests, Speroni implied, were akin to the vices which affected the priests of the Old Law, with the result that such priests were separated from God and were not priests.[61] Speroni says of such unworthy priests:

> From these things you may think that such priests would not be Christians; nor of the kingdom of Christ, nor of His house, nor of His city, nor of His fields nor of His pastures in any way. On account of this, they are not priests, but *thieves and robbers*; they are not watchmen but rather *blind*; not shepherds, but *rapacious wolves.*[62]

In this way Speroni showed his disdain for the priesthood as comprising persons unworthy to be clergy because of their corrupt qualities. Speroni lists the vices

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[58] Peter Lombard, *In Epistolam ad Romanos* 1.8–10, 3.19–4.8, PL, CXCI, cols 1322D–25A, 1358D–67D. For a bibliography of works dealing with the consensus position, see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1994), I, 214, n. 151.

[59] Peter Lombard, *Sententia* 3. d.23 c.3–c.6, c.8, d.25, d.25 c.3–c.4, in *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. by Ignatius C. Brady, 3rd rev. edn, 2 vols in 3 (Grottaferrata: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1971–81), II, pt 2, pp. 140–41, 142.

[60] 'In hoc titulo sacerdotum plura et varia vicia ostenduntur, videlicet ebrietas [...] et *avaricie* [...]. *Adulteris* etiam': §1, [I], p. 483.

[61] 'Primo plura et varia sacerdotum Veteris Legis vicia per Prophetas propones, per que vicia separabantur a Domino': Prologue, [B], p. 475.

[62] 'Ex his omnibus putas quod tales hodie neque sacerdotes sint neque christiani; nec de regno Christi, nec de domo, nec de civitate, nec de area, nec de pascuis eius sunt ullo modo. Ideo non sunt sacerdotes, sed *fures et latrones;* non *speculatores* sed econtra *ceci;* non pastores, sed *lupi rapaces*'; §1, [I], p. 484; see Isaiah 56. 10, John 10. 1, John 10. 8, and Matthew 7. 15.

which for him made priests unworthy: drunkenness (*ebrietas*),[63] fornication,[64] adultery,[65] greed or simony (*avaritia*),[66] false preaching,[67] dishonesty, thievery, homicidal tendencies, and mendacity (*periuria*).[68]

The anticlerical nature of Speroni's comments invite comparison with contemporary heresies of the twelfth century. Robert I. Moore and others suggest that Speronism 'revived' the heresy of Arnold of Brescia (*c.* 1100–55), who insisted on the right of lay preaching and advocated poverty as the essential condition of true priesthood.[69] Raoul Manselli too links Speronism to the urban antisacerdotalism popularized by Arnold's followers,[70] and there is evidence from local records to suggest that Speroni's heterodoxy proceeded from a long line of Piacenzan anticlericalism, possibly from Ghibelline antipapalism entrenched there.[71] In contrast to Speroni, however, Arnold's policy on anticlericalism was inextricably linked with a call for the delimitation of clerics' secular jurisdiction and replacement by a virtuous Roman secular state.[72] This is apparent in Otto von Freising's (1110–58) description of Arnold in his *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (composed 1155):

[63] §1 [I], p. 483.

[64] §9 [I], p. 499.

[65] §1 [I], pp. 483–84. Clergy who were ordained were not permitted to marry, although they were allowed to live in continence with those they had married prior to reaching the status of deacon. In this event, if they had sexual intercourse with another woman, their act was 'adultery'. In most instances, however, clergy above the rank of deacon were unmarried; in their case, sex with any woman constituted fornication.

[66] §1 [I], p. 483; §9 [I], p. 499.

[67] '[P]rophete enim *prophetabant* mendacium': §1 [I], p. 483; 'Et si rex potest esse hypocrita, cur non et sacerdos?': §9 [I], p. 499.

[68] 'Sive autem probus, sive improbus quis sit, sive fur et latro et adulter et homicida et periurus et avarus omnique vicio plenus': §1 [I], p. 484.

[69] Robert I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977; repr. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 226–27; Raniero Orioli, 'Le correnti spirituali del regno d'Italia', *Bulletino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivo muratoriano*, 96 (1990), 290–91.

[70] 'Profilo della storia religiosa italiana del XI secolo', in Manselli, *Il secolo XII: religione popolare ed eresia* (Rome: Jouvence, 1983), pp. 311–31.

[71] Guareschi, 'Tradizione storiografica', p. 42, n. 91; see also Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 81–82.

[72] Peters, *Heresy and Authority*, p. 78.

> For he used to say that neither clerics who owned property, nor bishops that had regalia, nor monks with possessions could in any wise be saved. All these things belong to the *prince*, and should be bestowed of his beneficence for the use of the laity only [...]. Wherefore he advocated that [...] [n]othing in the administration of the city was the concern of the Roman pontiff; the ecclesiastical courts should be enough for him.[73]

The Waldensians, whose interpretation of the Gospels not only sought a purification and apostolicization of the church clergy, but went further in espousing lay preaching and absolute clerical poverty, also differed from Speroni. Speroni did not advocate any ideal of preaching nor spreading the Gospels; in addition, he made no proscriptions on property or marriage.[74] These features of Speroni's ideas also distinguish him from any apparent identification with the Humiliati, the urban lay movement in Italy after 1179 which unsuccessfully sought papal approval for their desire to lead a life in community preaching the Gospels, living in poverty, and placing an absolute ban on oaths.[75]

Vacarius responds to Speroni's controversial ideas on the clergy with a legal distinction. To speak of the unworthiness of a priest is to refer to the merit of the life of the priest, not to his right to office (*ius officii*).[76] Such a distinction had been drawn by Augustine, although Vacarius fails to tell his reader this.[77] Gratian also observed this separation, but decretists such as Rufinus further refined and clarified understandings of the legal distinction in the context of the election of bishops.[78] Although a priest may be impure (*immundus*) in committing criminal acts such as stealing, Vacarius explains, he remains a priest until he is legitimately removed for a proper reason (*ex iusta causa*).[79] The priesthood, Vacarius reminds his readers, is a legal office (*officium*); as such it is exercised by a person without reference to any natural or moral quality in

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[73] Otto von Freising, *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, in Peters, *Heresy and Authority* (see n. 10, above), pp. 79–80 (my emphasis added).

[74] A feature noted in *Summa contra haereticos*, in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 276.

[75] Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250–c. 1450*, 1 vol. in 2 (New York: Manchester University Press, 1967), II, 453.

[76] '[N]otando persone meritum, non ius officii': §1[3], p. 487; see also 'tales asseruit non esse sacerdotes, non propter ius ipsum officii, sed propter meritum persone': §1 [3], p. 486.

[77] Augustine and Gratian drew this distinction when referring to priests' ability to confer the sacraments: see my discussion below on the 'Sacramental power of the clergy'.

[78] Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 51.

[79] Prologue, [B], p. 476; §1 [3], p. 486.

that person.[80] The priesthood, like the offices of *procurator* (a litigation representative) and *dispensator* (an administrator), even a debtor[81] or a *tutor* (guardian),[82] which were all recognized at Justinianic Roman law, has a legal existence external and independent of the person occupying that office.[83] None could leave their 'office' because of moral unworthiness, but only by legal process. Further, he notes, a priest is the name of an office, which office is recognized in Scripture.[84] In this way, Vacarius distinguishes the right of office (*ius officium*) from the personal merit of the person in office (*meritum personae*).

Vacarius responds to Speroni's arguments that an unworthy priest does not 'enter the sheepfold by the door' and is therefore a 'thief and robber' (John 10. 1), not a priest. Speroni's argument here was that such priests used their power illicitly and, therefore, had no priestly power.[85] Vacarius distinguishes *potentia* and *potestas*. The latter, he observes, is a power recognized at law and legitimate, while the former is *de facto* and without sanction.[86] This use of power was not made illegitimate by the personal attributes of the person wielding such power, but by the extent to which that person was legitimately installed in power. Again, decretists made much of this distinction in the context of bishops' elections: they were concerned to separate the election of a bishop to office from the valid exercise of the power of that office following confirmation of the election.[87] Vacarius's distinction between the person and

[80] 'Non enim ex eo ipso sacerdos vel pastor est aliquis, quod ipse est homo, vel quod boni vel mali meriti est; sed quod legitime ordinatus est': §1 [1], p. 484.

[81] '[D]ebitor officii remanet obligatus': §1 [3], p. 486; § 4, p. 486. Da Milano too notes the similarity between this concept of duty of fulfilment and that concept as it was set out in the *Digest*: 'Qui mandatum suscepit, si potest id explere, deserere promissum officium non debet, alioquin quanti mandatoris intersit damnabitur': *Digest*, 17, 1, 27, 2; see da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 150, n. 1.

[82] §1 [3], p. 486.

[83] §1 [1], p. 484.

[84] 'Ex officio namque Heli pastor erat et filii eius Ophni et Finees sacerdotes Domini dicebantur'; §1 [2], p. 485; see I Samuel (known in the Middle Ages as I Kings) 1. 3: 'And the two sons of Heli, Ophni and Phinees, priests of the Lord, were there.'

[85] See n. 62, above.

[86] 'Potestas enim iuris est nomen, quo illi omnino carent, licet de facto potenciam habeant': §2 [1], p. 489.

[87] Benson, *Bishop Elect*, p. 60.

the office serves to remind the younger Speroni of his law lessons some years previously.

Sacramental Power of the Clergy

It is apparent from Vacarius that Speroni's antisacerdotal and predestinarian views led him to reject the 'sacramental power' of unworthy priests, that is, their ability to confer the sacraments.[88] He did so on three bases: their lack of personal merit, their inappropriate partnership (*societas*) with God, and their mere agency for God. As for the second of these, Speroni suggested that morally unworthy priests could not confer the sacraments because, by doing so, the Holy Spirit would be contracting a partnership with a priest who was, say, a thief or an adulterer.[89] Vacarius responds that God did not form a partnership with a priest, even an unworthy one, just as a master did not form a partnership with his slave in Justinianic Roman law; it was an incontestable legal argument that there could be no *societas* between a slave and his master, since a *dominus* held full legal capacity to own and contract while a *servus* held no status or capacity to do so.[90] Vacarius uses this civil law analogy in correcting Speroni, mindful of its appositeness for his erstwhile colleague who was 'skilled in the law and a master'.[91] As to the third argument of Speroni, Vacarius counters on theological grounds that it is God who effects the sacrament of baptism and the Eucharist, not the 'unworthy' priest. Vacarius states that God performs the true efficient action of the sacrament as the principal cause; the priest, as the secondary, or ministering, cause, cannot frustrate this.[92] For Vacarius, 'God alone gives the increase': the virtue of the priest is irrelevant, since God is the principal cause.[93]

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[88] This issue is also a consideration treated by Robert Mannyng in his fourteenth-century didactic treatise *Handlying Synne*, discussed by Anne M. Scott in her chapter in the present volume.

[89] §11 [I], p. 503; §1 [III], p. 485 (see Eziekel 16. 60–63); §2 [III], pp. 490–91 (see II Corinthians 6. 14).

[90] §11 [1], p. 503: 'non potest esse Domini minister, respondeo quod nulla inter dominum et servum contrahitur societas'; §1 [III–3], pp. 490–91; da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 160.

[91] '[C]um iuris peritus sis et magister': §11 [1], p. 503.

[92] Prologue, [F], p. 479; 'eadem ratione nec ille qui consecrando ministrat, sive sit bonus sive adulter, est aliquid, id est aliquid efficit, sed solus Deus, qui totum perficit'; §10 [1], p. 501; §3 [4–5], pp. 490–91; §4, pp. 493–94; §3 [3], [5], pp. 492–93; §5 [II–2], pp. 494–95.

[93] §4 [5], p. 493; see I Corinthians 3. 7.

Commentators have accused Vacarius of failing to deal with the issue of the sacramental power of unworthy priests as it was debated by Gratian and the decretists.[94] This criticism goes to the very heart of whether Vacarius merely dabbled in canon law or whether he might be regarded as a serious practitioner of that science. The starting point for Gratian and the canonists was Augustine's trenchant criticism of the Donatists for their failure to distinguish sacramental power (*sacramentum*) from the right to exercise such power (*usus sacramenti*, or, more simply, *officium*).[95] For Augustine, when a cleric was deprived of his *officium*, he lost the authority to confer sacraments; but the conferment was nevertheless effective, and the *sacramentum* valid.[96] This was so, Augustine explained, since the true sacrament came not from the unworthy minister but from God.[97] Thus, a sacrament did not cease to be such simply because heretics and even the impious and iniquitous used them unlawfully; such men were to be punished, but their sacraments were to be acknowledged and venerated.[98] Gratian's position on the issue is not entirely clear. He accepted a similar distinction: sacramental power (not *sacramentum*, but now *officium*, or *potestas*, or *potestas officii*) was distinct from its *lawful* use and exercise (no longer *officium*, but now *executio officii* or *executio potestatis*).[99] At one point, his dicta consider that the consecration performed by a heretical priest is invalid (C.1, q.1, dpc.75, commenting on 'Jerome'),[100] and yet a little later (C.1, q.1, dpc.97) he unreservedly

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[94] Eleanor Rathbone and Stephan Kuttner, 'Anglo-Norman Canonists of the Twelfth Century', *Traditio*, 7 (1949–51), 279–358; reprinted in *Gratian and the Schools of Law 1140–1234*, ed. by Stephan Kuttner (London: Variorum, 1983), pp. 279–358, 'Retractiones VIII', 23–38, 287–88, n. 22. The co-authors cite five passages from the *Liber contra*, the first four of which deal with the issue of 'the sacramental power of unworthy priests': §1 [3], p. 486; §2 [1], 489; §5 [II–2], p. 494; §11 [1], p. 503; and the fifth with baptism: §13 [3], pp. 511–12. They also refer to da Milano's commentary: *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 135–83 (Vacarius on priests); and pp. 92, n. 1, and 223 (on baptism).

[95] Benson, *Bishop Elect*, p. 50.

[96] Augustine, *De baptismo*, I. 1. 2, VI. 1.1, PL, XLIII, cols 109, 107; *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, 2.28, PL, XLIII, col. 70; *De bono coniugali*, 32, PL, XL, col. 394. See Benson, *Bishop Elect*, p. 50, n. 27.

[97] Augustine, *Contra litteras Petillani*, 2. 69, PL, XLIII, col. 281; *Contra Cresconium*, 2. 12, PL, XLIII, col. 473. See Benson, *Bishop Elect*, p. 50 n. 28.

[98] Maurice de La Taille, *The Mystery of Faith: Regarding the Most August Sacrament and Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ*, 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1941), trans. by J. Carroll and P. J. Dalton, II, 237; Augustine, *Contra Donatistas*, 1, 3, c. 10, PL, XLIII, col. 144.

[99] Benson, *Bishop Elect*, pp. 50–51.

[100] Or performed by a priest with a concubine: D. 32, dpc. 6. Note that this was not St Jerome, but Alger of Liège.

admits the validity of the consecration performed by heretical priests, using the words of Alger of Liège (d. 1190) to explain Jerome in exactly this sense. But, for unauthorized priests, he is adamant that no power is left to them to perform the Mass (C.1, q.1, c.9). Thus, what he permits the heretic he denies the unauthorized priest. Gratian's dicta therefore discourage moral unworthiness, but do not go so far as pronouncing such actions as sacramentally invalid. In sum, he does not deal squarely with the issue of morally unworthy priests and the effect of their ministration of the sacrament. It is little wonder then that Vacarius did not make use of the *Decretum*.

Theologians such as Peter Lombard demonstrate similar confusion.[101] In the fourth book of the *Sentences*, he denies the validity of the Mass as conferred by excommunicated and heretical priests.[102] But he later appears to follow the teaching of Alger, and asserts that simoniacal (i.e., heretical) priests have authority to confer the sacraments of holy orders and the Eucharist.[103] It was the deprivation of authority to use the power rather than heresy that inhibited sacrificial power. He restated the principle that the efficacy of the sacrament lay in God's power, while the human minister played an essentially instrumental role, and God would not allow his grace to be impeded by the unworthiness of his intermediaries. Vacarius's handling of the matter avoids such difficulties, and such uncertainties.

Baptism

Speroni's stance on the lack of sacramental power of priests, combined with his views on their worthiness for priestly office, obviously led him to deny priests' power to confer the sacrament of baptism. A further basis for this stance is that these same unworthy priests transmitted their sin to the unknowing recipients. According to Speroni's exegesis, unworthy priests ('the unclean') made unclean those whom they touched when purporting to purify (*purificare*) them.[104] For

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[101] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, II, 572–74, 579–80; Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c.1080–1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 55; see also La Taille, *Mystery of Faith*, p. 240.

[102] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, 4. d.13. c.1–c.7, II, 335–36.

[103] Unless these priests are degraded from the priesthood: Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, 4. d.25, II, 350.

[104] Prologue, [C], p. 476; §7, pp. 496–97; see Numbers 19. 22.

him, 'only the pure can purify'; that is, only worthy priests ('the pure') could baptize ('purify'): unworthy priests could not.[105] Speroni's arguments mirror those of the fourth-century Donatists, as well as the concepts of physical and spiritual contamination in the Old Testament.[106]

Vacarius responds to the arguments of Speroni with both legal and exegetical answers. Inward defilements, he states, such as the moral unworthiness of priests, are not transmitted in the same way as physical dirt, that is, by physical means such as touching.[107] Further, Vacarius inverts Speroni's maxim that whatever one touches one makes unclean; on the contrary, in the case of bishops, whatever a pure person touches, he makes pure.[108] According to Justinian's *Code*, everyone could be purified by a bishop, since a bishop was elected because of the purity and humility he maintained throughout his whole life.[109] Vacarius voices his surprise that Speroni is unaware of this, given his skill in law.[110]

Vacarius's text deals with issues of baptism and its effect on Original Sin. Speroni targeted the inefficacy of baptism in purifying infants from the stain of Original Sin, a matter Vacarius is at pains to refute. Speroni made the argument that a mere child could not consent to baptism because of his or her young age, just as no one could acquire possession in Justinianic Roman law by physical possession without intent.[111] But, as Vacarius explains, an infant could receive possessory rights in a gift at Roman law, even without the requisite intent that

[105] 'Tu contra dicis, scilicet quod malus et immundus non purificant, non baptizant, sed mundus solus purificat et baptizat': §4 [V], p. 493; 'Probare niteris quod immundi, fornicatores et avari ad baptizandum reprobi sunt': §9 [I], p. 499. This phrase had overtones similar to his notion of justification that 'only the pure could be purified', as above.

[106] For example, a human corpse could cause impurity in another person or object by that person's contact with the corpse, as in Numbers 19. 22: 'Whatsoever a person toucheth who is unclean, he shall make it unclean: and the person that toucheth any of these things, shall be unclean until the evening.' But the idea of contagion here seems more akin to the Israelite idea of contagion by which the holy can contaminate the profane and vice versa; the idea being that contact with the divine meant one had to be ritually purified before resuming normal activities, as expressed in Haggai (Aggas) 2. 13–14: 'And Aggeus said: If one that is unclean by occasion of a soul touch any of all these things, shall it be defiled? And the priest answered and said: It shall be defiled.'

[107] Prologue, [C], p. 478.

[108] 'Ecce "quicquid tetigeret mundus mundum facit"': §7 [3], p. 497.

[109] '*Ita castus et humilis eligatur, ut, locorum quocumque pervenerit, omnia vite proprie integritate purificet*': §7 [3], p. 497; see *Code*, 1, 3, 30, 3 (a. 469).

[110] 'Miror quod, cum sis iuris peritus, haec ignoras': §9, [3], p. 500.

[111] §12, [III], p. 511; see *Digest*, 41, 2, 3, 1; 50, 17, 153.

normally accompanied full possessory rights (*animus possidendi*).[112] Speroni also proposed a different view of Original Sin, arguing that it was transmitted into posterity through Adam and his descendants, like a sin transmitted from a parent to its child.[113] Vacarius responds that it is no mere sin, such as fornication or greed, which could be transmitted, as it were, 'genetically'. Instead Original Sin was 'common to all', the inverse of the prelapsarian Full Liberty which had been 'common to all'. Thus, the whole infant, or person, was absolved from Original Sin, not the soul or the body alone.[114] Vacarius emphasizes the unity of nature and operations in the 'composed human' such that, although the soul has its own faculty, it does not represent the 'whole man'. This would appear to be a response to Speroni's suggestion that Original Sin pertained either to the soul or body, but not both.[115] Vacarius's notion that baptism removed Original Sin represented the consensus view among twelfth-century theologians, although he did not take up the doubts that existed among these same writers over the continuing effects of Original Sin.[116]

Speroni linked this argument concerning the inefficacy of baptism to other rituals. In attacking the form of baptism, Speroni regarded the baptismal water as a mere ritual which had no salvific or other efficacy.[117] Just like confession and

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[112] *'Donatorum rerum a quacumque persona vacua possessio tradita infanti corpore queritur'*: §13 [2], p. 512, n. 1. This was the right of 'bare posession' (*vacua possessio*), which was not an absolute right of ownership but was sufficient to prevent other parties acquiring rights in the gift: *Code*, 7, 32, 3. See da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 244–45.

[113] §16 [I], p. 518.

[114] 'Tota enim humana natura, ex anima et corpore composita, per primum peccatum omnibus commune in omnibus integre corrupta fuit et maculata et servituti subiecta': §16 [1], p. 518. Vacarius agrees with the Anselmian notion of Original Sin being the converse of Original Justice, which was a good given by God to all human nature and lost in a blameworthy manner through Adam's sin.

[115] §15 [I], p. 516; §17 [I–1], [II], p. 518.

[116] For example, the school of Laon held that baptism destroyed Original Sin, although the effects of Original Sin (mortality, concupiscence, and the inclination to sin) remained. The Porretans agreed, adding that baptism also removed the eternal punishment due for Original Sin. Hugh of St Victor concurred with the school of Laon and the Porretans that the guilt and eternal punishment respectively were removed by baptism and that the suffering imposed by sins remained: Colish, *Peter Lombard*, II, 540. For Peter Lombard, all who received baptism were free from Original Sin, although only the elect were saved as well. In the case of infants, baptism not only cleansed them from Original Sin, but granted them grace to achieve sanctification later: Colish, *Peter Lombard*, II, 539, n. 173.

[117] §31 [I], p. 565.

the Eucharist, baptismal water was not effective or useful in purging sin.[118] This was because, Speroni argued, the internal purpose (*propositum*) of the individual was not changed by an outward act or form, that is of water, the Mass, or confession.[119] Speroni appears to have advocated instead a 'spiritual' or 'inward' baptism,[120] or a 'mental confession'.[121] But Vacarius responds that water is necessary for baptism, as specified in the words and the example of Jesus.[122] In the same way, he dismisses any notion of a 'mental confession' that could be made without words.[123] Vacarius responds that oral confession is necessary and useful for prayer and salvation. Moreover, it justified since it pertains to eternal salvation or damnation.[124] He also rejects Speroni's concept of a mental confession by insisting on the specific oral ritual.

Speroni's attack on the inefficacy of baptism extended to circumcision as well. He seems to have suggested that circumcision did not cleanse sin, Original or otherwise. In fact, Vacarius reports, Speroni's belief was that following the precept of circumcision was akin to obeying 'the letter' of the law, an action which, according to Paul, 'killed'.[125] Further, Speroni argued that if the nonfulfilment of the condition of circumcision were to lead to damnation and guilt, this would be like the heir to a will at Roman law attracting guilt (*culpa)* for not taking his due inheritance because of the nonfulfilment of a condition.[126] This was a reference to the notion that the nonfulfilment of a condition precedent in the will by the heir could result in the will being invalid (*destitutum testamentum*).[127] Vacarius responds to both arguments together. It was not guilt which was attributable to the heir, he said, but merely the fact that he did not fulfil the condition of the

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[118] §31 [I]–[III], pp. 565–67; §31 [V-5], p. 570.

[119] §31 [III], p. 567.

[120] §18 [1], p. 520.

[121] '[C]onfessionem mente tenere': §31 [2], p. 567; 'etiamsi propositum confitentis': §31 [3], p. 567.

[122] 'Sed cogitare debes quod Dominus ipse in aqua baptizatus fuit et alios batpizari generaliter precepit': §18 [1], pp. 520–21; §31, p. 566; see John 3. 5, Matthew 28. 19, Mark 16. 16.

[123] §31 [2], pp. 566–67.

[124] '[U]tilis et necessaria in Ecclesia Dei confessio, per quam, sicut Scriptura precipit, alterutrum confitemur peccata nostra, ut sic pro invicem orare possimus et salvari': §31 [2], p. 567.

[125] §23 [I], p. 547; see II Corinthians 3. 6.

[126] §23 [I], p. 547.

[127] *Digest*, 28, 7; *Institutes*, 2, 14; da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 233, 266; J.A.C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1976), p. 490.

will. If he had fulfilled the condition, on the other hand, no guilt or harm would be attributed to him. In the same way, states Vacarius, in obeying the precept of circumcision, no harm or death arises. In fact, circumcision justified.[128] In this analogy with an heir's right to take under a will voluntarily, an act which one could either agree or not agree to do, Vacarius implies that circumcision was not of necessity (as was baptism), but would benefit nevertheless.

Eucharist

Vacarius's confrontation with Speroni's heterodox views on the Mass reveal the limits of his capacity for patient instruction in the face of unremitting polemic, as well as the limits of his didactic hermeneutic employing Justinianic Roman law.

Speroni's polemic against the Eucharist bore similarities to his views on priests' lack of sacramental power, that there was an inappropriate partnership (*societas*) between the Lord and unworthy priests, as there was in Paul between God and 'the unbelievers'.[129] But, responds Vacarius, if an agent (*dispensator*) sells his master's goods in a fraudulent transaction, the transaction itself is not unlawful and so cannot be subsequently rescinded by the master.[130] Vacarius repeats the argument he used in respect of unworthy priests' ability to perform baptism: the true efficient action of the sacrament was performed by God, which no unworthy minister could frustrate. In addition, the perception (*percipere*) of the body of Christ is no greater or lesser because of the greater or lesser sanctity of the ministering priest.[131] This adverts to contemporary twelfth-century discussions, in particular those by Gerhoch von Reichersberg and Honorius Augustodunensis, concerning the recipient's knowledge of the minister's unworthiness.[132]

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[128] 'Secundum hoc heredi hoc solum imputatur, quod condicionem non servavit. Si eam itaque servasset, nichil ei imputari posset; ergo nec littera ipsa legis ei nocere posset, si conditionem institutionis implesset': §23 [1], p. 547.

[129] §2 [III], pp. 490–91; see II Corinthians 6. 14.

[130] '[Q]uando dominus commisit dispensatori suo ut venderet res suas, valet venditio facta a dispensatore, et ideo nec debet nec potest dominus vendicionem rescindere': §5 [II-2], p. 494.

[131] '[N]ec a bono magis, nec a malo sacerdote minus corpus Domini percipitur': §19 [1][a], p. 523.

[132] Gerhoch von Reichersberg, *Epistola ad Innocentium papam*, in PL, CXCIV, cols 1375–1426; see also Gerhoch's *Liber de simoniacis*, in PL, CXCIV, cols 1335–72; see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 35–43.

But it is on the real presence that Vacarius sharpens his theological rhetoric.[133] Speroni denied the real presence in the Eucharist, expressing a corporeal interpretation of the orthodox understanding of the Eucharist. If the orthodox Catholic notion of the real presence in the Eucharist were correct, Speroni argued, then the logical consequence was that Christ was gnawed by teeth, bitten, suffered, and died when offered on the altar during the Eucharist.[134] Christ did not 'die' mystically (*mistice*), Speroni continued, but was eaten, bitten, and suffered 'naturally' (*naturaliter*) in the Mass.[135] Vacarius describes Speroni's *reductio ad absurdam* as 'sophistic, idle and varying'.[136] This corporeal representation of the Eucharist mirrored the 'ultra-realist' position put forward at the Synod of Tours in 1054 and the arguments of Berengar of Tours in that controversy.[137]

Christ, Vacarius responds, died only once, on the Cross, and did not suffer or die in the Eucharist, even though it was his real body and blood which was eaten, because 'death had no dominion over him'.[138] He was 'eaten' in an 'inestimable mystical manner'.[139] Because Paul asked: 'Is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?', this query permits no doubt as to the reality of the presence of Christ's body and blood.[140] Further, the words 'This is my body' (Hoc est corpus meum) were to be interpreted literally, not figuratively.[141] But,

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[133] For a very different didactic approach to the issue of transubstantiation, see Scott's chapter on Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* in the present volume.

[134] Prologue, [D], p. 477. Further examples: 'quod Christus in altari immolatur, frangitur, teritur, occiditur': §20 [12], p. 543; 'Putas enim quod si caro Christi ore manducatur, quod dentibus rodatur, teratur et laceratur; quod si verum esset Christus integer non remaneret': §31 [V-5], p. 571.

[135] §19 [1][b], p. 524. He noted the absence of any scriptural reference to Christ dying *mistice*: §19 [I][c], p. 522. Note that Speroni inconsistently referred to Christ dying *mistice* in an earlier passage: Prologue, [E], p. 477.

[136] 'Cui veritati obviare vanis et variis obiectionibus sophistice laborasti': §31 [V-5], p. 570.

[137] Macy observes that Berengar made this argument sarcastically, since he himself believed that Christ's body remained in heaven and was not actually present in the Eucharist: 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch', in *Auctoritas und Ratio: Studien Zu Berengar Von Tours*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, Friedrich Niewöhner, and Peter Ganz (Wiesbaden: Horowitz, 1990), pp. 47–67 (p. 64, n. 33). It is possible that Speroni's argument was also intended ironically, although we have insufficient information about his beliefs in relation to the Mass to support this.

[138] Prologue, [E], p. 477; see Romans 6. 9.

[139] 'Sic nec in altari moritur, nec dentibus laceratur seu teritur, quia non carnaliter, sed inestimabili modo spiritualiter manducatur': §19 [1][b], p. 524.

[140] §20 [3], 534; see I Corinthians 10. 16–17.

[141] §20 [5], 538; see I Corinthians 11. 24.

Vacarius states, neither the body nor blood of Christ is received or communicated in the Eucharist in its physical form, that is in their corporeal nature or species perceptible to the senses, but instead 'in a certain spiritual sacrament' (in spirituali quodam sacramento).[142] Vacarius states that the body of Christ during Mass is not eaten in the carnal and corporeal manner which Speroni envisaged,[143] but in a special and singular way which defied rational explanation.[144]

Vacarius distinguishes his own notion of the spiritual or mystical Eucharistic eating of the body and blood of Christ from the 'figurative' kind of eating described by Speroni, and associated with Jewish attempts to understand the Eucharist.[145] Jewish thinkers queried how the flesh of Christ could be eaten, other than figuratively.[146] Vacarius, moreover, specifically denies that the body and blood of Christ are eaten in their physical and visible form ('corporalem speciem'); this, however, does not exclude the 'universal property of his body' being received and communicated in the Eucharist.[147] By this he means that Christ, although eaten spiritually, was present in substance, not merely as an accident; accordingly, the accidents of Christ were eaten, but not his substance.[148] In this way, Vacarius

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[142] '[N]ec caro Christi nec eius sanguis in ea corporali natura vel specie, in qua ab hominibus videri poterant, recipiuntur et communicantur; sed in spirituali quodam sacramento': §19 [1][d], pp. 527–28.

[143] '[I]n carnali specie', §31 [5], p. 571; 'non in carnali proprietate nec in sua natura visibili', §32, p. 575.

[144] 'Specialis est enim illa ratio et modus comedendi et singularis, non naturalis', Prologue, [E], p. 478.

[145] Speroni held that the body and blood of Christ could be eaten only 'in the heart' (*corde*), that is figuratively (*figura tantum*) or 'by love' (*amore*): §20 [IV-4], pp. 535–36; §20 [VII], [7], p. 539; §20 [VIII], [8], pp. 539–40. For Speroni, to 'eat' Christ in the Eucharist or the 'Lordly meal' meant to imitate him in love: 'Tu vero, econtra, quod nec caro Christi nec eius sanguis ore participetur vel communicetur, ex eo probare niteris quod sufficit sola dilectio Dei ut Verbum Dei manducetur, ita et in carne Christi': §20 [VIII], p. 539. This notion of the Eucharist accorded closely with that of Berengar of Tours: Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 59, n. 129 (note that Macy gives the wrong page reference in the *Liber contra*). Vacarius assures Speroni that it is in fact the real blood and body of Christ which is eaten 'in the mouth' (*in ore*): §20 [7], [8], p. 539.

[146] 'Maxime cum miseri Iudei quererunt *quomodo* posset *carnem suam dare ad manducandum?*': §20 [IV-4], p. 537. Vacarius equates Speroni's eating *in corde* with the errors of Jewish understandings of the Eucharist.

[147] '[U]t corporalem illam speciem demonstraret, et non ut universam sui corporis proprietatem escluderet': §19 [1][d], p. 528.

[148] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 306.

gestures towards the Aristotelian distinction between 'accident' and 'substance' to explain how the saving presence of the Lord can be present as an underlying substance or entity despite the apparent consumption of the Eucharistic host as exaggerated by Speroni.

Speroni denied the real presence in a further stereotypical heresy, called 'stercoranism'. Speroni argued that the body and blood of Jesus Christ, present in the Eucharist, were subject to detriment and suffered infamy by being ingested, digested, and then voided by the recipient.[149] Taken from the word *stercus* (filth), such teaching was linked to Berengar of Tours.[150] Berengar based this teaching on a literal reading of Matthew 15. 17: 'Do you not yet understand that whatever enters the mouth goes into the stomach and is eliminated?'[151] For Berengar, the presence of the body of Christ on earth would subject the presence to the indignity of digestion, or desecration by animals.[152] The stercoranist argument had its most widespread and influential use in the hands of Cathar preachers and the followers of Amaury de Bène and the Amalricians;[153] Alain de Lille, in his *Contra haereticos*, dealt with the stercoranist argument as used by the Cathars.[154]

[149] 'Christus totus est in pisside, totus extra pissidem, totus est in stomacho, totus in celo?': §19 [I][d], p. 523.

[150] The link is misleading, according to Macy: 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch', p. 64.

[151] Macy, 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch', p. 64, n. 33.

[152] Berengar of Tours, *De sacra coena adversus Lanfrancum*, in *Kerkhistorische studien behoorende bij het Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 12 vols (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1941–66), I (1941), ed. by W. H. Beekenkamp; see more recently Huygens, *Beringerius Turonensis Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 84 and 84a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

[153] Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 234–37; Macy, 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch', p. 66. See *Contra amaurianos*: 'Sed adhuc forte dicis: si corpus Christi ubique non est, sed locale, ubi est corpus Christi, vel quid factum est de corpore Christi, postquam sumpsi illud et manducavi?', in *Contra amaurianos: Ein anonymer, wahrscheinlich dem Garnerius von Rochefort zugehöriger Traktat gegen die Amalrikaner aus dem Anfang des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Clemens Baeumker, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 24, Texte und Untersuchungen (Münster: Aschendorff, 1926), p. 45; Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, p. 306.

[154] He dealt with the issue when answering the 'heretics', and so did not repeat his responses when answering the Jews: see Alain de Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL, CCX, col. 362C; also PL, CCX, col. 363: 'Quod autem Christus ait: *Omne, quod in os intrat*, etc., intelligendum est de cibo materiali, non spirituali; sicut enim materialis cibus vadit in secessum ita spiritualis in mentis excessum.' See also Gillian R. Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 126

By pointing to such examples of the indecorous treatment of the host, such as the host being eaten and defecated or being eaten by a mouse,[155] Speroni and other twelfth-century dissenters hoped to demonstrate the absurdity of the belief that Christ could be truly present in the Eucharist.[156]

Vacarius notes similar arguments used by the 'Jews of Northampton'.[157] Jews, states Vacarius, use stercoranist arguments to deny that Christ was the Lord because he had been enclosed in the genitalia of Mary and voided from her womb.[158] Guareschi has surmised that this reference to the Northampton Jews indicates that Vacarius intervened at Northampton as a sort of champion to determine a dispute in everyday Christian-Jewish relations.[159] Indeed, contemporary evidence for such debates between Jews and Christians in the 1190s exists in a gloss attributable to John of Tynemouth, a teacher in 'both laws' at Oxford.[160] Prompted presumably by his fellow clerics who were in difficulty, Vacarius took on what may have been a very 'public' and 'popular' defence of Christian orthodoxy.[161] As we can see, Vacarius's arguments resemble Alain de Lille's *Contra haereticos* (1185–1200), in which Alain responded to Jewish arguments literally comparing the Eucharist to the sacrifices in Levitican law.[162]

Vacarius responds to the stercoranist arguments using analogy.[163] The soul gives life to the whole body, whether it comes into contact with the dirtier, lower, or less noble parts (*fundamentum*) than the nobler parts, such as the head. For example, he states, the sun's light shines equally on the filthy sewers or the perfumed places. God is whole (*totus*) everywhere, even the impure places. Just

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[155] The issue of the consequences of a mouse eating the host are not dealt with by Vacarius; perhaps, like Peter Lombard and Alain de Lille, Vacarius dismissed this question as frivolous: Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* 4. d.13 c.1.8, II, 335–36; Macy, 'Of Mice and Manna: *Quid mus sumit* as a pastoral Question', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 52 (1985), 64–77 (p. 160); and Alain de Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL, CCX, cols 306–430.

[156] The chronology of the uses of stercoranism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is traced by Macy, 'Berengar's Legacy as Heresiarch', pp. 64–66; and da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 277.

[157] '[S]icut Iudei apud Norhamtuniam [sic], ubi degebam causa studendi': §19 [1][d], p. 527.

[158] 'Dominus noster Ihesus Christus turpitur in visceribus matris sue includebatur circa pudenda, per qua de ventre eius exivit': §19 [1][d], p. 527.

[159] Guareschi, 'Gli incontri', pp. 395–99.

[160] Kuttner and Rathbone, 'Anglo-Norman Canonists', p. 319.

[161] Guareschi, 'Gli incontri', p. 413.

[162] Alain de Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL, CCX, col. 415C.

[163] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 308.

because God has contact with earthly filth does not mean that God is thereby contaminated.[164] In the same way, Christ's contact with Mary did not cause him 'contamination'.[165]

Vacarius's arguments on stercoranism trail off into a theological explanation of transubstantiation, motivated by Speroni's argument that the bread and wine were annihilated in the Eucharist which occurred through the action of the consecrating priest, since nothing was left on the altar.[166] In a purely theological response, Vacarius explains that this is no annihilation, but a conversion (*convertere*) of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. How this conversion takes place, he cannot explain,[167] although he describes this mysterious process as a 'transubstantiation'.[168] This is the notion that the substance of the bread and wine is converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, with only the accidents of the bread and wine remaining. Everyone knows, states Vacarius, that the bread does not remain after the consecratory words; whether it is 'transformed' or 'transubstantiated' at this time does not matter, since how it happens defies human understanding.[169]

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[164] 'Cum eius totum corpus anima eius vivificaret, si in suo fundamento maiores contraheret sordes anima eius quam in capite ipsius. Item si radius solis in cloaca reciperent fetorem aut immundiciam, et si in loco odoramentis pleno sumeret odorem vel mundiciam': §19 [1][d], p. 527. This analogy of the sewers and the perfumed places is similar to that used by Roland of Bologna, *Sententia*, in *Die Sentenzen Rolands*, ed. by Ambrosius M. Gietl (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1891; repr. Amsterdam: Rodolpi, 1969), p. 235, cited in da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 308, n. 3. It also bears similarities with the language and metaphor of the goodness of God as light expressed by pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names*, chap. 4, pt 4, in *Dionysius, the Areopagite on the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, trans. by C. E. Rolt (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: McMillan, 1920), pp. 50–190 (pp. 91–92). For a later vernacular, lay-oriented employment of this analogy, used against the argument that unworthy priests render the Mass ineffective, see Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 2297–306), discussed by Scott in her chapter in the present volume.

[165] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 309.

[166] '*Quod missa nichil significet, sed quod fuit destruxit* (That the Mass signifies nothing, except what was destroyed)', rubric to §10, p. 501; 'nichil remanet in altari a presbitero consecratum': §10 [II], p. 502.

[167] '[Q]uia panem et calicem Domini in corpus et sanguinem Christi convertit per Dominicam benedictionem': §10 [2], p. 502.

[168] '[Q]uod panis transsubstancietur': §19 [I] [c], p. 522.

[169] '[T]ransformari vel transsubstanciari. Nam quamvis non maneat panis post consecrationem, tamen quomodo id fiat humana ratione non comprehenditur': §19 [1][c], p. 525. Baldwin of Canterbury (d. 1190) expressed a similar indifference to terminology as Vacarius: da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 299–300.

Speroni also argued that the Mass was a commemorative meal of purely symbolic importance, to be enjoyed by the descendants of the apostles, namely priests, only.[170] Vacarius rejects this idea. Although the words used by the priest ('This is the body of the Lord') differ from Christ's actual words ('This is my body'), there was no restriction that only the apostles, and ordained priests, could eat and drink the Eucharistic bread and wine; the faithful are clearly intended.[171] In support of this interpretation, Vacarius adds, what is not prohibited at law is implicitly permitted.[172] Furthermore, this form of words shows clearly that it is Christ's body and not the priest's which is offered in the Eucharist.[173] These words mean that the true body and blood of Christ are the subject of the *communicatio* and *recordatio*,[174] and the words 'This is my body' are to be understood literally of Christ.[175] When, according to the Gospels, Christ blessed the bread and wine and gave them to his disciples, Vacarius states, he did not thus order his disciples to have a *meal* in his memory, but simply to bless and give the bread and wine, that is, to imitate what he did.[176] His utterance was performative rather than narrative or directive. That Christ meant his actions as a special performance and not simply as part of the meal was obvious because Christ did this when the meal was over and used only one loaf of bread and one cup, which was clearly not enough for a meal for twelve people.[177]

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[170] 'Errando etiam dicis quod Dominus Ihesus discipulis precepit ut in mem(oriam) [...] eius cenarent': Prologue, [F], p. 478; 'convenirent manducare cenam dominicam': §20 [I], p. 531; Matthew 26. 26–28; Mark 14. 22–24; Luke 22. 17–20; I Corinthians 11. 24–25; §20 [V], p. 537.

[171] '[Q]uod Dominus discipulis permisit ut aliis darent ex eo quod non prohibuit': §20 [10], pp. 541–42.

[172] 'Regulariter enim omni lege permittitur quod nulla prohibetur': §20 [10], p. 542. Vacarius here echoes the concept of *libertas* in the *Digest*: 'Libertas est naturalis facultas eius quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid vi aut iure prohibetur.' Justinian took the definition from Book IX of the Florentine *Institutes*, and inserted it in *Digest*, 1, 5, 4 and *Institutes*, 1, 3, 1; see da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 326.

[173] Significantly, neither Speroni nor Vacarius consider the formula in which the priest said 'The body of the Lord', to which the believer replied 'Amen'. Here there was no deviation from the actual words of Christ; see da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, p. 327.

[174] '[E]x hoc apparet quod calix Christi est communicatio sanguinis eius et panis est participatio corporis eius': §20 [3], pp. 535.

[175] '*Hoc est corpus meum*, tale est ac si dixisset: Hoc est significatio et recordatio passionis corporis mei': §20 [V], [5], pp. 537–38.

[176] 'Sed ductus carnalibus opinionibus et rationibus falsis [...] quo Dominus Ihesus discipulis precepit ut in memoriam passionis sue insimul cenarent': §20 [2], p. 533.

[177] §20 [1], p. 532.

Vacarius adds a penultimate, legal, slant to his rebuttal of Speroni. The liturgical elements of the Mass, the prayers, entreaties, requests and thanksgiving, are no mere 'cult' or arbitrary construct, he states. The Mass is the most sacred of the church offices, not just a meal, carried out through the sacrament of the consecration of the blood and body of Christ and the accompanying liturgy. The liturgy comprises an *officium*, that is, the 'office of the Mass'.[178] Here he returns to the legal use of the term *officium*, as he had done previously in separating the personal merits of the clergy from their legal position in the church. He also terms the Mass a *legatio* ('delegation') and a *missio* ('discharge from service'), both of which provide juristic legitimation for the sacramental office, and respect for it from civil authority.[179] Vacarius here hints at the Justinianic Roman legal system's Christian influences, as evident from certain rights attaching to the church in particular, such as the right of asylum and right of immunity.[180] This recognition by the 'learned law' provides legitimacy as well as sanctity to the so-called 'cult' of the Mass.

Vacarius ends where he began, slipping into the familiar use of Roman law references, but it is the final section of his treatise which reveals his perception of the limits of legal reasoning. Like his treatise on the *assumptus homo*, which deals with the indivisibility of the substance of man and God in Christ against the arguments of the so-called christological 'nihilianists', Vacarius enters a lengthy theological discursus on christological matters. Vacarius links Christ's dual nature (or 'substance' as he termed it) to the principle of the communication of idioms or properties in the Mass: 'Each substance, namely the divine and human, was communicating itself one to the other mutually through the personal union what it had as its own.'[181] Thus, in the end, it is pure theology that explains the truth of the Mass.

This chapter demonstrates that the didactic writing of Vacarius possessed both polemical and apologetic elements. Its primary purpose was to correct Speroni before he entrenched himself in his heterodoxy. Beginning with predestination,

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[178] 'Missa est ipsum officium [...]. Neque cena est missa, neque cenam aliquam representant, sicut supra probatum est [...] sed quia etiam in ea *obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum acciones* fiunt': §20 [XI] [11], p. 542.

[179] 'Missa autem legatio dicitur [...]. A missione etiam missa dicitur': §20 [11], p. 542.

[180] Da Milano, *Ugo Speroni*, pp. 310–16.

[181] 'Utraque tamen substantia, scilicet divina et humana, sibi invicem altera alteri mirabili modo in operando communicabat per unitatem persone quod proprium habebat': §32, p. 582.

Vacarius recognized Speroni's misinterpretation of the Augustinian notion of the 'elect' and sought to bring his friend back into the fold with a combination of legal hermeneutic, such as the analogy between foreknowledge and a slave's freedom, theological explanation, in identifying rather than separating the internal and external desire for grace, and exegesis of Paul's 'pastoral epistles', in such a way as to confirm the need for works. In responding to claims of clerical unworthiness, Vacarius established two fundamental legal distinctions: between a person and their legal office; and between legitimate (*potestas*) and nonsanctioned power (*potentia*). Such distinctions served to explain the continued sacramental power of priests despite their moral unworthiness; furthermore, there was no *societas* ('partnership') between a sinning priest and God. It was God alone who perfected the sacrament, and the confusion and hesitance of Gratian's dicta and Lombard's *Sentences* on such issues did not change this. In baptism, Vacarius drew the analogy with a bishop's legal purity at Roman law to argue that a priest did not pass on his moral contagion; so too, in justifying the existence of constructive intent in infants to sin and hence their need for the renovation of baptism, he called upon legal principle. His discussion of the Eucharist, aside from the liturgical office of that sacrament, focused on theological explanations of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the hypostatic union.

Yet Vacarius's *Liber contra* must, unfortunately, be judged a failed didactic text, as it did not prevent Speroni's ideas from radicalizing into full-blown heresy. Nor was it of sufficient didactic weight to resemble the canons in the *Liber extra*[182] or the apologetic textbooks such as those of Alain de Lille. How do we account for this lack of successful instruction? I have shown that Vacarius applied legal analogies where he saw their value in exemplifying and illustrating his argument, as well as appealing to the common legal language he shared with Speroni. Nor was this legal didactic hermeneutic at the expense of biblical exegesis; indeed Vacarius demonstrates and applies a sound understanding of the *Glossa ordinaria* (which had recently completed its coverage of the whole Bible by the mid-twelfth century) in his biblical exegesis. Nor did it prevent him

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[182] The *Liber extra*, or *Decretals of Gregory IX (1227–41)*, was promulgated in 1234 by Pope Gregory IX and presented to the universities of Paris and Bologna with directions that it be taught in the law faculties as the official law of the church. It was prepared by the great Catalan canonist Raymond of Peñaforte (1175x1180–1275), and remained in force among Roman Catholics until 1917; see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 327.

applying orthodox theology as this was taught to educated clerics in the works of the Church Fathers and *Books of Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

But, in a telling paragraph in which Vacarius labels Speroni a 'heretic' for the first time, we possibly gain some insight into this failure:

> I cannot, nor ought I, spare you, so that these errors of yours now not be condemned as though they were depraved heresies, for your correction. And since you are the leader and teacher of these same errors, you cannot be excused since you are involved in reality and in name in heretical doctrine, [but] truly and properly you must be called a 'heretic', even according to this legal definition: *under the name of 'heretics' are included those who ought to be convicted of having violated laws passed against them; or who, on frivolous grounds, have been found to have deviated from the judgment and principles of the Catholic religion.*[183]

It is almost as if Vacarius gives up on the idea of teaching Speroni the nature of his errors. In the end, heresy, he states, is simply illegal; instruction will go only so far. We can almost sense Vacarius's sense of hopelessness, his frustration that he cannot combine the ideal sequence of ratiocination that will definitively defeat Speroni's spirited individualism. The fact that Speroni is a 'leader' of these heretical ideas means that Vacarius can no longer be the younger man's teacher. No longer is Speroni innocent in his quest for apostolic purity; he is embedded root and branch in his heresy. Successful didactic texts will only benefit those who are willing to learn; Speroni is too deeply committed to his own pathway. Even though the 'learned law' had provided the pedagogic glue for their meeting of minds as younger men, in this case it had its limits as a means for resolving conflicts across the intellectual and national boundaries that separated them. Vacarius's systematic but cautious approach was, perhaps, not enough in an era dominated by dynamism and flux in religious orthodoxy and dissent. The papal stick, rather than Vacarius's carrot, was the way forward in ensuring religious hegemony for the Roman Church in the twelfth century and beyond.

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[183] *The Civil Law*, trans. by S. P. Scott, 17 vols (Cincinatti: Central Trust Company, 1932), XII, 63; '[T]ibi parcere nec debeo nec possum, quominus nunciem ad tuam correctionem quod tui errores tamquam heretica pravitas dampnandi sunt. Et cum sis dux et magister illorum errorum, excusari non potes quin involutus sis re et nomine heretici dogmatis, vere et proprie hereticus nominandus, etiam secundum legitimam diffinitionem hanc, scilicet: *hereticorum vocabulo continentur et latis adversus eos legibus debent succumbere qui vel levi argumento a iudicio catholice religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare*': §31 [V–5], pp. 569–70; see *Code*, 1, 5, 2 (from the Theodosian Code)

'For lewed men y vndyr toke on englyssh tonge to make this boke': *Handlyng Synne* and English Didactic Writing for the Laity

Anne M. Scott

Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* is a work that explicitly recognizes the importance of the written word to the development of lay spiritual and moral education in early-fourteenth-century England. The significant body of English didactic religious literature extant from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries implies a receptive native audience with expertise in the act of reading as well as education in understanding quite complex moral and theological issues.[1] *Handlyng Synne* is unremarkable in its didactic programme which fits within the scope of the Lateran IV reforming 'syllabus' of pastoral instruction, a catechetical scheme which prescribed that the clergy and laity should know the Creed, Pater, Ave, commandments, sacraments, and deadly sins. The work's interest lies rather in its self-conscious use of the English language, the assumptions it makes about its audience's level of understanding, and its use of tales to illustrate points of doctrine and morals. *Handlyng Synne* presupposes a lay audience who can read, or if unable to read, can certainly understand what is read, handle complex doctrinal teaching, and relate the moral teaching found

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[1] Several recent studies dealing with this include: *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Case of Robert Manning's *Chronicle*', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 39.153 (1988), 1–28; and Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*, Studies in Medieval Mysticism, 4 (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2004).

within the tales to daily life. The prologue stresses that Mannyng is writing in English for the English, and that he directs his writing towards the 'lewed': the laity.[2] The section on the sacraments illustrates the conceptual material offered to readers, while the use of tales as exempla, particularly those introduced by Mannyng and not derived from his Anglo-Norman source, give further clues to the Englishness of his intended audience. The specific additions Mannyng makes to his Anglo-Norman source material show him to be a pastor who understands, respects, and encourages the Englishness of a socially wide-ranging readership.

Handlyng Synne is a work of religious education in 12,638 lines of rhyming couplets, written by Robert Mannyng, a canon of an exclusively English order, the Gilbertines, over a period starting in 1303 and ending sometime after 1317.[3] It has attracted scholarship as a complex text to be edited,[4] and as 'the best picture of English life before Langland and Chaucer', giving an insight into life in England, particularly South Lincolnshire, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[5] Such historical investigation is made easy by the wealth of contemporary detail found in the work.[6] Literary criticism has been limited. The extant manuscripts, several of which are only excerpts from the full work, suggest

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[2] For interpretations of what is meant by 'laity', I will be drawing on distinctions made between *clericus* and *laicus*, *literatus*, and *illiteratus* discussed in M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), and Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[3] Matthew Sullivan, 'Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne and Peter Idley, the Adaptor of Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*', *Notes & Queries*, 43 (1994), 302–04 (p. 302).

[4] Frederick J. Furnivall, *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne', AD 1303, with Those Parts of the Anglo-French Treatise on which it was Founded, William of Wadington's 'Manuel des pechiez'*, Early English Text Society o.s. 119, 123, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901– 03) (all references to the *Manuel des pechiez* are taken from Furnivall and are cited parenthetically in the text by line number; English translations are mine); Susan A. Schulz, 'An Edition of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (Osborn Manuscript)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1973); Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 14 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1983) (all references to *Handlyng Synne* are taken from Sullens's edition and are cited parenthetically in the text by line number).

[5] Graham Platts, 'Robert Mannyng Of Bourne's "Handlyng Synne" and South Lincolnshire Society', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 14 (1979), 23–29.

[6] See also Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'Popular-Festive Forms and Beliefs in Robert Mannyng's Handlyng Synne', in *Bakhtin and Medieval Voices*, ed. by Thomas J. Farrell (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996), pp. 158–79.

that even the early audience used the work as something to be dipped into, and modern scholars follow this trend, choosing to write on individual[7] or groups of exempla,[8] themes,[9] and discrete sections.[10] Mannyng himself anticipated such a use of his material when he wrote that a reader might open the book at any place and begin to read to advantage there, since any place is a beginning, and any place is an end (121–22).

Such an approach recognizes the openness of the work to all readers. Mannyng expressly states that *Handlyng Synne*, and his other work, *The Chronicle of England*, are written in English for the 'lewed', the laity or, as Michael Clanchy explains, those who are not literate in Latin or French.[11] Modern scholars recognize the strong thrust towards written use of the English vernacular early in the fourteenth century, and Thorlac Turville-Petre argues that Mannyng's use of English in both his works has a political function in empowering the English who cannot understand French and who are distinct and different from the ruling aristocracy.[12] Contemporary texts like *Cursor Mundi*, *The South English Legendary*, and *The Northern Homily Cycle* take a similarly polemic view about the use of English, directing their teaching towards the education of the laity.

For the English, the language of the written word had been, from the time of the Norman conquest, threefold. Initially, Latin replaced Old English as the language of royal writs and quickly became the literary language of higher clerics and scholar monks. By the twelfth century, French had established itself as the language of the court and of oral legal business. English survived as the widely spoken language of the vast body of people including the clergy of the lower

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[7] Lawrence C. Besserman, 'The Dancers of Colbek', *Medium Ævum*, 49 (1980), 260.

[8] Mark Miller, 'Displaced Souls, Idle Talk, Spectacular Scenes: *Handlyng Synne* and the Perspectives of Agency', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 606–32.

[9] Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Leccherous songys: Medieval Sexuality in Word and Deed', in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Jan M. Ziolkowski, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 233–45; Cynthia Ho, 'Dichotomize and Conquer: "Womman handlyng" in *Handlyng Synne*', *Philological Quarterly*, 72 (1993), 383–401.

[10] Durant W. Robertson, Jr, 'Certain Theological Conventions in Mannyng's Treatment of the Commandments', in his *Essays in Medieval Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1980), pp. 105–13 (notes pp. 350–51).

[11] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 177–85.

[12] Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry'; see also Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, especially pp. 14–19 and 36–40.

orders, monks, and, gradually, as the thirteenth century drew to a close, the knightly classes. It was the language of popular devotion and of sermon. Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds from 1182 to 1211 advised a new prior to give his sermons 'in French or better still in English'.[13] Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, encouraged his priests to preach in English, and Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279 to 1292, required priests to instruct parishioners using 'the vulgar tongue'.[14] Nevertheless, French was the language of great households, and essential for anyone who wanted to advance in the church. English was regarded as the language of the despised rustics,[15] even though it was spoken by many who despised them, as the following anecdote shows:

> One of the miracles recorded in the life of Wulfric of Haselby describes how he cured a deaf and dumb boy, who immediately began to speak in French and English. The parish priest who witnessed the miracle complained bitterly that a stranger from far away, who would have been grateful for the gift of speech in a single language, had been granted the use of two, whereas he himself, who had served Wulfric devotedly for many years, had never been given the knowledge of French, and had to stand silent whenever he went to the bishop or archdeacon.[16]

Yet while Anglo-Norman French was important both in the literature of the court and as a spoken vernacular throughout the twelfth century, English continued to be used for devotional works, for chronicle, romance, and even one poem of witty, scholarly debate.[17] The foundations were already being laid for its emergence as a literary language in the thirteenth century and its full flowering in the fourteenth. Mannyng is one of the early writers to take up the challenge of writing in the English vernacular, with an obvious concern for those sections of the population who speak only the one language. By definition, his target audience includes people of lower socioeconomic status, less formally educated than those who speak French. All the more interesting, therefore, is his assumption that they will be able to read and to grasp the complexities of teaching to be found in *Handlyng Synne*. By choosing to translate an Anglo-Norman original he shows

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[13] Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1166* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 214.

[14] J. A. W. Bennett, 'Introduction', in *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, ed. by Bennett and G. V. Smithers, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. xi–xix (p. xviii).

[15] Richard Mortimer, *Angevin England, 1154–1258* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 194.

[16] Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, p. 212.

[17] For example, *Sawles Ward*, the Peterborough Chronicle, *Havelok*, Laȝamon's *Brut*, and *The Owl and the Nightingale*; for representative extracts see *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*.

an awareness of native audience demand for works of moral and spiritual education that they can 'handle' themselves.

The immediate source for *Handlyng Synne* is William of Wadington's Anglo-Norman *Manuel des pechiez* composed around 1260, repeatedly copied well into the fifteenth century, and extant in twenty-five manuscripts. *Handlyng Synne* exists, whole or excerpted, in nine. Its raison d'être comes from the tradition of teaching for clergy and laity prescribed by the Fourth Lateran Council and promulgated in England by the synodal decrees of such great teachers as Grosseteste of Lincoln, Walter de Cantelupe of Worcester, Alexander Stavensby of Coventry, and Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury.[18] The 'syllabus' of instruction for all the faithful had to cover the basic prayers containing the essential articles of faith and themes of devotion: Creed, Paternoster, Ave. The commandments and the seven deadly sins further covered moral teaching. Of the sacraments, penance, or confession, was usually treated in considerable detail, pastors being provided with lengthy lists of potential sins and a formulaic apparatus for assisting penitents to identify their own transgressions. But the essentials of all the sacraments were taught, and these provided a solid doctrinal basis for faith and worship. The consistency of such teaching, according to W. A. Pantin, would eventually prepare the laity for an understanding of vernacular spiritual and mystical writings which became available to an English-speaking audience in the mid-to-late fourteenth century.[19]

The *Manuel des pechiez* was an early response from a mid-thirteenth-century writer in England to the need for vernacular teaching of the Lateran IV syllabus. Following the format of the English synodal decrees, it translated the required teachings into Anglo-Norman and was, according to one of its most recent scholars, Matthew Sullivan, 'deliberately designed for national reception, and was received nationally'.[20] Sullivan claims that this text is 'one of the most important

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[18] Studies of the manuals of instruction for the clergy in the thirteenth century include: Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); *Councils and Synods: With Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, II: AD *1205–1313*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981).

[19] W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 250.

[20] Matthew Sullivan, 'A Brief Textual History of the "Manuel des Péchés"', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 93 (1992), 337–46.

extant thirteenth-century vernacular texts written in England, wielding literary influence in English translations right through to the sixteenth century, and even being translated into Icelandic'.[21] He confirms the likelihood that the *Manuel* was written for the clergy to assist them in instructing the laity and argues that 'almost as soon as the ink had dried, as it were, from Waddington's fair copy, manuscripts of the text were being shelved in religious libraries from Durham to the Isle of Wight'.[22] Mannyng's determination to translate the work into English is both a recognition of the source's didactic importance and a confirmation of his zeal for the further education of those who did not speak French. In his *Chronicle of England*, itself also a translation from Anglo-Norman, Mannyng makes an even more patriotic statement of interest:

> Lordynges þat be now here,
> If ȝe wille listene & lere
> Alle þe story of Inglande
> Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand
> & on Inglysch has it schewed,
> Not for þe lerid bot for þe lewed,
> Ffor þo þat in þis land won
> Þat þe Latyn no Frankys con,
> Ffor to haf solace and gamen
> In felawschip when þai sitt samen.[23]

Many of the didactic works contemporary with *Handlyng Synne* imply or state that the laity must rely on clerics to read the texts to them. The *Manuel* contains features that suggest it was written for clerics to transmit to laypeople. An example occurs early when Wadington devotes twenty-two lines to the clergy. He states that the present work will not discuss the sins of the clergy, but continues to exhort the clergy to behave better than the laity, stressing that the clergy have greater knowledge and greater literacy, and are therefore more guilty when they fail than the laity who need instruction (91–112). Other contemporary didactic texts such as *The Northern Homily Cycle* also appear to have clerics as their

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[21] Sullivan, 'A Brief Textual History', p. 343.

[22] Sullivan, 'A Brief Textual History', p. 343; note that Sullivan follows the spelling 'Waddington', whereas I follow 'Wadington', which is the more common version.

[23] Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. by Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 153 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1996), p. 91, ll. 1–10.

intended readership, while stressing the importance of the vernacular being used in the instruction of the laity. This text refers, in its prologue, to the 'lered men' and to the 'laued folk' with clear delineation of their hierarchical differences. The learned are defined as clerics who sing their office, say Mass, and teach the people; the laity's service of God is characterized by 'rihtwis fare' (righteous behaviour). Their role is to receive instruction from the clergy who are in possession of the treasure which is God's word and are obliged to share it with their unlearned brothers:

> Clerk wit lar of Godes worde
> (For he haves in him Godes horde
> Of wisdom and of gastlic lare,
> That he ne an noht for to spare,
> Bot scheu it forthe til laued menne,
> And thaim the wai til hevin kenne.)

(A cleric [shows love of God] with the knowledge of God's word (for he has within him God's store of wisdom and of spiritual teaching so that he ought not to spare a single bit of it but reveal it to laymen and make known to them the way to heaven.))[24]

The Northern Homily Cycle contains translations of the Sunday Gospel extracts and homilies on them which can be read to the laity who otherwise had to listen, uncomprehendingly, to the Latin in which the weekly Gospel reading was delivered. Nevertheless, as Ruth Evans points out, although the work is designed to give equality of access to the Scriptures, there is no suggestion in the text that the laity are expected to read the work for themselves.[25] It must also be remembered that many lower clergy were unlettered in Latin and did not speak French, so there was a need for English material for them, as well as for the laity. The argument for using English rather than Latin or 'Frankis' suggests that this work is part of a groundswell of English writing having the explicit didactic intention of giving those who only speak English open access to moral and scriptural teaching.

Mannyng's self-consciously English text goes further than these writings. It fits within the early stages of a trend that saw many writers responding to the demands of the laity for material of spiritual guidance which they could read for themselves. In her appraisal of Richard Rolle's contribution to the spiritual

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[24] Text and translation in *The Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 127, ll. 39–44; edition originally sourced from John Small, *English Metrical Homilies: From Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1862; repr. Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Library Editions, 1973).

[25] *The Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 117.

education of the laity, Claire McIlroy suggests that Rolle was one among several fourteenth-century writers who moved from Latin to English for the benefit of the larger English audience. Her view is that 'when Rolle was writing his English treatises, sometime in the 1340s, the desire for English vernacular books of moral and spiritual guidance seems to have already begun in earnest among the laity'.[26] She argues against Nicholas Watson's opinion that 'in addressing a vernacular audience Rolle could only be reaching a narrower, not a wider, readership than in his Latin writings'.[27]

Mannyng, like Rolle, intends to give a wide audience of the laity access to moral and doctrinal teaching by producing a text that they can read for themselves. Like many other English religious writers, he addresses himself in his prologue to all Christians,[28] then focuses on his own locality of Bourne, and, more closely still, on his own religious community:

> To alle crystyn men vndyr sunne
> And to gode men of brunne,
> And specylay alle be name:
> Þe felaushepe of symprynghame.
>   (57–60)

There is also a strong feeling that he is positioning himself for readers long into the future, since he is careful to give precise details that pinpoint who he is, relating himself to specific monasteries, priors, and dates (61–76). It is an audience expected to be able to read, or if not to read, to be able to participate actively in the reading of the text. We do not have enough evidence to suggest that those who are exhorted to listen to Mannyng's text are unable to read, nor is there any indication in the text of the supposed class to which listeners and readers belong. Even throughout the fifteenth century, many literate communities gathered in groups to hear texts read aloud,[29] a practice that is still effective in

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[26] *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle*, p. 13.

[27] Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 223.

[28] Early texts which include such inscriptions are the Lives of Saints Margaret, Katherine, and Juliana, written for 'alle leawede men þe understonden ne muhen latines ledene' (all laypeople who cannot understand the Latin tongue); see Bennett, 'Introduction', p. xviii. McIlroy quotes several later texts which do the same, *The English Prose Treatises*, pp. 10–17.

[29] *The Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 113, quoting Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

monastic communities today. The audience thus constructed is in some respects a 'textual community', relying on a mixture of personal reading and oral transmission for both the literate and those unable to read.[30]

Mannyng's 'felaushepe of symprynghame' consisted of the Gilbertine nuns, canons, and laybrothers. The nuns were expected to be literate but the rule forbade them to use Latin. Anglo-Norman texts were available throughout the thirteenth century, but it was in the early fourteenth century that English texts became more plentiful.[31] The canons were expected to be literate in Latin and the vernacular. The lay brothers were expressly forbidden by the rule to be literate. They were to have no books and to learn nothing except the Paternoster, the Credo, the Miserere, and other 'necessary texts'.[32] The simplicity of Mannyng's language might be taken as a sign that the work was for the ears of ignorant people. A different explanation for its simplicity comes from a further precept in the Gilbertine Rule laying down that everyone who wishes to write needs the consent of the prior, and prescribing severe penalties for those who disobey this regulation. Where writing is permitted it must be simple and avoid pomposity: 'omnino caveat vanitatem profundi vel pomposi dictaminis'.[33] As a Gilbertine canon, Mannyng was subject to such regulation.

These circumstances suggest that part of Mannyng's 'lewed' audience may be those who are *laici* as opposed to *clerici*, literate in the vernacular but not in Latin: the sisterhood of Sempringham. Yet he insists on broadening the range of his audience, specifically declaring that he aims to compete for the laity's attention by providing his own tales to rival the usual literary entertainment of ordinary people who hear 'talys and rymys' (46) and 'troteuale' (vain talk, idle tale; 48). This latter audience, to be found 'Yn camys, yn festys, and at þe ale' (47) is not exclusively that of the great hall or manor house and is certainly not

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[30] See Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 88–92. Stock's 'textual community' is constituted by shared adherence to a particular text; Mannyng's is the more general Christian community for whom his text is one didactic source among many.

[31] Two of the best known of these are John Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. by Edward Peacock, EETS, o.s. 31 (London: Trübner; repr. New York: Kraus, 1975), and *John Thoresby, The Lay Folks' Catechism: Or, the English and Latin Versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth, EETS, o.s. 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901).

[32] Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c. 1130–c. 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 181.

[33] Golding, p. 180, quoting Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 8 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817–30), VI, pt 2, pp. xxx–xxxi.

that of the nunnery, but does include the common people. An intriguing hypothesis to explain both Mannyng's concern with the laity and his attempt to provide entertainment alongside edification has been proposed by Joyce Coleman.[34] She suggests that Mannyng could have held the position of *hospitarius*, and, as such, would have been responsible for providing suitable mealtime reading material for pilgrims and visitors of a range of backgrounds: 'These visitors, if persuaded to relinquish their lewed narratives, would find consolation in Mannyng's entertaining exempla — especially, given the regional origin most of them shared with the author, in the localized tales that Mannyng had added to his source.'[35]

All the more interesting is the suggestion that the laity will be able to read, or even have access to a book of this nature. Assumptions that they are able to read are scattered throughout the work and expressly stated in the prologue where the action of reading, of opening the book at any point, of turning over the pages, of reading and re-reading, is stressed.

> Whedyr outys þou wylt opone þe boke,
> Þou shalt fynde begynnyng on to loke.
> Oueral ys begynnyng — oueral is ende,
> Hou þat þou wylt turne hyt or wende.
>   (121–24)

The audience is expected to listen as well as to read: 'Many þynges þer yn mayst þou here, | Wyþ oft redyng mayst þou lere' (125–26). The reader is told that 'Talys shalt þou fynde þer ynne' (131), which implies the action of searching through the book. And regular use of a physical book is implied, from the exhortation to 'lestene and lerne wan any hem redys' (118) to the repeated use of the word 'handyl':

> Þou mayst nouȝt wyþ onys redyng
> Knowe þe soþe of euery þyng.
> Handyl, hyt behouyþ þe, ofte syþys.
>   (127–29)

This is all considerably more emphatic than the corresponding section in the *Manuel* which states simply:

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[34] Joyce Coleman, 'Handling Pilgrims: Robert Mannyng and the Gilbertine Cult', *Philological Quarterly*, 81 (2002), 311–26.

[35] Coleman, 'Handling Pilgrims', p. 314.

Pur la laie gent ert fet,
Deu le parface, si li plest,
Qe il vere pussent apertement
Quant il trespassent, & quant nient.
                              (113–16)

(This is written for laypeople,
May it please God to bring it to fulfilment
So that they can see plainly
When they transgress and when not.)

As these few lines follow a lengthy address to clergy about their great responsibilities in keeping away from sin themselves, it may be conjectured that the Anglo-Norman source was expecting the laity to receive their instruction from the clergy who might use the *Manuel* as a handbook. Mannyng, by contrast, expressly states on a number of occasions that he is not writing for the clergy:

Of þys clerkys wyle y nouȝt seye;
To greue hem y haue grete eye,
For þey wote þat ys to wetyn
And se hyt weyl before hem wretyn.
                              (37–40)

The next line implies that the clergy read in Latin and that he is concerning himself only with what may be well told in English:

Þat may be weyl on englyssh told,
To telle ȝow þat y may be bold.
                              (41–42)

The implied distinction is between the *clericus*, who can read Latin, and the *laicus*, the layperson, who can only read the vernacular:[36]

For lewed men y vndyr toke
On englyssh tonge to make þs boke.
                              (43–44)

If we add to this the self-conscious English rendering of terms like

[36] See Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 177–85, and Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 26–30.

> 'Crystendom,' or 'crystynyng,'
> Þat ys on englys, oure spekyng
> (9503–04)

Mannyng's intention to write for the English layperson is unmistakeable.

It would, however, be wrong to imply that the clergy are disregarded in *Handlyng Synne*. It is well known that that preachers were recommended not to stress the vices of one group before an audience consisting of other groups (although denouncing the vices of the rich was the delight of the poor, just as the description of the vices of women pleased husbands).[37] Something of this may be behind Mannyng's (and Wadington's) apparent reluctance to speak of the sins of the clergy in a work ostensibly destined for the laity. Yet we should not take too seriously the prologue's claim that it will not deal with the sins of the clergy, because the work includes many tales against them. Twenty-five out of its sixty-six tales concern clergy or religious, and many are about their sins.

There are also hints from the obviously oral qualities found in some sections that the work is intended to be used by the clergy to help them in teaching the laity. The section of the work devoted to the sacrament of the altar appears to be designed as a homily in its own right. Whereas the other sacraments are dealt with relatively briefly, ranging from 293 lines for Baptism to 71 for Extreme Unction, 919 lines are devoted to what could be considered a sermon on the Eucharist. It starts with a preacher's commendation of himself to God, as he stands before his congregation:

> God almighty þat al þyng weldes,
> Wyndes & waters, wodes and feldes,
> As soþely as þou madest of noght
> All creatours þat eure were wroght,
> Forȝyue me to day, lord, my synne,
> Þat y þys wryþy sacrament mowe begynne,
> And wrshypfully þer of to speke
> Þat we neure þe beleue breke.
>
> (9899–906)

The conclusion, too, is unmistakeably intended for oral delivery, since it addresses the people who are present and who have heard the preacher give his sermon to them:

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[37] G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*, 2nd rev. edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), p. 295.

> ȝe men þat are now yn present
> Þat haue herd me rede þys sacrament,
> How ouer al þyng hyt haþ powere,
> Þe sacrament of þe autere.
>
> (10807–10)

Clearly this sermon is directed to a mixed audience of clergy and laity, although Mannyng reiterates his opinion that the clergy, while they may profit from his words, can find out the information for themselves.

> As y haue here to ȝow shewed,
> Nat to lered onely but eke to lewed.
> ȝe lewed men, y telle hyt ȝow,
> Þese clerkes kunne hyt weyl ynow.
>
> (10808–14)

In fact this section was excerpted as part of *The Northern Homily Cycle* in the Simeon and Vernon manuscripts,[38] so there is a strong likelihood that it was used as a sermon in its own right.

One thing is certain: the use to which parts of the work were later put suggests just the kind of selective reading that Mannyng anticipated. Of the nine manuscripts containing all or part of *Handlyng Synne*, three contain the full work, and the other six excerpts. The Vernon manuscript (Eng. Poet. A.1), dating from between 1380 and 1390, holds the largest single collection of verse and prose surviving from the fourteenth century in a single volume. Vernon and its twin, London, British Museum, Simeon MS Add. 22283, are both sumptuous manuscripts, intended, according to J. Robert Duncan, as a programme of religious instruction for a particular community of secular or semi-secular believers.[39] The full text of Mannyng's section on 'þe sacrament of þe auter' appears in both. The section on the ten commandments appears in Cambridge University Library, MS ii.4.9 and is the only text in London, Dulwich College, MS XXIV. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 61 contains one excerpt from *Handlyng Synne*, the 'Tale of the Forgiving Knight'. The Osborn manuscript is a mid-fifteenth-century copy on paper, with many omissions, including some missing leaves. Idelle Sullens suggests that the disarrangement of substantial

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[38] *The Vernon Manuscript*: *A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. Poet. a.1*, ed. by A. I. Doyle (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987).

[39] J. Robert Duncan, 'The Textual Content of the Vernon Manuscript' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, 2000).

portions, most of them homiletic material, 'may reflect an antecedent manuscript that had been left unbound for more convenient use in preparing sermons'.[40] This anthologizing of parts of *Handlyng Synne* emphasizes the work's relevance to a secular readership and points to the value early readers, both clerical and lay, placed on its narrative aspects as well as its direct and simple explanations of doctrine and morals and its homiletic exhortations. People dipped into it, and copied what they found useful.

We can never know exactly who formed the audience of a medieval text, but it becomes clear that *Handlyng Synne* expected to reach an audience far wider than that expressly addressed in the prologue; moreover, the audience is addressed in a way that presupposes their knowledge of the Christian faith. It is addressed to layfolk who spend time in taverns as well as to the Gilbertines and to the clergy; yet modern readers do not have sufficient evidence about levels of understanding and reception to claim that one section was more capable of reading and understanding the material than another. It seems clear that Mannyng intended to educate all classes; the text does not appear to talk down to the laity, and their involvement in it is invited on numerous occasions.

It is generally accepted that a feature of the second half of the fourteenth century was the rise in England of the learned layman such as Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, John Gower, and the author of *Gawain*. It was also a period of the flowering of vernacular devotional literature, such as Rolle's treatises and his translation of the psalter, and first-person spiritual writing like the *Revelations* of Julian, and the *Boke* of Margery Kempe. The audience was expected to grasp quite deep and subtle concepts in works such as these. Chaucer's Nun's Priest professes

> But I ne kan nat bulte it to the bren
> As kan the hooly doctour Augustyn,
> Or Boece, or the Bisshop Bradwardyn.[41]

but then proceeds into intricate philosophical detail on the issue of free will, which the secular audience is expected to find diverting. It may be argued that the works of Chaucer and other learned laymen were designed with an educated if secular audience in mind. There is also evidence, however, that *Piers Plowman* was known, although to what extent it is not clear, to those

[40] *Robert Mannyng of Brunne, Handlyng Synne*, p. xxix.

[41] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p. 258, ll. 3240–42.

involved in the 1381 uprising who, while not the poorest, were peasants and lower orders of clerics.[42] Such sophistication and ability to appreciate the finer points of intellectual argument in an audience embracing a wide spectrum of varied classes did not spring from nowhere. At and just after the turn of the century there was an upsurge in works produced for the vernacular English lay and secular market, and *Handlyng Synne* is consciously directed towards this audience.

Its didactic material is far more than simple information on the prescribed 'syllabus'; it forms a programme of detailed instruction in moral and religious truths. It presupposes a working knowledge of fundamental truths of faith such as the doctrine of original sin, 'the heued synne of Adam', yet it also takes into account the practical requirements of accurate instruction. The material introduced by Mannyng independently of the *Manuel* reveals his respect for and affinity with the laypeople for whom he writes. Sections are cross-referenced to each other, suggesting intelligent individual use of the work, as the following indicates: 'Y touched langer of þys outrage | Whan y spak of sacrylage' (10281–82). In the case of baptism, Mannyng introduces a significant amount of material not found in his source. Midwives are addressed directly. They must know the correct words to use in case an emergency baptism is required. At this level, clear instruction is repeated in a number of different forms. The correct formula for baptizing an infant is given with a selection of permissible variations and an exemplum to reinforce the danger of eternal misery for an infant christened with an incorrect form of words. The midwife in the tale, faced with the imminent loss of the baby, is sufficiently informed to know that the dying child must be baptized, but hazy on the precise terminology. Her best attempt is to say 'god & seynt Ioun | Crystene þe child boþe flesshe & boun' (9635–36). Unfortunately, this is not the correct form of words, and the child cannot be buried in consecrated ground because its soul is lost. The text makes it clear that any child who is not baptized cannot go to heaven; it will not suffer from extreme heat or cold — the traditional pains of hell — but it will suffer the pain of eternal loss: 'Þys ys peyne wyþ outen ende; | Hyt shal neuere to ioye wende' (9575–76). Theological terms are not used, but this is the doctrine of Limbo explained and illustrated with attention to detail suitable for a local audience. It is worth noting

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[42] A detailed discussion of this issue can be found in Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381*, The New Historicism, 27 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

that at this point, as in many other instances, Mannyng's theology is more explicit than that of his source. Where the writer of the *Manuel* condemned the unbaptized infant to eternal perdition:

> Si mort est sanz cest sacrement,
> Perdu est, ne dutez nient.
> > (7107–08)
>
> (If [the child] dies without this sacrament
> It is lost, without any doubt.)

Mannyng's explanation of Limbo follows the more clement thesis favoured by Thomas Aquinas that the child who had not committed any sin could not be punished for all eternity, and perhaps also underscores his understanding, as a pastor, of the concerns that families and midwives had over the eternal welfare of the infants in their charge.

Under the section on baptism a broad range of knowledge is assumed, from contemporary debate about whether Jews can be saved, to discussions on the forbidden degrees of spiritual relationship. The *Manuel* does not contain the lengthy section on Jews but Mannyng finds this topical since Jews had been influential locally in Lincoln, and their expulsion in 1290 was within living memory. Mannyng quotes laypeople's current discussions:

> Ofte we here þe lewed men seye,
> And erre ful moche out of þe weye,
> Þat of þe Iewes seye sum oun
> Þey ne wote wheþer þey be saued or noun.
> > (9523–26)

Contrasting the Old Law unfavourably with the New, Manning states categorically that an unbaptized Jew cannot be saved. This differs from the more tolerant view expressed half a century later by Langland, who took a much fuller theological view of salvation and understood the Old Law as the prelude to the New. Mannyng's reference to laypeople's erroneous opinions indicates the interest of contemporary laity in theology. Langland, too, refers to the laity's interest, although in scathing terms, dismissing as ignorant babble their disputes about the Trinity. Both Langland and Mannyng are clerks, recommending that the laity should accept rather than debate truths of faith, yet writing specifically for secular people, elucidating the very material they are being warned off questioning. Mannyng at several points intervenes to correct popular error, even when that error is a component of an exemplum he is using. A certain tension

can be perceived throughout the work between the writer's desire to educate in depth and the lay reader's tendency to form opinions which run the risk of being erroneous.

Nevertheless Mannyng discusses many tricky theological issues in laypeople's terms, and, just as Langland did when using the image of the hand to explain the mystery of the Trinity, uses analogies to express truth.[43] The difference between baptism and confirmation is expressed by analogy with a charter and a roll. Baptism, he says, is like a charter which verifies ownership of a house and land while confirmation is like the roll of the Great Assize, which no one has power to gainsay (9801–12). Here Mannyng takes a definite stand to counter lay suggestions that baptism alone is necessary, and in passages that do not appear in the *Manuel*, he argues for the efficacy and necessity of each sacrament. In doing so he uses a mixture of theological truth and homely example, demonstrating that children are beset by temptation — 'þe fende' — and need the additional power of confirmation to assist them (9837–68). For this reason parents should not delay in bringing their children before the bishop:[44]

> Certes þo men moche mysdo
> Þat abyde long ar þey go þar to,
> And women gretly ouer al þyng
> Þat wyl nat here children bring
> To receyue þe sacrament
> At þe bysshopes conferment.
>   (9849–54)

One of the trickiest of theological issues, and one which was challenged from Paschasius to the Lollards, is the doctrine of the Real Presence which states that Jesus Christ is present, body, blood, soul, and divinity in the consecrated bread

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[43] Langland explained the Trinity by analogy with a hand which is composed of a fist (God the Father), fingers (God the Son), and a palm (God the Holy Spirit). All the parts are equally the hand and none can exist without the others; see *William Langland, Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*, ed. by A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Longman, 1995), I: *Text*, B17: 138–95; C19: 113–60; pp. 644–49.

[44] Nicholas Orme discusses the practical difficulties of finding a bishop to confirm children. That this was a widespread problem can be seen by the complaint of the Council of Lambeth, in 1281, that many people neglected the sacrament, and that 'innumerable' grew old in evil ways without receiving it; see Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 217–21.

and wine.[45] As with the teaching on baptism, the poem presents doctrine in a manner that respects the reader's knowledge and intelligence, discussing the essential concepts in language that belongs to secular life. Mannyng first outlines the issues, reducing them to two essential virtues: faith and love. The simple teaching is that God's son gave his body to feed his followers and only wants them to love him in return. The expression of love is faith, and the greatest act of faith is to believe that God can change bread and wine into his body and blood. The word *love* weaves through thirty-five lines developing this theme, until it is joined by the second theme of faith. The two concepts intertwine and the doctrine is developed through word association and sound pattern:

> Stedefast beleue of loue hyt comes,
> And of beleue, loue men nomes.
> So is þe toon wyþ þe touþer;
> Wyþ steadfast beleue, loue ys þe broþer.
> (9949–52)

The doctrinal point is then interwoven, almost like a syllogism:

> To whom oghte þan oure loue be went
> But to þe beleue of þys sacrament?
> (9952–53)

The verbal plays here with their aural appeal are a good example of Mannyng's didactic technique: the work is to be read, but equally it is to be heard, and therefore remembered.

The interlinked love and faith now focus on belief in the sacrament's most difficult aspect: the power of God to change the bread and wine, which retain their characteristics, into the body and blood of Christ. In terms of scholastic theology, transubstantiation refers to the difference between the substance and the accidents. The substance is the essence, the 'this-ness' of something, that quality that makes it what it is. The accidents are the external signs, the sensory attributes such as colour, texture, taste, smell, shape. Scholastic theologians explained the difficult concept of bread and wine becoming the body and blood of Christ by maintaining that the substance remained the body and blood of Christ, but the accidents changed to take on the appearance of bread and wine. Although he is clearly aware of scholastic debate on substance and accidents,

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[45] Transubstantiation is also a key feature of the didactic *Liber contra* of Master Vacarius, discussed by Jason Taliadoros in his chapter in the present volume.

Mannyng's technique is to present the doctrine of transubstantiation without using the term. Where a later writer would use the Latinate 'accident'[46] he uses the English 'lyknes' (9977, 9979). To explain substance, or essence, he employs the phrase 'þyng þat es' (9978). He conveys the essentials of the theology in simple terms, preparing the ground first by alluding to God's almighty power. If God can create all things from nothing, the logic is clear: God has the power to change the likeness of one thing into the likeness of an other. Mannyng explains this very clearly, and with a small amount of repetition to consolidate his point:

> Syn he made al þat þat noght er was,
> Lesse maystry þan were hyt yn kas
> For to change þe lyknes
> Yn to a nouþer þyng þat es:
> Þe lyknes of brede & wyne,
> Yn flesshe & blod to turne hyt ynne.
> (9975–80)

He also implies the other important aspect of this doctrine, that Christ's flesh and blood are present whole and entire in either the bread or the wine: 'Hys flesshe, hys blod, þe brede be broght, | Syn he made al byfore of noght' (9981–82). The use of logic, scriptural reference, and clear grasp of theology are the marks of an educated thinker, but it is the simplicity of expression that marks Mannyng as a pastor who understands the needs of his flock, giving them orthodox theology in terms they can understand. This may derive from the Gilbertine insistence on simplicity, but it certainly has the effect of giving concrete English vocabulary the power to express complex theological concepts. It is worth noting that *Handlyng Synne* in this section is twice as long as the *Manuel* which has no persuasive explanation of transubstantiation, but contents itself with reiterating the obligation of everyone to believe.

> De tutes choses ad Deu poer —
> Cil qe de nient les poeit crier —
> Chescune furme en autre changer;
> De ceo ne deit nul duter.
> (7293–96)

(God who was able to create all things from nothing has the power to change the form of each into another. None should doubt this.)

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[46] The *Medieval English Dictionary* records Chaucer as the first user of the term in English (*c*. 1390): 'Thise cookes, how they stampe, and streyne, and grynde, | And turnen substaunce into accident', *The Pardoner's Tale,* p. 197, ll. 538–39.

The exemplum that follows, of the monk whose faith in the Eucharist was restored by seeing a vision of a live child being sacrificed at the words of consecration, is a graphic illustration not only of what transubstantiation implies, but of Mannyng's and his contemporaries' literal interpretation of the Real Presence of Jesus in the sacrament of the altar. The exemplum is an ancient one from the era of the Desert Fathers and a most earthy and literal interpretation of what is going on in the sacrament.[47] The whole event has a strongly corporeal quality. The doubting monk sits wedged in a stall between two abbots who pray for him to have faith; when the celebrant says the precise words of consecration, a child appears on the paten. As the priest breaks the bread an angel slices the child; and when the angel catches the child's blood in the chalice, liturgy combines with horror. The event is spectacular, like an execution, yet the doubting monk makes his way to the top step to receive the sacrament.[48] Nothing is left to the imagination, down to the bloody morsels of the child's flesh lying on the paten. The monk's response, in a loud voice, is also corporeal — a shout of horror. His cry of faith comes at the moment of almost eating a bloody lump of fresh child's flesh. And this act of faith in Christ's real presence has the effect of restoring the sign of bread beneath which the reality is made bearable for the daily worshipper. The intention is both to shock and to teach. This is theology at its most sensuous, unforgettable doctrine transmitted through narrative.

The role of narrative in the instruction raises questions about the relationship of the doctrine implied in the tales to that promulgated by Mannyng in the direct teaching sections. The prologue declares his intention of using tales that will rival those people like to hear for entertainment. Certainly they cover a range of narrative genres, including humorous folktales, stories of knightly virtue, vividly narrated tales of the supernatural, local anecdote, and many more.[49] They derive from ancient sources like Gregory's *Dialogues* and the *Vitas patrum*, authorities such as Bede, and exempla collections like those of Jacques de Vitry. Their

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[47] Mannyng says that he found the story in 'vytas patrum' (10006); in Appendix 2 Sullens references this to *Vitas patrum*, PL LXXIII, col. 978.

[48] The didactic function of the spectacle of execution and display of the quartered body, and its role in reinforcing an existing rule of law, is analysed by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977), especially chap. 2: 'The Spectacle of the Scaffold'.

[49] Hugo von Trimberg employs a similar didactic approach in his long metrical text, *Der Renner*, as discussed by Albrecht Classen in his chapter in this volume; see also the chapter by Philippa Bright on the moralized tales of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum*.

purpose is always to teach, but because sometimes the exempla reflect popular belief rather than official teaching, Mannyng takes care to provide glosses. A particularly widely held notion implied in one of the Eucharistic tales, for example, is that Mass is only effective if said by a good priest.[50] Mannyng tells the tale as it stands, but he is careful to point out in his commentary that Mass is effective in its own right and, to make the point more forcefully, he explicitly cross-references this with his section on the commandment against stealing. Here an exemplum recounts how a suffering soul who had stolen a garment in life revisits a friend to beg for Mass to be said for him by a virtuous priest (2221–352). Mannyng interrupts the tale to comment on the error — Mass is efficacious whether the priest is 'fals or frow' (2305) — and he trenchantly sets out the orthodox doctrine:

> Noþeles þe seluen messe
> Ys noþer þe werse ne þe lesse.
> Þe sunne hys feyrnes neuer ne tynes
> Þogh hyt on þe muk hepe shynes.
> But þe muk ys þe more stynkyngge
> Þer þe sunne ys more shynyngge.
> Nomore hyt ys lore þe vertu
> Of þe messe, but mannys pru,
> Þogh þe prest be fals or frow,
> Þe messe ys eure gode ynow.
>
> (2297–306)[51]

In terms of providing material for his English audience, however, the most interesting tales are the thirteen introduced by Mannyng, nine of which, according to Frederic C. Tubach,[52] are not recorded elsewhere. The fact that *Handlyng Synne* is the only site for these tales does not necessarily imply that Mannyng invented

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[50] For a scholastic approach to this issue in a didactic text, see the chapter on Vacarius, *Liber contra*, by Taliadoros in the present volume.

[51] Mannyng's immediate source here is the *Manuel* which notes of the Eucharist: 'Car de home ne prent enpirement | Nient plus qe pet le fimer | Le solail, qe sur li fiert cler' (For it is not damaged by the man [who administers it] any more than the dunghill lessens the sun that shines brightly upon it; *Manuel*, p. 82, ll. 2714–16). For earlier Latin scholastic versions of this analogy of the sun and the lower places used with regard to the Eucharist, see the chapter by Taliadoros in the present volume, p. 371, n. 164.

[52] Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969).

them himself, but that he drew upon a body of exempla circulating in oral tradition which have not come down to us in any other record but his. These particular tales are characterized by their brevity, typically between thirty and ninety lines in length, whereas tales taken from literary sources such as Bede or the *Vitas patrum* may easily run to over two hundred lines. Their style is anecdotal, as though aimed at defining a community of interest between the writer and the reader, strengthening the bonds, not only of Englishness, but of a particular brand of eastern Englishness. Several take place either in the immediate vicinity of Sempringham, the region of Kesteven, or in the surrounding areas of East Anglia — Sudbury, Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln. Some claim to recount events that have occurred recently: 'now late fyl yn Wales' (11084); they are populated by characters similar to Mannyng's readership: dairy farmers, midwives, bondmen, a knight; and the incidents described fall within the experience of most people: cheating executors, a miner trapped in a mineshaft, sheep straying into a churchyard to graze.

One clear example of a locally told and much-repeated story is the tale, based in the region around Sempringham Priory, of the wicked Kesteven executors who defrauded a son of his father's testament. Detail is brief and unspecific, as if passed from one teller to another, but the moral is clear: both executors came to a bad end. One of them who had gained much of the property — 'þat had þe þyng' — died in poverty; the other was strangled as he sat on his outdoor privy: 'At hys foreyne, y ne wot what, | Strangled hym þer on as he sat' (6407–08). Another characteristic that marks this group of tales introduced by Mannyng and promoting English as a literary and didactic medium is lively dialogue. Mannyng handles dialogue well in his other tales, but these localized tales have an intimate familiarity that emphasizes their direct relevance to ordinary people's lives. In the tale of the Suffolk man whose wife arranged for masses to be said for his soul, the ghost addresses his wife in familiar terms as though he is still alive:

> 'Slepyst þou', he seyde; 'nay', seyde she.
> 'Be ʒe ʒyt', she seyde, 'yn blys?
> Þe messe for ʒow sunge ys.'
> 'Þe messe', he seyde, 'þou dedest be do,
> A party hyt halpe þer vnto'.
>
>   (10430–35)

His dissatisfaction with having to share a mass comes over in rapid bursts of direct speech, replicated on the second night, when he is able to tell his wife that because she had Mass sung by a holy prior exclusively for him he is released from

purgatory. A contrasting tale with equally lively dialogue is that of the witch and the cow-sucking bag. Told with humour, the tale vividly sets the scene, which includes the witch with her 'bagbely' that she can command to go and suck cows dry, the indignant townspeople who have accused her of witchcraft, and the bishop surrounded by his clerks. Far from condemning her for witchcraft, as prelates in a later century would do, the bishop is interested in how she makes it work. He has her dictate the words of her spell to his clerk, then enters into a little competition, but is unable to make the bag go and come at his bidding as she can do:

> 'Why', seyde he, 'wyle hyt nat ryse?
> And y haue do þe same wyse
> And seyd þe wrdys, lesse ne mo,
> And for my seyyng wyle hyt nat go?'
> 'Nay', she seyde, 'why shuld hyt so?
> ʒe beleue nou ʒt as y do.
> Wolde ʒe beleue my wrdys as y,
> Hyt shulde ha go and sokyn ky.'
>
> (539–46)

The conclusion is a wry subversion of true belief: the witch is successful because she believes in what she is doing, whereas the bishop fails because he does not share her perverted faith.

Mannyng deliberately places his teachings in a context familiar to the immediate Lincolnshire audience. His insertion of quasi-contemporary and localized stories strengthens the appeal of his work to a secular and lay audience conscious of its own Englishness and local identity. There is a definite community of interest between the teller of the tales and the listeners, particularly 'in the way it brings the listeners or readers right back to their own parish life and emphasizes the application of the exemplum to contemporary English society'.[53] The choices made by Mannyng as to what he would add to his source, both by way of exemplum and direct teaching material in orthodox doctrine and practical morality, are significant factors in his creation of audiences for his work. The detail of his doctrinal explanations presupposes an audience open to intellectually demanding teaching. Frequent cross-referencing within the lengthy text assumes audience participation on a regular basis, implying that the text is well known and much used. *Handlyng Synne* is written self-consciously in

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[53] Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, p. 59.

English. The Anglo-Norman of the source is the language of the stranger, and it is not for the majority of people who, as Clanchy has pointed out, were unlettered in French or Latin, but not stupid and not ignorant. As Turville-Petre says:

> It is impossible to substantiate the assumption that the poorer rural and urban population of villeins was quite unable or unwilling to appreciate the works of romance, history, and religious instruction that survive in manuscript. The apparent contradiction between the stated and implied audience may reside only in our own distorted view of the ignorance and philistinism of the poorer sections of English society.[54]

Mannyng intended his readership to be the laity, and there is no suggestion that he addressed only the people in the manor house, or only the brothers and sisters of his own Gilbertine order. Mannyng's audience embraces all, even the poorest members of the parish community. This didactic material gives them their birthright in a form that they can use for themselves by reading and re-reading.

[54] Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry', p. 6.

ANGLO-LATIN COLLECTIONS
OF THE *GESTA ROMANORUM* AND
THEIR ROLE IN THE CURE OF SOULS

Philippa Bright

*G*esta Romanorum*, which literally means 'Deeds of the Romans', is the title given to the anonymous collection of moralized stories that appeared for the first time in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century[1] and remained popular until late in the eighteenth century. The utility and widespread appeal of the stories, which derive from a variety of sources that include oriental apologues, classical literature, saints' lives, chronicles, medieval romance, Aesopic fables, and folklore,[2] is attested by their translation from Latin, the language of

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[1] Despite continued speculation, there is still no certainty about the date of composition of the *Gesta* or its authorship. For the various arguments that have been presented, see Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare and of ancient manners: with dissertations on the clowns and fools of Shakespeare; on the Collection of popular tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris dance* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807; repr. London: for Thomas Tegg, 1839), pp. 527–31; H. L. D. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: British Museum, 1883–1910), III (1910), 188–89; *The Early English Versions of the 'Gesta Romanorum'*, ed. by Sidney J. H. Herrtage, Early English Text Society, e.s. 33 (London: Trübner, 1879; repr. Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. ix–xiv; Hermann Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1872), pp. 253–57; and Brigitte Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, Fortuna Vitrea, 3 and 4, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), I, 30–41, 73–81, and 183–93.

[2] On the sources of the *Gesta* stories, see Ella Bourne, 'Classical Elements in the *Gesta Romanorum*', in *Vassar Medieval Studies*, ed. by Christabel Forsyth Fiske (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), pp. 345–76; Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 190–212; Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 246–54; and Jean-Thiébaut Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris: Guitard, 1927; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), p. 372.

the earliest *Gesta* collections, into a range of vernacular languages, namely English, German, French, Dutch, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Czech, Icelandic, and Welsh, and by their survival in more than 350 manuscripts and numerous printed editions.[3] However, despite the fact that the *Gesta* stories circulated so widely and continued to be of interest for such a long period of time, little attention has been paid to their reception and use, so that there is still no clear understanding of how and by whom the collections were used or of the purpose they were intended to serve. This is especially true in the case of the Anglo-Latin collections which have long been neglected by scholars even though they differ significantly from Continental Latin collections[4] and are the basis on which the Middle English *Gesta* tradition rests. In this chapter I will attempt to shed further light on the role the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections played in the moral and religious education of Christians by examining three sources of evidence: the social and political climate in which the collections were produced, the codicological contexts in which they circulated, and the textual changes and additions that distinguish the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories from the corresponding Continental Latin versions. The textual differences that are to be found in Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories are of particular interest to this investigation since, in highlighting the way in which received material has been altered in response to new audiences and contexts, they offer important insights into the intended function and reception of the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories as didactic texts.

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[3] Weiske, in *Gesta Romanorum*, II, 124–44, lists 388 manuscripts, but her list also includes manuscripts that contain *Gesta*-related material, such as the *Solsequium* of Hugo von Trimberg and the *Convertimini* of Robert Holcot. Moreover, five manuscripts that contain Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections have been omitted from the list, as have twelve of the *Gesta* manuscripts that appear in the catalogue of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library. For details of the various printed *Gesta* collections, see Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, pp. 532–35 and 575; A. Esdale, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1912), pp. 59–62; Ernest Philip Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1943; repr. New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1969), pp. 9–11; and Walter Röll, 'Nachlese zur Überlieferung der *Gesta Romanorum*', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 121 (1999), 103–08.

[4] The first to note this was Sir Francis Douce who claimed that, although the construction of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* resembled that of the '*original Gesta*' (which he mistakenly believed was represented by the Latin printed editions), the stories were 'always newly written, and sometimes materially altered'. See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 537.

Although the Anglo-Latin and Continental Latin *Gesta* collections were once thought to represent two distinct works,[5] it is now generally accepted by scholars that they form different branches of the same tradition and descend from a common ancestor of the same type as the archetype of the collection in Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex Latin 310, which dates from 1342 and is the earliest extant manuscript of the *Gesta*.[6] The Innsbruck collection, which consists of 220 *Gesta* stories, was edited in 1890 by the German scholar Wilhelm Dick,[7] but as Dick chose to omit the moralizations that accompany the stories and which are an integral part of the collection, his edition has never replaced Herman Oesterley's 1872 edition of 181 stories from Latin printed collections as a basis for *Gesta* scholarship.[8] Apart from a small number of stories from individual manuscripts, the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections have never been edited, so there is, as yet, no reliable published account of the Anglo-Latin tradition. In her 1992 study of the *Gesta*, which is the most comprehensive to be published to date, Brigitte Weiske identified a total of thirty-six Anglo-Latin collections[9] and reaffirmed the view, originally expressed by Sir Frederic Madden and thereafter repeated without question by most *Gesta* scholars, that the collection which best represents the Anglo-Latin tradition is that in London,

[5] See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, pp. 535–37.

[6] On the manuscript tradition, see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 190; Max Krepinsky, 'Quelques remarques relatives à l'histoire des *Gesta Romanorum*', *Le Moyen Âge*, 24 [2nd ser., 15] (1911), 307–18 and 346–67; Walter Röll, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der "Gesta Romanorum"', *Mittellateinsches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1986), 208–29; and Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, I, 3–5.

[7] See *Die Gesta Romanorum nach der Innsbrucker Handschrift vom Jahre 1342 und vier Münchener Handschriften*, ed. by Wilhelm Dick (Erlangen: Georg Böhme, 1890).

[8] Oesterley's edition (see n. 1, above), which has been reprinted on several occasions, is based on three early Latin printings: a collection of 150 chapters published by Ketelaer and de Leempt at Utrecht around 1472, a collection of 181 chapters published by Arnold Ter Hoernen at Cologne in about the same year, and a more extensive Vulgärtext of 181 chapters published by Ulrich Zell at Cologne about 1473. As well as reproducing early printings, the edition also includes a description of all the *Gesta* manuscript collections known to Oesterley at the time of publication, and an appendix containing a further 101 exempla drawn from unspecified Latin manuscripts. The edition is unsuitable for serious research, however, as it presents a hybrid text that is without manuscript authority, a list of manuscripts that is now out of date, and manuscript descriptions that are inconsistent and at times erroneous. For a more recent edition of three unedited Innsbruck manuscripts, see Gabriela Kompatscher, *Die Gesta Romanorum Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck Cod. 667, Cod. 509 und Cod. 433: ihre Beziehungen zueinander und zu den anderen Gesta Romanorum Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1997).

[9] See Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, II, 124–44.

British Library, MS Harley 2270.[10] More extensive investigation, however, has indicated that the Anglo-Latin corpus is both larger than generally believed and considerably less uniform. Research undertaken by myself and Diane Speed in preparing our forthcoming edition of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* has brought to light an additional five Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections, bringing the total number of known collections to forty-one.[11] Very few of these collections can be dated precisely, but all are to be found in manuscripts that belong to the fifteenth century and that, with one apparent exception, are of English provenance.[12] It would also seem clear from the dates of other items that are included in the manuscripts that Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* continued to circulate in manuscript form until quite late in the fifteenth century and even after the appearance of Middle English and printed Latin collections.

Close inspection of the forty-one Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections that have now been identified reveals that, in addition to containing a number of stories that do not form part of the Continental *Gesta* tradition,[13] the Anglo-Latin collections vary

[10] See Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum,* I, 12–13. In addition, see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 213; Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, p. xvi; *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. by Sir Frederic Madden for the Roxburghe Club (London: Shakspeare Press, 1838), p. xii. Close examination of the collection in BL, MS Harley 2270, however, suggests that it is an expanded collection that is based on more than one exemplar. On this point, see Philippa Mary Bright, 'A Comparative Study and Edition of Chapters 1–20 of the Middle English *Gesta Romanorum* in BL Additional MS 9066 and Related Anglo-Latin Chapters' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sydney, 2004), p. 16.

[11] The five Anglo-Latin *Gesta* manuscripts that have been omitted from Weiske's list are: Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2829; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 215/230; Durham, University Library (hereafter DUL), Cosin V.V. 9; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 78; and Oxford, All Souls College, 20. A sixth manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College, 605, is listed by Weiske but has not been identified as belonging to the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* corpus, while a seventh, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Qu. 280, is described as similar to Harley 2270, when in fact it is almost identical to Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter Bod. Lib.), Douce 310. The edition of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* currently being prepared by myself and Diane Speed is based on Douce 310, and is to be published by Oxford University Press in the series Oxford Medieval Texts.

[12] The exception is MS Theol. Lat. Qu. 280, which appears to be of Italian provenance. It is described in *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, ed. by Gerard Achten, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), II, 50–51.

[13] There are at least seventeen of these stories. In listing them, and when discussing individual Anglo-Latin stories, I have used, for ease of reference to previous scholarship, the titles employed by Herbert in *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 190–271, and the chapter numbers of MS Harley 2270, and BL, MS Sloane 4029, both of which are described in Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III,

enormously in size as well as in the choice and arrangement of texts. While the nine largest collections are composed of a core group of 100 to 101 stories, arranged in the same or very similar order in each manuscript, and supplemented in some manuscripts by the inclusion of between one and eight additional stories, the remaining thirty-two collections range in size from five to ninety-nine stories and have been created from larger collections, sometimes by extracting groups of stories without changing the order of their occurrence, sometimes by selecting stories at random, and sometimes by choosing material from more than one exemplar.[14] As stories were copied and new collections produced, linguistic as well as more substantial changes were also sometimes made to the Anglo-Latin texts so that each collection is effectively a new version of the *Gesta*. Nevertheless, there is, on the whole, a high level of textual agreement between the stories in the different Anglo-Latin collections and it is upon these shared features of the texts rather than on differences between individual versions that the following discussion of the role and reception of the Anglo-Latin collections will focus.

One of the distinctive features of the Anglo-Latin collections, and one which immediately distinguishes them from Continental Latin *Gesta* collections, is that the stories typically begin with the claim that a certain very wise emperor was ruling in Rome at the time the events of the story took place.[15] As in the Oesterley and Innsbruck collections, however, in which the same type of opening formula is employed inconsistently and is only one of several ways in which the stories are introduced,[16] many of the names that are cited are not those of real

212–16 and 222–25 respectively. The additional stories that are to be found in Anglo-Latin collections are: 'Ostrich Chick' (2), 'Lear' (21), 'Fire Alarms' (24), 'Seven Riddles' (25), 'Chess Realm Divided' (27), 'Well Cures Drunkenness' (77), 'Vengeance Deferred' (78), 'Lamp that Virgin Must Light' (79), 'Serpents Suckled' (80), 'Ravisher Denounced' (90), 'Bath of Blood' (93), 'Fountain Revives Dead' (94), 'Fire and Water Ready' (97), 'Fridolin' (98), 'Two Princes' (100), 'Ravisher Sues Girl's Father' (Sloane 4029, 48), and 'Bramble Chosen as King' (Sloane 4029, 4).

[14] For a more detailed description of the Anglo-Latin corpus, see Bright, 'A Comparative Study and Edition', pp. 10–16.

[15] The standard Anglo-Latin formula is 'X in ciuitate romana regnauit prudens ualde'. It is omitted in only a small number of cases, such as the variant version of 'Atalanta' in BL, MS Harley 5369; Bod. Lib., MS Bodley 123 and MS Bodley 857; Oxford, Balliol College, MS 320; Bod. Lib., MS Douce 101; Bod. Lib., MS Greaves 54; and BL, MS Royal, 8F. 6, and the interpolated material in Bod. Lib., MS Douce 142; CUL, MS Mm. VI. 21; and BL, MS Add. 33784.

[16] Some of the alternative opening formulas that are used in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the stories are: 'Quidam imperator erat', 'Quidam rex erat', 'Erat quidam miles', 'Legitur in vitae patrum', 'Barlaam narrat', and 'Refert Augustinus'.

Roman emperors but belong instead to heroic figures of history and legend, such as Alexander, Darius, Menelaus, Aeneas, and Apollonius; to Christian saints, such as Anselm, Celestine, Dunstan, Felician, Pancras, and Calepodius; or to influential scholars and writers, such as Averroes, Euclid, and Theobaldus. Often, too, the names that have been assigned to emperors in the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories differ from those in the corresponding Oesterley and Innsbruck versions. In Anglo-Latin versions of 'Focus the Smith' (16), for example, the emperor has been given the name of the legendary Greek hero 'Apolonius' rather than that of the historical Roman emperor 'Titus',[17] while in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Plaice; Three Petitions' (46), 'Alexander', the name of the famous Macedonian king and conqueror, and also the first name of the English author Alexander Neckam from whom the story derives, has been preferred to the name 'Gallicus'.[18] Equally interesting changes are the choice of 'Menelaus' rather than 'Heinricus' (Oesterley) or 'Hainricus' (Innsbruck) in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Refuge in Palace' (82),[19] and the use, in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Whale; Three Caskets' (99), 'Prison Talk' (11), and 'Ravisher Preferred' (57), of the saints' names 'Anselmus', 'Betoldus' (Botulph), and 'Damascenus' (John of Damascus) instead of 'Honorius', 'Adrianus', and 'Fredericus' (Oesterley), or the Innsbruck alternatives 'Iustinus' and 'Decius', which are all names of historical Roman emperors.[20] It would appear, therefore, that the formula which introduces the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta*

[17] In Chapter 16 of MS Harley 2270, the emperor's name is 'Appolinus', but the more usual form is 'Apolonius'. For the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the 'Focus' story, see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 57, and Cod. Lat. 310, 143, fols 54ᵛ–55ᵛ.

[18] The name 'Gallicus', which occurs in the version of the 'Plaice' story included among the supplementary material in Oesterley's edition (see *Gesta Romanorum*, 194, p. 601) and the version of the story in Cod. Lat. 310, 200, fols 123ʳ⁻ᵛ, literally means 'French' or 'of Gaul' and is not the recognizable name of any historical ruler. For Alexander Neckam's version of the story, see *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo: With the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. by Thomas Wright, Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 34 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), Rolls ser. 34, pt 2, 40, pp. 152–54

[19] Like 'Plaice; Three Petitions', the story 'Refuge in Palace' does not form part of Oesterley's Vulgärtext, but has been included among the supplementary material he provides (see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 250, app. 54). For the corresponding Innsbruck version of the story, see Cod. Lat. 310, 213, fols 132ʳ⁻ᵛ.

[20] For the respective Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the stories, see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 251, app. 55, and Cod. Lat. 310, 218, fols 134ʳ–35ᵛ; Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 86, and Cod. Lat. 310, 174, fols 98ᵛ–99ʳ; and Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 117, and Cod. Lat. 310, 27/184, fols 13ʳ⁻ᵛ and 106ᵛ–07ᵛ.

stories is a rhetorical strategy similar to that of the appeal to heroes and *auctores* in the classical Roman exemplum[21] and that its function is to give the stories greater authority and greater persuasive power as exempla by convincing the audience that the events that are described are true and concern illustrious and celebrated figures of the past. The fact that, in the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories, the names of emperors have often been altered and that, in many instances, the names of historical emperors have been replaced by the names of popular heroes of legend and Romance or of well-known authors and saints suggests that an attempt has also been made to increase the appeal of the stories by relating them more closely to the interests and tastes of their target audience.

Many of the other textual changes that are a feature of the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories are likewise designed to enhance their authority and appeal as exempla. Such changes take a variety of forms. In some cases, names and circumstantial details have been added to the narratives in an attempt to give greater verisimilitude, and hence greater credibility, to the events described. In Anglo-Latin versions of 'Jonathas' (54), for example, the woman with whom the hero Jonathas falls madly in love and who, in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story,[22] is described only as his 'concubine' or 'mistress' ('concubina', Oesterley; 'amasia', Innsbruck) has been given the name 'Felicia' in some manuscripts and 'Felicula' in others.[23] Moreover, the dialogue in which she persuades Jonathas to part with the magic ring he has inherited from his father takes place not in some unspecified location, but in the very natural and realistic setting of her lying in bed with Jonathas. Additions of a similar nature are also to be found in the Anglo-Latin versions of a number of other *Gesta* stories. In 'Leprosy Given in Spite' (6), for example, the greedy knight and the jealous knight are named 'Lemicius' and 'Feculinus' respectively;[24] in 'Cockrows' (53),

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[21] On the use of heroes and *auctores* in the classical Roman exemplum, see Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum',* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), pp. 43–45; and Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 33.

[22] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 120, and Cod. Lat. 310, 147, fols 60ᵛ–63ᵛ.

[23] 'Felicia' is the name found in the majority of Anglo-Latin manuscripts, but there are three closely related manuscripts, namely Hereford, Cathedral Library, 74, Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin 13, and Cambridge, Trinity College, 1388, in which the variant 'Felicula' occurs.

[24] In the corresponding versions of the story in Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 151, and Cod. Lat. 310, 197, fols 119ᵛ–21ʳ, the two knights are unnamed.

the cuckolded husband is called 'Acharon';[25] and, in 'Shooting at Father's Corpse' (50), the emperor's adulterous wife is said to be 'from the kingdom of Spain'.[26] Similarly, in 'Whale; Three Caskets' (99), the king who wishes to seal a peace agreement with the emperor by marrying his daughter to the emperor's son is identified as 'the king of Ampullie' (Apulia), and his daughter who is shipwrecked and swallowed by a whale when journeying to her new homeland is rescued by an earl named 'Pirius' rather than by an anonymous knight.[27]

On other occasions, greater verisimilitude has been given to Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories by the addition of details that provide a reason or motive for events and actions. This feature of the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories is well illustrated in both 'Gauterus' (4 and 72) and 'Cords' (44). In the more common of the two versions of 'Gauterus' that circulated in Anglo-Latin collections,[28] the additional narrative detail that Gauterus lay in his bed thinking 'all is vanity' supplies a motive and context for his subsequent decision to search for a place where there is 'joy without sadness, abundance without lack, and light without darkness',[29] while, in the variant version of the story that occurs in some manuscripts,[30] his decision to undertake such a quest is motivated by the events of an additional episode in which he is advised of the meaning of the nightingale's song he heard when walking in his garden. Additional details that have a similar narrative function have also been included in Anglo-Latin versions

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[25] In the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story the cuckolded husband is simply described as 'quidam miles generosus'. See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 68, and Cod. Lat. 310, 182, fols 104ᵛ–05ʳ.

[26] For the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story, see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 44, and Cod. Lat. 310, 103, fols 38ʳ⁻ᵛ.

[27] For the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of 'Whale; Three Caskets', see Cod. Lat. 310, 218, fols 134ʳ–35ᵛ, and Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 251, app. 55. Other examples of the inclusion of proper names in Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories are 'Tirius' in 'Labyrinth' (39), 'Ionathas' and 'Pyrius' in 'Wise Man Follows Fool' (14), and 'Gernaldus' in 'Scars Shown' (19).

[28] See, for example, MS Harley 2270, 4.

[29] No motive or explanation for the quest is given in either the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story or the Odo of Cheriton version on which the Anglo-Latin versions are based. For the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of 'Gauterus', see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 101, and Cod. Lat. 310, 189, fols 110ʳ⁻ᵛ. For Odo's version, see *Les Fabulistes Latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. by Léopold Hervieux, 5 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 1970; repr. from 2nd edn, 1893–99), IV, no. 27, 199–201.

[30] The variant version of 'Gauterus' is included in the nine longest Anglo-Latin collections as well as the collections in BL, MS Harley 3132, and Trinity College (Camb.), MS 1388.

of 'Cords' (44) in which the steward's mistreatment of the emperor's daughter and of the knights who have been appointed to protect her, which has no ostensible motive in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story,[31] is explained in psychologically credible terms by the additional information that he grew to hate the girl after he had taken advantage of her father's absence by raping her, and that he turned against the knights when they reproved him for his crime.

Another interesting example of the way in which the motivation of characters is often handled more effectively in the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories than in the corresponding Oesterley and Innsbruck versions is provided by the story 'Nightingale Killed' (23). Although some textual features of the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the narrative have been omitted in Anglo-Latin versions, two additional pieces of information have been introduced, namely, that the old knight kept his young wife closely guarded, and that she often went to her sunroom window to listen to her lover singing.[32] The first of these additions, which derives from Marie de France's Lai, 'Laüstic', upon which the *Gesta* story is based,[33] serves to characterize the old knight as a jealous husband, which helps to explain his later violent response to his wife's habit of leaving her bed at night to listen to the song of the nightingale that sits in the fig tree in front of her sunroom window. The second addition, which also appears to derive from Marie's Lai, has an even more important narrative function in that the parallel it establishes between the wife's interest in her lover's singing and her desire to listen to the nightingale's song leaves no doubt that her real reason for leaving her bed at night is unrequited love. This is not only a more plausible motive for the wife's actions than innocent delight in the nightingale's song (her only reason for leaving her bed in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story), but also one that is more consistent with the following events of the narrative in which the knight, in a fit of sexual jealousy, kills the nightingale and cuts out its heart.

As well as containing textual changes and additions that help to give the narratives greater credibility, the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories have also been expanded and altered in ways that are designed to enhance their audience appeal and to encourage greater audience engagement. This is nowhere better

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[31] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 212, app. 16, and Cod. Lat. 310, 195, fols 117ᵛ–18ᵛ.

[32] In the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story it is the sweetness of the lady's singing that attracts both the young knight and other men. For this and for other variations, see Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 121, and Cod. Lat. 310, 199, fols 122ʳ–ᵛ.

[33] For an edition of Marie's Lai, see *Marie de France Lais*, ed. by Alfred Ewert (1947; repr. Oxford: Blackwell and Mott, 1960), no. 8, pp. 97–101.

exemplified than in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Jonathas'. In the Anglo-Latin versions of the narrative, the events of the opening episode in which the dying father of Jonathas bequeaths his property to his three sons are not simply reported, as in the Oesterley version, or reported with the addition of a small speech to Jonathas, the youngest son, as in the Innsbruck version, but are presented as a dramatized scene in which the father addresses each of his sons in turn in direct speech.[34] Similarly, the episode in which Felicia/Felicula dupes Jonathas for a second time and succeeds in acquiring his magic brooch has been reworked and expanded for greater dramatic effect by the use of *exclamatio*, by the inclusion of additional dialogue and direct speech, and by the introduction of additional narrative details, such as the tears Felicia/Felicula uses to pressure Jonathas into trusting her with the brooch, her threat to kill herself because of the loss of the brooch, and, finally, the intervention and forgiveness of Jonathas when she pretends to carry out her threat.

A desire to more fully develop the dramatic potential of the narrative is also evident in the treatment of the relationship between the knight and the emperor's daughter in Anglo-Latin versions of 'The Bloody Shirt' (15). Whereas, in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story, the knight, on hearing that the girl has been seduced and exiled, offers to make her his bride ('sponsa') and to win back her kingdom for her if she will promise to accept no-one else,[35] in Anglo-Latin versions, he asks her to become his lover ('amasia') and to love no one as much as him.[36] The more romantic and sentimental treatment of the relationship between the knight and the girl that is a feature of the Anglo-Latin versions of the story is reflected not only in the more intimate and passionate nature of the commitment the knight seeks from the girl in return for winning back her kingdom, but also in the fact that he wishes her to honour his memory after his death by keeping his bloodstained shirt (a garment traditionally worn

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[34] Further examples of dramatization are to be found in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Crucified Lion' (81), in which the deliberation among the citizens as to what they should do in order to free the city from the dragon and the other beasts by which it has been besieged has been turned into a dialogue between the satraps of the city and the emperor; 'Shooting at Father's Corpse' (50), in which an additional scene has been introduced in which the emperor, on his deathbed, bequeaths a precious ring to the son that is his legitimate heir; and 'Soft Words' (22), which includes an additional episode in which the three knights who have been sent to recover the emperor's castle are warned that thieves and robbers are waiting in the forest to kill them and respond by vowing to defend themselves to the best of their ability.

[35] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 66, and Cod. Lat. 310, 177, fols 100ᵛ–01ᵛ.

[36] In six manuscripts 'amasia' has been replaced by the more conservative reading 'uxor' and in one by its synonym 'amica', but in such cases the second part of the knight's request remains unchanged.

under a knight's armour) rather than his bloodstained arms (Oesterley and Innsbruck) as a sign of his love for her and to weep for him whenever she looks on it. A number of other details that do not form part of the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story are likewise to be found in Anglo-Latin versions, namely, the knight's pity for the exiled girl on seeing her beauty and nobility, her concern that she has nothing other than herself to give him in return for the generosity he has shown her, his bequest of his bloodstained shirt to her, after he has been mortally wounded in battle, with the instruction that she should keep her agreement with him no matter what,[37] and the inner turmoil she experiences on viewing his shirt for the first time. Such additions further highlight the personal and emotional relationship between the knight and the girl, and, in doing so, help to give the narrative greater dramatic interest.

There are also other ways, however, in which the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories have been made more appealing and more engaging. These include the use of additional description — examples are the descriptions of the knights' shields in 'Soft Words' and the idealized portrayal of the lover knight in 'The Bloody Shirt' — and the introduction of additional literary elements and motifs, such as the nightingale's song in 'Soft Words', the *visio* and the storm in 'Whale; Three Caskets', and the forest scene in 'Labyrinth' (39), which appears to have been modelled on the 'Dame Tryamour' episode in 'Sir Launfal'.[38] Some of the most interesting changes that have been made to the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories, though, are those that involve the reshaping and/or restructuring of narrative material, either through the variation or omission of story elements or by combining separate stories. Noteworthy examples are the treatment of the whale episode in 'Whale; Three Caskets', the 'Alexander' episode in 'Socrates Married' (3), and the cockerel and honours and shames stories in 'Cockcrows'.

In Anglo-Latin versions of 'Whale; Three Caskets', the sailors, knights, and attendants who are accompanying the Princess of Apulia on her voyage to the emperor, instead of being rescued along with the Princess, as in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story,[39] are drowned in the violent storm that arises

[37] This story detail appears to derive from the popular didactic treatise *Dives and Pauper*. See *Dives and Pauper*, ed. by Priscilla H. Barnum, 2 vols, EETS, o.s. 275 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976–2004), 1, 15, ll. 16–19, pp. 99–100.

[38] See 'Sir Launfal', in *Middle English Romances: Authoritative Texts, Sources and Background Criticism*, ed. by Stephen H. A. Shepherd (New York: Norton, 1995), pp. 196–200, ll. 229–372. With Anglo-Latin versions of 'Labyrinth', compare Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 63, and Cod. Lat. 310, 157, fols 79ᵛ–80ᵛ.

[39] For details of the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions, see n. 27, above.

after they have put to sea, with the result that the Princess is left to battle both the sea and the whale that is following the ship, on her own, with only her faith in God to sustain her. By making the Princess and her actions the focus of attention in the episode, the changes that have been made to the Anglo-Latin versions of the story enable the audience to more readily identify with the Princess so that they are encouraged to engage more closely with her struggle for survival. A similar effect is created by the omission of the 'Alexander' episode in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Socrates Married'. In the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story,[40] the episode in which Socrates meets King Alexander in the forest and accuses him of ruling with his will rather than his reason is a digression that diverts attention away from the main narrative at the critical moment when Socrates is grieving over his wife's illness and wondering what he should do to avoid the death penalty that her death would incur. In the Anglo-Latin versions of the story, on the other hand, in which the episode is not included, there is no break in the narrative between the grief Socrates expresses and the comfort he is offered by the old man he meets in the forest. This not only helps to create a narrative that is more dramatically satisfying, but also makes it easier for the audience to identify with Socrates and his predicament. In the case of Anglo-Latin versions of 'Cockcrows', the changes that have been made to the narrative are more substantial in that two stories, one concerning three cockerels, and the other three honours and shames,[41] have been combined to form a single narrative in which a knight, whose wife has committed adultery in his absence, is granted a divorce on the condition that he will fight on the emperor's behalf and, if victorious, submit himself to four honours and shames. The new narrative that has been produced, as well as being a considerably expanded one that contains an additional frame story and the variation of four rather than three honours and shames, is also a more fully developed one in which the various elements have been skilfully interwoven and integrated so that each provides a justification and context for the other.

Although additional examples of differences between the Anglo-Latin and the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the *Gesta* narratives could be cited, those that have been discussed are sufficient to illustrate the kinds of changes that have typically been made to Anglo-Latin versions of the narratives and to give some indication of their purpose. It is important to note, however, that such changes,

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[40] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 61, and Cod. Lat. 310, 154, fols 77ʳ–78ʳ.

[41] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 68 and 30, and Cod. Lat. 310, 182, fols 104ᵛ–05ʳ, and 65, fol. 26ʳ.

while helping to create narratives that are both more convincing and more appealing, are also integral to the function and reception of the stories as didactic texts.[42] In the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories, as in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions, the narrative is followed by an allegorical interpretation in which basic tenets of the Christian faith pertaining to the doctrine of salvation and how it is won and lost are expounded, and in which the audience is offered advice and guidance on how to lead a good Christian life. The salvation teaching that is presented in the moralizations is delivered to the audience by an authority figure who addresses the audience collectively as 'Karissimi', in the manner of a preacher beginning a sermon or homily, and who employs the pedagogical techniques that were the stock-in-trade of the medieval sermon tradition, namely, the division of the narrative into parts, the construction of one-to-one parallels for each part, the treatment of the characters and events of the narrative as similitudes and examples, and the provision of confirming and supporting quotations from the Bible and other recognized authorities on moral and doctrinal matters. Other features of the moralizations also align them closely with the sermon tradition. These are the concluding prayer,[43] and the fact that, like the sermon, the moralizations aim to move the audience to devotion and repentance by means of exhortation, by the use of stylistic devices such as questions and exclamations, and by inviting the audience to identify with and to model their behaviour on that of characters in the stories.[44]

The textual changes and additions that are a feature of the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* narratives contribute to the function and reception of the stories as didactic texts in two important ways, one of which is by providing a basis for additional allegorization and instruction in the accompanying moralizations. In

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[42] On the didactic function of entertaining tales, see also the chapter by Anne M. Scott and Albrecht Classen's discussion of Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner* in the present volume.

[43] Typical examples are 'Ad quam, et cetera'; 'Ad quod nos perducat, et cetera'; and 'quam nos concedat, qui in celum uiuit et regnat'.

[44] On the aims and techniques of the medieval sermon, see Robert of Basevorn, 'Forma Praedicandi', and Thomas Waleys, 'De Modo Componendi Sermones cum Documentis', in T.-M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Ottawa: Institut d'études médiévales, 1936), pp. 233–323 and 326–403; A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988), p. 137; Phyllis B. Roberts, 'The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 41–62; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 64–68; and Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 63, 246, and 295.

Anglo-Latin versions of 'Whale; Three Caskets', additional story elements, such as the emperor's prophetic dream and the birth of a son to his hitherto barren wife, enable parallels to be drawn with events relating to the nativity of Christ, while, in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Cockcrows', the combination of the cockerel and honours and shames stories has paved the way for a more extensive moralization in which additional parallels have been drawn between the honours and shames the knight experiences on his return from battle and events associated with Christ's Passion, and in which the interpretation of the battle in which the knight fights on behalf of the emperor as 'penitence' allows greater emphasis to be placed on the dangers of sin and the need for repentance. Similarly, in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Labyrinth', the inclusion of the forest episode affords an opportunity for additional allegorization that highlights the important role the church and the Virgin Mary play in helping Christians to overcome sin and obtain eternal salvation, while, in the variant Anglo-Latin versions of 'Gauterus', the nightingale's song and the wise knight who is asked to interpret it serve to illustrate the fact that it is the task of a preacher or prelate of the church to explain Holy Scripture ('qui habet Sacram Scripturam exponere') and 'to set out the path to salvation for lay people' (et uiam uersus celum laicis dirigere). As if to prove the point, a lengthy exposition of the allegorical significance of the 'Gauterus' story follows, in which all of the standard rhetorical tools of the preacher are brought to bear on the subject of worldly vanity and in which allegorical meanings are assigned, not only to various parts of the text, but also to the individual letters of the French word *mort*.

There is also a second way, however, in which the changes and additions that have been made to Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* narratives contribute to the function and reception of the stories as didactic texts and that is by increasing the power of the moralizations to convince and persuade. In serving as similitudes and examples of moral and religious truths, the characters and events of the narratives have a probative as well as a rhetorical function that has its roots in the classical tradition of forensic rhetoric and the medieval preaching tradition.[45] As a form of persuasive proof, the similitudes and examples of the narratives confirm and valorize the moral and religious truths that are contained in the moralizations, while, as pedagogical tools, they enable such truths to be more easily understood, more firmly committed to memory, and more readily acted

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[45] On the use of examples and similitudes to persuade and on their utility in preaching, see Bremond, Le Goff, and Schmitt, *L''Exemplum'*, pp. 28–35 and 48–50; Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power*, p. 31; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 316.

upon. The creation of the illusion that the narratives are historical and a record of real events that took place in antiquity is an essential part of the didactic process as it gives such events, and those who participate in them, greater authority, and thus greater probative power as exempla, which in turn increases the persuasive power of the moral and religious teaching that is presented in the moralizations. At the same time, such teaching is given added authority by being delivered to the audience in the voice of a preacher who, as mediator of the faith, embodies the moral and religious authority of the church.

Not all of the textual variation that is to be found in Anglo-Latin versions of the moralizations, though, is directly related to changes and additions to the narratives. Sometimes, the moralizations have been altered for other reasons, such as to create a more unified and coherent allegorical interpretation. This is the case in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Jonathas' in which the equation of the three sons with the angels, the patriarchs and prophets, and the Christian, rather than with three types of men living in the world, serves to integrate the disparate elements of the interpretation by offering a historical perspective on salvation that establishes a framework for viewing the individual sinners' alienation from and path back to God.[46] At other times, refinements and variations that reflect differences in didactic focus and intent have been introduced in the moralizations and/or additional features included, such as further exhortation to follow the example of characters in the stories, extra supporting quotations, and, occasionally, as in some manuscripts of 'Focus the Smith' (16), an alternative *in malo* interpretation.[47] It would also appear that, in some instances, changes and additions have been made to Anglo-Latin versions of the moralizations with the explicit intention of promoting the importance of preaching and the role of the church in the quest for salvation. In Anglo-Latin versions of 'Tree Legacy' (1), for example, narrative details that have no allegorical significance in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the story,[48] such as the blood-letter, who, as a test of paternity, withdraws blood (allegorically 'good works') from the three sons who are contesting the

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[46] The equation of the curing of the leper king with the curing of the soul in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Jonathas' also helps to give the allegorical interpretation greater coherence in that it more closely parallels the structure of the narrative than the equation of the king with 'reason' (Innsbruck) or with 'a man infected by sin' (Oesterley).

[47] To interpret a text *in malo* as well as *in bono* was common in allegorical exegesis and a technique often used in preaching. The *in malo* interpretation in 'Focus the Smith', in which the emperor is equated with 'the devil' rather than with 'Our Lord, Jesus Christ', is to be found in the following Anglo-Latin manuscripts: Douce 310; CUL, Mm. VI. 21; Harley 2270; and Harley 5259.

[48] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 196, and Cod. Lat. 310, 146, fols 59ʳ–60ᵛ.

inheritance of a special tree (paradise), and the wind that dries the blood (that is, that makes meritorious works durable), are equated with 'a wise confessor and preacher' and 'grace and preaching' respectively. Moreover, in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Golden Ball for Fool' (5), the son, who is bequeathed a golden ball which he is instructed to give to the greatest fool that can be found, and for whom no allegorical parallel is provided in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the moralization,[49] is said to represent 'a preacher or wise confessor' who goes about the world warning unbelievers and the foolish of the dangers they face.

A variation of a similar kind is to be found in Anglo-Latin versions of 'Jonathas' in which the ship that carries Jonathas back to his homeland is interpreted as 'the Church' rather than 'the divine commandments that lead to eternal glory'. Such a variation, although seemingly minor, makes a significant difference to the religious message that is being conveyed, for whereas in the Oesterley and Innsbruck versions of the moralization it is implied that a Christian, after being absolved of sin, can merit eternal salvation by observing God's commandments, the message sent to the audience in the Anglo-Latin versions is that the way to salvation is through the church, to which, according to orthodox Christian teaching, a sinner is restored after penance and Holy Communion and through which, as the allegorical interpretation makes clear, the virtues that lead to salvation (namely, faith, hope, and charity), which have been lost through sin, can be regained. When considered individually, the additional references to the role of the church and preaching as mediators of the faith that are often a feature of Anglo-Latin versions of the moralizations could easily be regarded as inconsequential, but when taken together, and viewed in the context of the religious climate of the early fifteenth century, a period when the status of the church and its control over the laity were threatened by growing popular piety and the anticlericalism of the Lollard movement,[50] such references begin to take on political overtones and to assume the appearance of a calculated attempt to assert the primacy of the church's authority in moral and religious matters.

There are several important questions, therefore, that must now be addressed. They are: by whom and for what purpose were the Anglo-Latin collections used, and for what type or types of audience were they intended? In seeking answers to these questions, it is useful to begin with a brief overview of where scholarly debate on the issue of the reception and use of the *Gesta* currently stands. Until

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[49] See Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 74, and Cod. Lat. 310, 206, fols 127ᵛ–28ᵛ.

[50] For a discussion of these issues, see Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 338–42.

the last twenty-five years or so it was widely accepted by scholars that the *Gesta* stories were compiled mainly to supply illustrative examples for preachers.[51] In their study of the exemplum published in 1982, however, Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt questioned this view, arguing that the wide distribution and success of collections of exempla such as the *Gesta Romanorum* did not stem from their usefulness to preachers but rather from the fact that, in the course of the fourteenth century, such collections developed a new use and became 'ouvrages de *lecture*, tant pour l'édification morale que pour le divertissement ou la satisfaction de curiositiés historiques'[52] — in other words, works that were read not only for moral edification but also for entertainment and historical interest. Weiske, in her 1992 study of the *Gesta*, also rejects the view that the *Gesta* stories were compiled for preaching purposes, but, unlike Bremond, Le Goff, and Schmitt, who envisage a reading audience made up of clerics and the upper echelons of lay society, such as nobles and bourgeoisie, she believes that the stories were intended to serve as a guide to spiritual living for those leading some form of religious life, such as 'lay brothers, novices, future preachers, and actual preaching clergy', and to be used by them primarily for the purpose of their own meditation rather than as a practical handbook.[53]

The problem with such arguments, as far as the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* tradition is concerned, is that they are based on a limited knowledge of the Anglo-Latin corpus and do not adequately account for the changes and additions that have been made to the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories or the contexts in which the Anglo-Latin collections circulated. Although the fact that many of the changes that have been made to the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories constitute literary improvements would tend to support the view that the stories were intended to serve as edifying reading matter rather than as preaching tools, other features of the stories, such as their use of the exegetical and pedagogical techniques of the pulpit, their concern with authority, their emphasis on the role that the church and preaching play in helping Christians to attain eternal salvation, and, most significantly, the fact that their aim is to persuade the audience to transform their lives, actively, through repentance and confession, rather than to encourage spiritual reflection, link them to the preaching tradition and argue against the

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[51] See, for example, the introduction to *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. by T. F. Crane (London: Folklore Society, 1890), p. lxxxi; Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, p. viii; and Madden, *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, pp. i–ii.

[52] See Bremond, Le Goff, and Schmitt, *L'"Exemplum"*, p. 64.

[53] See Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, I, 198.

suggestion that they were intended to be used primarily for private meditation. It is true, as Weiske and others have pointed out, that the *Gesta* stories are not arranged alphabetically or according to some other logical or thematic principle of organization, as is typically the case in preachers' handbooks, but given the close association of the pedagogical techniques and aims of the stories with preaching, the lack of any logical or thematic division of material is not in itself a sufficient reason to exclude the possibility that the collections were intended to assist preachers, and any other clergy whose duties included the care of souls, in providing Christians with instruction and guidance in faith and morals. Indeed, the fact that a number of the Anglo-Latin Gesta stories were used as sermon exempla by John Felton, Vicar of the Church of St Mary Magdalen, Oxford, from 1397 to 1434,[54] and that some of the collections that were compiled for preaching purposes, such as Holcot's *Convertimini* and the exempla in BL, MS Harley 7322,[55] are not arranged alphabetically or on the basis of any other structural principle, support such a claim. Furthermore, since many of the sermons that are to be found in medieval manuscripts possess literary characteristics and are model sermons rather than ones that were actually delivered,[56] there is no reason to assume that the *Gesta* stories were necessarily used in the form in which they appear in the manuscripts or that they, too, did not serve as models for others.[57]

On the question of the target audience of the Anglo-Latin collections, the textual evidence is equally open-ended. While the formula 'Karissimi' could be used to address either a clerical or a lay audience,[58] the elementary nature of the moral and religious instruction provided in the moralizations, the reliance on examples rather than on subtle reasoning as a form of persuasion, and the absence of any theological discussion or debate is consistent with the kind of teaching

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[54] Felton's sermon collection is described in Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 54–57. On the use of the *Gesta* stories by Felton, see Herrtage, *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, p. xviii; and Madden, *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, p. xiii.

[55] For a description of Holcot's *Convertimini* and MS Harley 7322, see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 116–18 and 166–79 respectively.

[56] On this point, see Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 61–64, and Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp. 64–68.

[57] There is no reason to assume, for instance, that the written form of the stories precluded oral delivery in the vernacular since we know for a fact that many sermons that were preached in the vernacular were written down in Latin. On this issue, see D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 94.

[58] On the difficulty of drawing any conclusions about the composition of the audience from forms of address such as 'Karissimi', see Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets*, p. 19, and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 9.

that was deemed suitable for the laity.[59] Moreover, the more frequent choice of names of romance heroes and of Christian saints as names of 'Roman' emperors in the opening formula of the stories, the greater use of dramatization and emotion in the narratives — features that are associated with the popularization of texts[60] — and the inclusion, in a number of the moralizations, of additional exhortation to the audience to emulate the examples that have been set before them, suggest that an attempt has been made to broaden the appeal of the Anglo-Latin versions of the stories and to adapt them to the interests and tastes of a wider audience.

The textual evidence that has been presented, however, while contributing to a better understanding of the nature and function of the Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta* stories, represents only one type of evidence and is not, by itself, a sufficient basis for drawing any firm conclusions regarding the audience and use of the Anglo-Latin collections. To do so, it is necessary to go beyond the textual features of the stories and to examine the religious and codicological contexts in which the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections circulated. A close study of the contents of the forty-one manuscripts that contain Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections reveals that, in as many as twenty-six manuscripts, the *Gesta* stories are accompanied by material directly associated with preaching and/or the pastoral duties of priests. This material includes sermons, notes and notabilia of various kinds, miracles and saints' lives, treatises on sin and penance, the *Pater Noster*, the Ten Commandments, and the seven deadly sins, compendiums of vices and virtues, extracts from preaching handbooks, such as the *Moralitates* of Robert Holcot, *Fasciculus morum*, and *Speculum laicorum*, selected fables and exempla of Odo of Cheriton, and sections of instructional manuals for parish priests, such as *Speculum christiani*, John Pecham's *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*, and Robert Grosseteste's *Templum dei*. Judging by the nature and the diversity of the contents of individual manuscripts, it is highly likely that many served as preachers' or priests' notebooks.[61] This was undoubtedly the function of MS Bodley 123, which was compiled in 1480 to 1490 (and presumably owned) by Thomas Urmstone, chaplain of the Parish of Lyme in Cheshire, and which is made up of thirty-nine chapters of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, theological and liturgical pieces in Latin, a treatise on the seven

[59] See the comments on appropriate preaching for the laity by Roger Weseham (Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1246 to 1257) in Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, p. 67.

[60] On the use of such techniques in *The South English Legendary*, see Klaus P. Jankofsky, 'Entertainment, Edification, and Popular Education in the *South English Legendary*', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 11 (1977), 706–17 (pp. 709–15).

[61] For a description of a typical preacher's notebook, see Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets*, pp. 5–6.

sacraments of the church, a Latin ordinal, Latin sermons for Sundays and Holy Days, and ecclesiastical forms of citation of banns and causes of excommunication.[62]

Five more manuscripts would also appear to represent the personal collections of parish priests or other clergy engaged in preaching and/or the training of priests. One of these manuscripts, Bodley 857, which is described by Siegfried Wenzel as 'a pastoral manual',[63] and which consists of forty-one chapters of the *Gesta Romanorum*, a temporal sermon cycle and several other sermons of the fourteenth-century preacher, Nicholas de Aquevilla, a second anonymous sermon sequence, and treatises on the *Pater Noster*, the ten commandments, and matters for hearing confession, names the owner as William Marschall, chaplain of Peasholm in Yorkshire, while a second manuscript, Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin 60, which Wenzel describes as a 'preacher's notebook',[64] and which includes nineteen chapters of the *Gesta Romanorum* (with marginal topic notes), ninety-three sermons of William Peraldus, tales from *Vitae patrum* and *Legenda aurea*, miracles of the Virgin, and various commonplaces and notabilia, identifies the owner as the priest John Dygon.[65] The names of the fifteenth-century owners of CUL, Ii. VI. 1, and Oxford, Lincoln College, Latin 12, are also recorded in the manuscripts. On fol. 150ᵛ of CUL, Ii. VI. 1, which contains thirty-nine chapters of the *Gesta*, an account of the apparition of Guido de Corvo, the treatise *Ignorancia sacerdotum*, miracles of the Blessed Virgin, and a commentary on the *Pater Noster*, the scribe Zurke, who worked for Gilbert Kymer, the Chancellor of Oxford University from 1447–53, notes that the manuscript was written in 1449 for Walter, an Augustinian canon of Osney Abbey (Oxford).[66] Similarly,

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[62] For a full description, see Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953; repr. Munich: Kraus, 1980), II (1922), pt 1, 147; and Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 214.

[63] See Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 79. For a full description of the manuscript, see ibid., pp. 79, 218, and Madan and Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, pp. 530–31.

[64] See Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets*, p. 259. For a description of the manuscript, see Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford: e typographeo academico, 1852), II, 36-37. Another manuscript whose contents clearly indicate a parochial and pastoral use is Greaves 54. On this point, see Alan J. Fletcher, 'Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's *Festial*', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 514–22 (p. 516).

[65] On Dygon's career as a priest, see Ralph Hanna, 'John Dygon, Fifth Recluse of Sheen: His Career, Books, and Acquaintance', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 128–29.

[66] For descriptions of the manuscript, see Pamela R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Brewer, 1988), I, 34–35; and

we are informed in Lincoln College, Lat. 12, in which fifty chapters of the *Gesta Romanorum* have been copied with the *Summa de vitiis* of William Peraldus, and the *Speculum peccatoris* (a treatise on the horrors of sin), that the manuscript was a gift to the college (which was founded to train priests to teach theology in order to combat heresy) by the first rector, William Chamberleyn (d. 1434).[67] In the case of a fifth manuscript, Oxford, University College, 97, the evidence for ownership is less certain, but it is thought that, fols 1ʳ–84ᵛ, which include sixty chapters of the *Gesta Romanorum* and miscellaneous material concerning prophecies and medicinal recipes, were bound, around the year 1460, with fols 85ʳ–185ᵛ, a personal collection of instructional and pastoral works and copies of legal documents possibly owned by William Counter, a priest and clerk of Sir William Beauchamp, by their new owner, a clerk or priest in Staffordshire, who may have been John Kendale, Vicar of Womborn.[68]

While a large number of the forty-one Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections, however, appear to have served as a resource for preachers and priests, there is also evidence that suggests that some collections were used in other ways. In two instances, namely London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 78, in which seventy-seven *Gesta* chapters form part of *Speculum parvulorum*, a devotional work apparently composed by William Chartham, a Benedictine monk at Christ Church, Canterbury,[69] and Oxford, All Souls College, MS 20, in which forty-three *Gesta* stories have been combined with other salvation texts, such as *Evangelium nicodemi seu gesta pilati* (Stories of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ) and *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Mirror of Human

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856–67; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1980), III, 496–97.

[67] See Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus*, I, 22.

[68] See Jill C. Havens, 'Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts', in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison, Medieval Church Studies, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 337–52 (pp. 339–40); and Havens, 'Instruction, Devotion, Meditation, Sermon: A Critical Edition of Some Selected English Religious Texts in Oxford, University College MS 97 with a Codicological Examination of Some Related Manuscripts', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1996), I, 1–13 and 48–56.

[69] For a description of the manuscript, see Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930–32), I, 128–35; and John. N. Miner, *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England: A. F. Leach in Historiographical Perspective* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), pp. 140–41 and 189.

Salvation),[70] Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections are to be found in manuscripts that were most likely compiled for devotional reading. Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F 80,[71] also contains some items, namely, a translation of *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum,* a mystical text written by John of Ruysbroeck, and *Incendium amoris* of St Bonaventure, that appear to have been intended for devotional use, but it is by no means certain that the whole collection was assembled for this purpose, as the miscellaneous nature of the other items, which, in addition to the *Gesta Romanorum*, include material from Seneca, a treatise on the seven vices, epistles from and to a monk of St Augustine's Canterbury, *Speculum peccatorum*, Thomas Ringstede's *Super proverbia*, and a theological dictionary (Ranulf Higden's *Distinctiones theologicae*), suggests that the manuscript may represent a personal collection, which leaves open the possibility that the 101 *Gesta* stories it contains served as edifying reading and/or as a resource for preaching or teaching. The contents of MS Harley 2270, namely 102 chapters of the *Gesta Romanorum*, an English-Latin dictionary (*Medulla grammatice*), and a Bible catalogue (*Repertorium Bibliae*) purportedly composed by the canon, John of Bridlington,[72] likewise do not explicitly link the *Gesta* stories with preaching but, again, one cannot exclude the possibility that the manuscript was compiled to assist preachers and/or priests in carrying out their duties, since linguistic and textual aids sometimes form part of preachers' and priests' notebooks.

Manuscripts such as BL, Harley 219, Cambridge, Jesus College, 35, and Oxford, St John's College, 78, on the other hand, contain no evidence that suggests that they were compiled either for use in preaching or to assist priests in the performance of their pastoral duties. In Harley 219, fifteen chapters of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* are accompanied by a miscellany of French, Latin, and English texts which include Latin fables of Odo of Cheriton, the *Livre du gouvernement des roys et des princes* (an incomplete French translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*), the *Epistre d'othea* of Christine de Pizan, a Latin and English glossary of French words, a list (in French) of offices given by the treasurer, a Latin recipe for preserving the eyesight, and two English

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[70] Oxford, All Souls College, 20, is described by Andrew G. Watson in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 42–43.

[71] Described by R. M. Thomson in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library with a Contribution on the Bindings by Michael Gullick* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), p. 51.

[72] See Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 212–16.

prayers.[73] Moreover, in Jesus College, 35, fifty-eight chapters of the *Gesta* have been coupled with a Latin version of *Mandeville's Travels*,[74] and in St John's College, 78, which was written by Brother John 'Shyrburne' (presumably the tonsured Dominican depicted in the historiated initial on fol. 1) for a lay client, 101 *Gesta* chapters have been bound with the Latin *Brut* chronicle.[75] The fact that Harley 219 contains French as well as Latin and English texts, and includes material pertaining to good government and to the administration of the realm, suggests that the manuscript was intended for lay readership and possibly for a member or members of the court circle, while the coupling of the *Gesta* stories with historical material (or, in the case of *Mandeville's Travels*, material that was thought to be historical),[76] indicates that they were sometimes read for historical interest as well as for edification.

The remaining eight manuscripts, which, with the exception of Trinity College (Camb.), 1388, in which one hundred chapters of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* are followed by a miracle of St Augustine of Canterbury, consist only of *Gesta* stories, provide very little additional information about the reception and use of the Anglo-Latin collections. Three of the manuscripts — Harley 3132; Trinity College (Dublin), 605; and Cosin V.V.9[77] — offer no help at all in this regard, while a fourth, Douce 142,[78] appears to have belonged to a chaplain or priest, although it is impossible to be certain about this as there is a large erasure between the words 'Liber' and 'capellani' which are inscribed on a banner on the left inside cover of the manuscript binding. There are also few clues to the reception and use of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections in Douce 310,

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[73] See Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, pp. 216–17. The Latin recipe is a late-fifteenth-century addition, while the English prayers appear to have been added in the sixteenth century.

[74] See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London: Clay, 1895), pp. 56–57.

[75] See Ralph Hanna and Jeremy Griffiths, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 105–06.

[76] On this point, see Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 213.

[77] For a description of MS Harley 3132, see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 228–29; and for Trinity College (Dublin), MS 605, see Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991), p. 1064. MS Cosin V.V. 9 contains only five *Gesta* stories, three of which are incomplete. For a description of the manuscript, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-2002), II (1977), pp. 513–14; and *Catalogue of MSS collected by Davenport in his own hand*, Microfilm: Oxford, Bodleian Library.

[78] See, Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, IV, 536.

Theol. Lat. Qu. 280, Mm. VI. 21, and Trinity College (Camb.), 1388, although all four manuscripts possess physical characteristics, such as tables of contents, rubricated chapter headings, and decoration (blue capitals flourished with red and gold in Douce 310; a decorated initial and border on fol. 2ᵛ of Theol. Lat. Qu. 280; an illuminated letter and border on fol. 4 of Mm. I. 21; and a gold capital and decorations on fol. 1 of Trinity College (Camb.), 1388), which suggest that they may have been presentation or library copies. If this were the case, it is likely that they would have had a range of uses that included serving as a resource for preachers, household chaplains, or parish priests, and as edifying reading material for the clergy and educated members of the laity.[79]

When account is taken of the codicological evidence as well as the textual evidence, there can be little doubt that, although the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections clearly had more than one use, their primary role was to help the clergy to fulfil their obligation to spread the faith and to attend to the spiritual needs of those in their care. That the stories were used for this purpose, though, does not explain why they were altered to give them greater authority and greater persuasive power or why new and very different versions of a work that, for one hundred years or more, had been in circulation on the Continent, were compiled in England in the fifteenth century. The answer to both of these questions, I believe, lies in the religious climate of the time which was one in which the status of the church and its authority over the laity were under attack from calls for disendowment, the reformist views of the Lollards, and the distribution of English translations of the Bible and other religious works among the laity.[80] In such a climate, the use of the *Gesta* stories by preachers and by other members of the clergy would have served, not only as a way of moving the audience to repentance and devotion, but also as a means of promoting orthodox belief, reinforcing the authority of the church in moral and religious matters, and emphasizing the importance of the clergy as mediators of that authority. It seems highly likely, therefore, that in addition to playing an important role in the cure of souls, the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* collections were also instrumental in helping the church to stamp out heresy and to assert religious control over the laity.

[79] For a description of MS Douce 310, see Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, p. 589, and for MS Theol. Lat. Qu. 280, see above, n. 12. MS Mm. V1. 21 is described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, IV, 395–96, and Trinity College (Camb.), MS 1388, in M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900–04), III (1902), 399–401.

[80] For a discussion of these issues, see Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 329–42.

The Classical Tradition
and Early-Modern Didactic

'Dulces discet ab arte sonos': The Latin Didactic Poem on Music of Philomathes (Vienna, 1512)

Frances Muecke and Robert Forgács

Venceslaus Philomathes' Latin hexameter music instruction book, or 'tutor', *Musicorum libri quattuor*, is in some ways exceptional in the history of neo-Latin didactic, in others highly typical. Recognized by musicologists both for its theoretical innovations and wide influence on the teaching of music in central Europe in the sixteenth century,[1] it has gone unremarked by historians of neo-Latin poetry. There are several reasons for this neglect. For example, in a brief survey of 'Didaktik und Gnomik' in their article on 'Neulateinische Dichtung Deutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert', Georg Ellinger and Brigitte Ristow make a fundamental distinction between those works that are significant for cultural history but have no literary merit and those that can be considered to be poetry.[2] In existing literary studies those poems were privileged that followed the model of the leading didactic poems of Greece and

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[1] The most accessible short introduction is that of Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Jeffrey Dean, 'Philomathes, Venceslaus', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. by Laura Macey, <http://www.grovemusic.com> [accessed 29 November 2005]. The most comprehensive is *Wenceslai Philomathis Musicorum libri quattuor*, ed. by Marin Horyna (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2003), which is an edition of the Latin text of 1512 with a parallel translation, introduction, and detailed commentary. Only the introduction has been translated into English (by Michaela and David Freeman), pp. xxv–xxxv, to which we are much indebted. We quote the text from Horyna's edition, hereafter cited as Horyna; for ease of reference line numbers are by books, with chapter numbers within books also given.

[2] *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, ed. by Werner Kohlschmidt and Wolfgang Mohr, 5 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965), II, 642–43 (p. 643).

Rome in not being simply verse expositions of a particular art or science. Until recently there have been very few synthetic studies of post-classical Latin didactic poetry.[3] Attention was focused on works that stood out for their literary interest. These were most profitably studied in the contexts of their national vernacular literatures, and typological aspects of later phases of the genre remained to be investigated, not to mention examples, like Philomathes' work, that appeared merely to be practical handbooks.

In the medieval and early-modern periods the range of arts and sciences that received treatment in didactic poems or verse textbooks increased enormously.[4] Thomas Haye in his very useful treatment of medieval Latin didactic poetry points out that 'es ist eine Konstante der Gattung, stets für neue Themen, Stoffe und Inhalte offen zu sein' (it is a regular feature of the genre always to be open to new themes, subject matter, and content).[5] Among the liberal arts subjects that had not been given a verse didactic treatment earlier than the Middle Ages, Haye highlights dialectic and music, mentioning as of particularly long-lasting influence in the latter field the late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century *Regulae rhythmicae* of Guido of Arezzo and the early-fourteenth-century *Flores musicae* of Hugo Spechtharts von Reutlingen.[6] The latter was a hexameter textbook on Gregorian chant that arose from the author's training of young priests. It was still considered of sufficient relevance to receive several printed editions (with an anonymous prose commentary) in the later fifteenth century (Strasbourg, 1488

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[3] See James R. Naiden, *The Sphera of George Buchanan (1506–1582): A Literary Opponent of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe* (Philadelphia: Allen, 1952); Georg Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Humanismus und der Renaissance* (Munich: Fink, 1975); Walther Ludwig, 'Neulateinische Lehrgedichte und Vergils *Georgica*', in *Litterae Neolatinae: Schriften zur neolateinische Literatur*, ed. by Ludwig Braun (Munich: Fink, 1988), pp. 100–27; Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: Analyse einer Gattung* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Yasmin Haskell, 'Introduction', in *Poets and Teachers: Latin Didactic Poetry and the Didactic Authority of the Latin Poet from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. by Y. Haskell and P. Hardie (Bari: Levante, 1999), pp. 5–10; Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: British Academy, 2003), pp. 1–2.

[4] See Haye's 'Index der zitierten Autoren und Werke', *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 430–44, and chap. 6.

[5] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, p. 167.

[6] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 155–56, 363–64, 367, 370, n. 41. See also Claude V. Palisca, 'Guido of Arezzo' and Cecil Adkins, 'Spechthart, Hugo', in *Grove Music Online*.

and 1492 [?]), and it may have influenced Philomathes in his choice of the verse form.[7]

As a music tutor in Latin verse, *Musicorum libri quattuor* was therefore not completely without precedent for its subject matter. It arose in a context in which music had long held an important place in teaching in the institutions of the church, and, more recently, was flourishing in the universities, and at a time in which many prose treatises on music were beginning to be published.[8] Since *Musicorum libri quattuor* is the first and only Renaissance Latin didactic poem on music,[9] and one of the first neo-Latin didactics to be printed,[10] we believe that its combined cultural and musicological interest warrants treatment here, despite the existence of a recent and extremely thorough Czech edition with commentary.[11] Our aim is to situate the poem in its original contexts: pedagogic, literary, and musical. We will show that *Musicorum libri quattuor* coheres with Haye's account of the nature of German neo-Latin didactic poetry: it does not represent a clear break with the medieval generic tradition, and it was intended

[7] Horyna discusses Philomathes' 'inspiration from Spechthart […] in some formulations' and documents it in his commentary, pp. xxviii–ix.

[8] See most relevantly O. Wessely, 'Alte Musiklehrbücher aus Österreich (I)', *Musikerziehung*, 7 (1953–54), 128–32.

[9] Horyna, p. xxviii. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, pp. 74, n. 9, and 122, n. 8, mentions two eighteenth-century poems on music that were never published.

[10] Pontano's *Urania, Meteora* and *De hortis Hesperidum* were printed posthumously in 1505, Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli's *Chrysopoeia* not until 1515.

[11] The most detailed studies of Philomathes have appeared in Czech and German. Among the former are V. Helfert, 'Musika Blahoslavova a Philomatova', *Sborník Blahoslavův 1523–1923*, ed. by Vaclav Novotný and Rudolf Urbánek (Přerov: Nakl. Obzoru, 1923), pp. 121–51; J. Trojan, 'Muzika Václava Philomatha z Jindřichova Hradce (1512)', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Brno, 1950), and most recently Horyna. The most detailed studies in German are: Robert Haas, *Aufführungspraxis der Musik* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion MBH, 1934), which includes a summary of part of Book III, and Ernst Apfel, *Geschichte der Kompositionslehre: Von den Anfängen bis gegen 1700* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1981), which is a summary of Book IV of the treatise. Jessie Ann Owen in *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 17–19, has translated into English lines 50–62 of Book IV which deal with the correct order of the composition of the voices in a polyphonic composition and has included a musical example from the treatise. An English translation was promised by Thomas Sovík, 'Music Theorists of the Bohemia Reformation: Jan Blahoslav and Jan Josquin', *Kosmas: Czechoslovak & Central European Journal* (Winter 1987), 105–45.

seriously to transmit knowledge in an institutional setting.[12] At the same time, it is also clearly, in form and in language, a product of its humanistic environment in Vienna where there was great interest in the relationship between music and poetry.[13]

Little is known of the poem's author, a Bohemian from Neuhaus (now Jindrichuv Hradec), apart from what can be gleaned from the prefaces and other introductory matter to his various books.[14] His adopted name, 'Philomathes' ('lover of learning or knowledge'), identifies him as a humanist. A standard Greek adjective,[15] *philomathes*, is occasionally found as a name before the Renaissance, but it would have been easy enough to adapt it to this purpose without such a precedent.[16] It surfaces in early-fifteenth-century Rome as the nom de plume of the author of *Natura e costumi de lo Elephante cavato da Aristotele, Plinio e Solino [...] in Rima* (Rome? 1514?). Of its many appearances in the later sixteenth century, where in university plays it is often used for the Student (as for example in Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, 1570), two are particularly significant. Philomathes is the pupil in two dialogues of 1597: Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London) and James VI of Scotland, I of England's *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh).

Earlier humanists Latinized their names. Grecizing is a phenomenon of the later phase, and is seen in Germany in two cases quite close to Philomathes. Conrad Celtis Protucius (1459–1508), originally Konrad Pickel, Germany's 'arch-humanist', was a leading intellectual figure in the University of Vienna just before Philomathes' career as a student and teacher. In 1486 Celtis first used in print the Greek version of his name, Protucius ('fore-pick'), in addition to the

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[12] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 374–97, especially pp. 391–92. Haye argues that '[es] im Verständnis der Zeit keine texttypologische Differenz zwischen einem "praxisorientirten Schulbuch" und einem "literarischen" Lehrgedicht gibt' (p. 384). Haskell questions the applicability of Haye's conclusions to didactic poetry from other countries in her 'Introduction' in *Poets and Teachers*, pp. 9–10.

[13] For an analysis of its terminology, both medieval and humanist, see Horyna, pp. xxxii–xxxv.

[14] See Niemöller and Dean, 'Philomathes, Venceslaus', in *Grove Music Online*; Wessely, 'Alte Musiklehrbücher aus Österreich (II)', *Musikerziehung*, 7 (1953–54), 205–09; and Horyna, pp. xxv–xxvi.

[15] See for instance Plato, *Rep*., IX. 581b9.

[16] A Philomathes is the addressee of a book by the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, VII. 194) and the name appears in the title of a Platonic-style dialogue by the Byzantine theologian, historian, and humanist intellectual Nicephorus Gregoras (*Philomathes or on the Revilers*).

Latin, Celtis.[17] Closer in style to Philomathes is Philomusus, the sobriquet adopted by Celtis's pupil, Jakob Locher (1471–1528).[18] He succeeded Celtis as Professor of Poetry and Rhetoric at Ingolstadt in 1498, the year after he himself had been crowned poet laureate by Maximilian I, 'the emperor who was the darling and patron of the humanists'.[19] Our suggestion, then, is that the name Philomathes not only points to its bearer's recent student days,[20] but also reflects his position in the mature humanistic milieu of the Vienna of his day.[21]

Other aspects of the book's paratext allow us to fix Philomathes securely within contemporary Viennese humanism. Most informative is the dedicatory letter from the author to his religious superior Johann von Kaplitz in his hometown of Neuhaus in southern Bohemia. Here he describes his work as 'has [...] primitias e tironica palestra recenter diductas' (these first-fruits recently brought away from the novices' school) and says that he had previously 'published'[22] it in the University of Vienna to the acclaim of learned men ('quod in florentissima Viennensi achademia nuper edideram, virorum ingenio

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[17] Dieter Wuttke, 'Conradus Celtis Protucius', in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelaters*, ed. by Ludger Grenzman and others (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 270–86 (pp. 274–75), also in *Centuriae Latinae: Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. by Colette Nativel (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 261–67 ('D. Wuttke').

[18] *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, I, 712–13.

[19] Lewis W. Spitz, 'The Course of German Humanism', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, ed. by Heiko A. Oberman with Thomas A. Brady, Jr (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 371–436 (p. 403).

[20] If we interpret it this narrowly with Wessely, 'Alte Musiklehrbücher aus Österreich (II)', p. 205. It was used by other sixteenth-century Bohemian poets; see Horyna, pp. xxvi–vii, citing *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, ed. by A. Truhlar and others, 5 vols (Prague: Academia, 1966–82), IV, 64–71.

[21] In the first two decades of the sixteenth century German humanism progressed substantially, especially in the University of Vienna; see Spitz, 'Humanism in Germany', in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. by A. Goodman and A. MacKay (London: Longman), 1990, pp. 202–19 (pp. 207–11). The limitations to the acceptance of humanism in the university are stressed by J. H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 208–11, and, to its practice, by Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer, *Humanismus zwischen Hof und Universität* (Vienna: WUV, 1996), pp. 94–118.

[22] Although in the humanist period the verb *edere* could also mean 'to write, to compose' here what Philomathes probably refers to is the dissemination of manuscript copies to friends and potential patrons; see S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1973), pp. 319–22.

doctissimorum approbatum'). A chronogram in the last line of the poem gives its date of composition as 1511.[23] On the title page of the first edition are two epigrams, one by Venceslaus Pictorius, a compatriot of the author, the other by the Swiss Christoph Crassus. The latter's name figures as poetic sponsor of several other Viennese books of the period, in association with the much more important Swiss humanist, Joachim von Watt, or Vadianus (1484–1551). Vadian also provided a dedicatory epigram for *Musicorum libri quattuor*.[24]

Of the sponsors of the first edition, Vadian is by far the best known. He was the most distinguished professor at the University of Vienna after the death of Conrad Celtis (1508). Crowned poet laureate by Maximilian I at Ingolstadt in 1514, in 1516/17 Vadian was Professor of Poetics and Rhetoric, holding what had been Celtis's chair in the *Collegium poetarum* (established by the Emperor in 1501)[25] and having published a posthumous edition of Celtis's *Odes* in 1513. His *De poetica et carminis ratione liber* (Vienna, 1518) has received a modern edition.[26] In about 1510 he began his prolific collaborations with the established Viennese printing house of Johannes Winterberger and with Winterberger's rivals, the new partnership of Hieronymus Vietor and Johannes Singrenius. Their work was mainly for the humanist market and included many editions of classical Latin authors. It seems likely that Philomathes' link with his publishers Vietor and Singrenius was through Vadian.

At 831 lines the work itself is the length of a book of classical Latin poetry. It is divided into four books. These, of unequal length, are further divided into 'chapters', the first book containing six chapters, the second ten, the third three, and the fourth without division. This conceptual segmentation is presented visually on the page by chapter headings placed above blocks of verses and by lemmata, marginal indications of topics treated. There are also interspersed musical examples. This type of layout had already begun to be used in the manuscripts of medieval didactics and had become a characteristic of the genre.[27]

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[23] Horyna, p. 110.

[24] Such features are typical: see Horyna, p. xxviii.

[25] Graf-Stuhlhofer, 'Vadian als Lehrer am Wiener Poetenkolleg', *Zwingliana*, 26 (1999), 93–98. Graf-Stuhlhofer argues against the *communis opinio* that the career of Celtis's Poets' College was 'short and undistinguished', for which see Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany*, p. 210.

[26] Joachim Vadianus, *De poetica et carminis ratione*, ed. by Peter Schäffer, 3 vols (Munich: Fink, 1973–77).

[27] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 348–58.

The subjects of the four books are set out in the last lines of the proem:

> Imprimis veterem, tandem tractabo novellam.
> Tum dabo de cantu regimenque modumque canendi,
> Postremum harmoniam vocum fabricare docebo.
>
> (20–22)

(First I will treat the old music, at last the new. Then, in the matter of song I will give the direction of singing and the way to sing. Finally I will teach how to create harmony of voices.)

Accordingly, Book I is on plainchant and the things associated with it — the different ranges of voices, the scale and gamut, the modes and psalm tones, transposition of modes and psalm tones, specific genres in plainchant such as responsories, the hexachordal sol-fa system (really ut re mi fa sol) and qualities of specific intervals; Book II is on figural (that is, polyphonic) music and discusses notational issues such as ligatures (which are complex in the oldest polyphonic music), the use of rests and points of division (these latter were already virtually obsolete in Philomathes' time), various clever forms of writing such as writing a canon in one voice to be performed in two or more voices, and the various mensural notations and signs found in polyphonic repertoire (again these were very complex in the fifteenth century but were simplified as the sixteenth century progressed). Book III is on vocal production and performance practice, and Book IV is on the composition of polyphonic works.

The twenty-four-line proem (explicitly labelled as such) begins by deploying topics from the early-modern *laus musicae*, the praise of music that traditionally introduced such a treatise. The first important instance of this was in Book II of Petrarch's *De remediis*, II. 1. 23, followed by Giorgio Valla in *De musica libri V sed primo de inventione & commoditate eius*, a section of his encyclopedic *De expetendis et fugiendibus rebus opus* (published Venice 1501, but written in the late 1490s). In the late fifteenth century it also received an exhaustive treatment in Franchinus Gaffurius's *Theorica musicae* (Milan, 1492).[28] The force of the word *compendioso* (concise) which Philomathes used in his title becomes evident when one looks at Gaffurius's proem, *De musicis et effectibus et commendatione musicae disciplinae*. It includes every possible reference to music and musicians from the Bible and from Greek and Roman literature, philosophy, and history, some of these cited for the first time. In contrast, Philomathes has a few lines

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[28] For parts of Books III and IV Philomathes drew on Gaffurius's *Practica musice* (Milan 1496): see Horyna, p. xxx.

each about the myths of Orpheus moving trees, rocks, and spirits of the dead, the sirens lulling sailors to sleep and to their deaths, Arion (saved by the dolphin), and the Muses singing for Jupiter. Nothing, he concludes, surpasses music in giving pleasure. Despite the disparity in length of treatment between the two proems, Philomathes seems to have taken some hints from Gaffurius's *Theorica musicae* I. 1, among other sources.[29] Interestingly, he has adapted from Ovid's tongue-in-cheek didactic, the *Ars amatoria*, the sentiment that 'nothing is more worthwhile for girls than music' (musica […] nunquid prestantior immo puellis; 7–8), although his main audience was male university students (the pupil is once addressed as *tiruncule*, or novice, IV. 91).[30]

Although the mode of the work is largely expository, Philomathes continually addresses the reader-pupil with the second person typical of the didactic genre. The reader is addressed as *lector* four times (I. 143; II. 27; IV. 85. 111), a designation which even in its anonymity functions to guarantee the relationship between teacher and pupil that is necessary in didactic.[31] Philomathes also uses imperatives and phrases like 'if you wish to know', 'you must', or 'you must not'. Verbs that refer to teaching, learning, knowing, and understanding abound. In one case the specific instruction is given to consult a diagram which immediately follows ('si scire voles, lege scalam'; if you want to know, peruse the scale, I. 2. 25), and this instruction itself follows a typical summary of material to be learned, expressed in indirect questions:

> Ordine quo sistant omnes, quot queque seorsum
> possideat voces, quam linea, quam spaciumve
> sustentet clavem, si scire voles.
>
> (I. 2. 23–25)

(If you want to know in which order all stand, how many and which voices it has separately, which key the line, which the space sustains.)

In classical didactic this mode of summary is a typical opening or introductory formula, and its use at the beginning of Virgil's *Georgics* was particularly influential:[32]

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[29] These are documented in Horyna's notes, pp. 6–8.

[30] *Ars amatoria*, III. 315: 'res est blanda canor: discant cantare puellae' (song is seductive: girls should learn to sing); see Horyna, p. 6.

[31] A point made by Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, p. 119.

[32] *Georgics*, I. 1–5. Virgil's *Georgics* was the first of the didactic master texts for the Middle Ages; see Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 45–49.

> Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
> uertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere uitis
> conueniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
> sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
> hinc canere incipiam.

(What makes the crops happy, under what constellation it's best to turn the soil, Maecenas, and wed vines to elms, what tending cattle need, what care is needed to maintain the herd, what skill the thrifty bees — from this I'll take up my song.)[33]

Another didactic stileme with classical (and later) parallels is III. 1. 16–17: 'multos quoque vidi | mensuram pede signantes calcante, caballus ut satur' (I have seen many too indicating the measure with stamping foot, like a full-fed nag).[34] The appeal to personal experience is a generic characteristic of the didactic speaker, emphasizing the authority that derives from his expertise. It is probably not an accident that this example comes from Book III of *Musicorum libri quattuor*, where Philomathes is giving practical advice rather than expounding doctrine and therefore where the didactic persona is felt more strongly.

In the earlier books there are occasional self-conscious comments about the task at hand, as when Philomathes admits 'pandere difficile est' (it is difficult to explain, I. 4. 118), using the didactic verb *par excellence,* 'pandere' (to make known, explain).[35] Generally he takes pains to orientate the reader with cross-references ('I have thought to expound this more clearly in a later chapter', I. 3. 45) or other such signals ('there remains', I. 5. 130; 'which I will tell in order', I. 6. 161). There is even a reference outside the text to another authority:[36] 'Hic illam doctor declarabit studiosus, | que supplenda meum proportio carmen abhorret' (That a

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[33] See Lucretius, I. 56–61, etc. Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, gives many examples from medieval and Renaissance didactic, such as on pp. 45–54 and 359: Orientius, *Commonitorium*, 1–4; and pp. 377–78: Ulrich von Hutten, *De arte versificatoria*, 1–4.

[34] See *Georgics*, I. 194: 'semina vidi equidem multos medicare sementis' (I have indeed seen many cure the seeds when they sow); Lucretius, IV. 577, VI. 1044; Ovid, *Ars*, I. 721.

[35] See Lucretius, I. 55: 'pandere primordia rerum'; I. 126: 'expandere rerum naturam'; and Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XIV. 1: 'Hesiodus agricolis praecepta pandere orsus'.

[36] Horyna, p. xxx, n. 33, suggests he is Johannes Tinctoris, with Gaffurius, 'the highest authority for authors of humanistic tutors'. The refusal to treat a topic fully is also typical of didactic, according to Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, p. 83: 'Lehrgedichte sind somit häufig Schauplätze der Praeteritio.'

scholarly teacher will make clear, for the full treatment *proportio* requires does not suit my poem; II. 10. 173–74).

In the final lines of the work Philomathes gives some encouragement and good advice to the learner on the matter of learning itself:

> Nemo poeta fuit, qui se non novit haberi
>
> ante poetastrum, quare non imputo, lector,
>
> primitias artis si condideris vitiose.
>
> Hanc artem parvo si tempore vis adipisci,
>
> fac, quod heri patrasti, hodie vitium fuge, quodque
>
> commisti hodie, ne cras commiseris ipsum.
>
> Alternis crescunt studiis quecunque repente.
>
> <div align="right">(IV. 110–16)</div>

(There has never been a poet, who does not recognize that he was previously considered a poetaster, and so, reader, I don't blame you if you make mistakes in your first compositions. If you want to learn this art in a short time, make sure that today you avoid the fault you perpetrated yesterday, and that one which you committed today, you don't commit tomorrow. All things grow quickly if your studies build on each other.)

The comparison with the poet reminds us that Philomathes is himself a poet, as well as a teacher and musician. The double role of the author of didactic as both poet and teacher is naturally the subject of the introductory epigrams referred to above. All refer to the poetic art of the poem as well as the opportunity it offers for learning the musical subject matter. The 'conflict of interests' inherent in this duality, that is, the consciousness of the difficulty of presenting technical material in verse form, only impinges on Philomathes once (I. 4. 118), when what is 'difficult to explain' are responsorial beginnings and endings. On the contrary, Vadian recommends the author for having made his work 'easy'.[37]

What makes it easy for Vadian is its brevity: 'tersa facilem brevitate libellum' (a little book easy in its polished brevity). The concision that Philomathes advertised for his poem in its full title *Musicorum libri quattuor compendioso carmine elucubrati* (composed with great labour in a concise poem) was further stressed in the introductory epigrams. Both Philomathes himself and Vadian use the diminutive 'libellus' (a small book) and the other epigrams all refer in some way to the work's brevity. Such concision was an advantage often claimed for Latin didactic poems in the Middle Ages and beyond, but in reality, as Haye

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[37] For further discussion of the dual role of poet and teacher, see Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 63–77.

shows, the mnemonic value of the verse form itself was not enough to guarantee that the teaching was successfully imparted.[38]

Almost inevitably Latin didactic poems acquired prose supplementation in some form, either in the form of glosses or of a prose commentary.[39] *Musicorum libri quattuor* was no exception. In 1538 a commentary on Book I (plainchant), which he had been using in his teaching, was published by Martin Agricola (1486–1556), a German composer and theorist, 'for the use of his schoolboys in Magdeburg'.[40] He thought the poem was useful for school teaching because the hexameters would make it easy for the boys to learn the rules. Because of the poetic compression, however, they needed further help with understanding the doctrine. Agricola first encountered *Musicorum libri quattuor* in the edition overseen by Georg Rhau (1484–1548), published at Wittenberg in 1534. Philomathes' work was already known in the universities and had found particular favour among a group of musicians and humanists in Leipzig who had interests in the pedagogy of music. The Leipzig edition, published under the aegis of the university lecturer Christoph Hegendorf in 1518, a time when Rhau had already published the first part of his *Enchiridion utriusque musicae practicae* (Leipzig, 1517, 1520; Wittenberg, 1538; etc.),[41] had a preface addressed to Rhau by his friend, the humanist Philipp Novenianus. Rhau excerpted many verses from Philomathes for his *Enchiridion*, in which he praised Philomathes as follows: '[A]s he is the most skilled man in the arts of poetry and music, I do not hesitate to prefer his verses to others.'[42] The acceptance of Philomathes' work in

[38] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, p. 369. See further pp. 45, n. 4, 47, 83, n. 162, 70, 70, n. 160, 82, n. 184.

[39] Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 348–58, 369–71.

[40] *Scholia in musicam planam Venceslai Philomatis de Nova Domo, ex variis musicorum scriptis pro Magdeburgnensis scholae tyronibus collecta per Martinum Agricolam* ([n.p.: n. pub.],1538); Heinz Funck, *Martin Agricola: Ein frühprotestantischer Schulmusiker* (Würzburg: Richard Mayr, 1933), p. 70; Wessely, 'Alte Musiklehrbücher aus Österreich (II)', p. 206.

[41] Funck, *Martin Agricola*, pp. 15–16.

[42] Most of the information in the paragraph comes from Funck, pp. 66 or 15–16, supplemented by Victor H. Mattfeld, 'Rhau [Rhaw], Georg', in *Grove Music Online*. The quotation from the *Enchiridion* is cited from Horyna, p. xxiii. For the passages from Philomathes' second edition quoted by Rhau (as well as from Agricola and Johannes Galliculus's *Isagoge de compositione cantus*, Leipzig 1520) see Horyna passim. The second Viennese edition (1523) has on its title page a new epigram on the praise of music by Rudbertus Resch Gregensis, and the Strasbourg edition of 1543 includes a new prose preface on the same topic by Michael Toxita, poet and doctor.

the Leipzig circle and its sponsorship by Rhau were crucial factors in ensuring its survival and influence.

In the first part of this chapter we have analysed Philomathes' treatise *Musicorum libri quatuor* as a didactic poem. As such it stands out as exceptional for its subject matter, while remaining highly typical of early German neo-Latin didactic in its form and approach. In the second part, we wish to focus on one aspect of its teaching — performance practice. For in addition to its being composed in hexameters, the most striking feature of *Musicorum libri quatuor* is the fact that Book III is entirely devoted to performance practice. Such an interest in performance practice is not parallelled in most contemporary music treatises.[43] However, despite this special character of the book, it has received little attention, especially in the English-speaking world.[44]

Book III, which has already been mentioned for its lively didactic tone, is also the most interesting from the point of view of the writing. It contains satirical descriptions of what not to do, and comparisons drawn from the farmer's world which not only recall Virgil's *Georgics*, but also Ovid's incongruous use of agricultural comparisons in his *Ars amatoria*. In addition, while the whole work displays ingenuity in versifying the technicalities, the topics of Book III provide more scope for the author to compose freely in the mode of a didactic poem. It is here too that one sees *flosculae*, phrases borrowed from classical poets.[45]

The title of Book III, *De regimine utriusque cantus et modo cantandi* (Concerning the direction of both kinds of song and the way of singing), makes it clear that it is aimed primarily at directors of choirs, and particularly at those who may be lacking in experience or a fully professional training.[46] It is the shortest book in the treatise and is also the only one not to contain any musical examples. On the other hand, it is the most rhetorically conceived, as can be seen from its specialized vocabulary and organization. For while Book IV, like Book

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[43] The only preceding music treatise to deal in any detail with performance practice issues is Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan: Guillaume Le Signerre, 1496; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1972), bk III, chap. 15. It deals with rules of decorum in singing but is by no means as detailed as Philomathes' discussion, and considers some matters which are strictly more related to composition than performance.

[44] See n. 11, above.

[45] For example, 'cervice reflexa', III. 1. 20, recalling Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII. 633; Lucretius, I. 35; Cicero, *Aratea* fr. IX. 5 (Soubiran).

[46] See Horyna, p. xxxii, n. 46: 'If Philomathes meant under rector [III 3–4] a school director [...] then the novice should have been a university student.'

III, contains the terms *doctrina* and *præceptum*, Book III is the only one in which the rhetorical terms *invectio*, *correctio*, and *comparatio* occur. Moreover, throughout the treatise the didactic term most frequently used is *regula*; interestingly, it is absent from Book III, being replaced by the more specialized terms mentioned above. With regard to the type of singing discussed in this book, it is choral rather than solo singing and the performance of sacred rather than secular texts which is the focus of Philomathes' attention. This bias again presupposes, as noted in the discussion of the proem, a predominantly male audience, since all cathedral, collegiate, and parish-church choirs were then exclusively male, although the precepts contained in the treatise would be equally applicable to choirs of nuns, performing plainchant if not polyphony, in the numerous convents of the time.

Book III is divided into three chapters, dealing respectively with the direction of plainsong, the direction of figured song, and the correct manner of singing. At the very beginning of the first chapter Philomathes emphasizes the important role of the director in leading the choir in singing plainchant and stresses the need for him to have a flexible voice and perhaps a good command of falsetto technique 'qua leviter fundum contigere possit et altum' (with which he can lightly touch the bottom and the top; 4). Philomathes' comment that it is usual in the performance of plainchant 'pressisque et acutis vocibus [...] divinum promere cantum' (to express divine song with both low and high voices; 1–2) suggests the performance of the chant in unison, but clearly at different octaves, with the singing possibly restricted to the trebles and basses who certainly qualify as the highest and lowest voices respectively, while the intermediate voices of the tenor and alto may have been viewed as less suited to the range of many chants. A further requirement is that the director's voice should be heard above all the others so that he could prevent any errors of intonation or sound quality among the choristers:

> In concentorum cetu debet super omnes
> audiri sua vox, ut delirare volentes
> asperitate soni reparet sistatque regatque.
>
> (5–7)

(In the assembly of the choir his voice must be heard above all, so that he may recover, place, and direct those wishing to go off the track with harshness of sound.)

These opening precepts are followed by the first *correctio* of the treatise which is notable for its use of the classical term *odes* in reference to plainchant, for its sarcasm, and for its graphic images drawn from daily life. Thus Philomathes satirizes those who direct odes with shameful gestures, thinking that they know

excellent practices and the exquisite work of singers. Examples of this censured behaviour are those who conduct with open palms and widely spread hands, whose gestures give rise to the memorable simile

> veluti cum in lite duorum
> alter in alterius nequit insultare capillos
> unguibus, extensa letale minatur inermi
> certamen duplici palma.
>
> (13–16)

(just as when in a quarrel between two men one is unable to spring up against the hair of another with his fingernails, he threatens a fatal combat against the unarmed one with both palms stretched out.)

Philomathes is equally critical of and witty regarding the faulty musicianship of those who beat the measure

> pede [...] calcante,
> caballus ut satur in viridi ludendo cespitat herba
> luxuriatque salax
>
> (17–19)

(with a stamping foot, like a full-fed nag, who trips playing in the green grass and frisks wantonly)

while those who beat time with the head remind him of the

> holorem / [...] velut hic cervice reflexa
> drensat, ita soliti conquiniscunt modulando
>
> (19–21)

(swan, just as it makes its cry with its neck bent back, so they are accustomed to stoop down while directing.)

Both of these comments, as noted earlier, contain verbal reminiscences of the poetry of Virgil. While such unexpected humour is bound to amuse the modern reader just as it would have entertained Philomathes' contemporaries and especially the younger students, the main point of his criticism is clear: such gestures are lacking in the decorum appropriate to and essential for the performance of sacred music, especially within the context of the liturgy. This *correctio* is followed by an intensified *invectio* which continues the animal and rural imagery: 'Hui pudor, in campo satius decuisset eosdem, | si stiva liras regerent patienter arantes' (for shame, it would rather have better suited the same people if, patiently ploughing, they were marking out lines with a ploughshare

in a field; 22–23). These criticisms are counterbalanced by the ideal then presented in the *doctrina*:

> Gregorii cantum recturo congruat una
> ferre stilum palma, seriem saltumque notarum
> pandere et assiduo mensuram tangere motu.
>
> (24–26)

> (it is appropriate for one who will direct Gregorian chant to hold the baton in one hand, to spread out the series and leaps of the notes, and to beat the measure with a constant movement.)

This teaching is both detailed and precise, and presents a clear image of the best choir directors of the day skilfully using a baton to indicate the contour and rhythmic flow of the chant.

Given the conciseness typical of Latin verse, it is only to be expected that some of Philomathes' points are rather elusive. This quality characterizes the five precepts with which the first chapter ends (27–46). The first precept must surely relate to the rehearsal rather than the performance of chant, as it instructs the director to stop the choir abruptly with the baton when an unusual melodic phrase or modal progression is about to occur and then demonstrate the progression to the choir, which should then follow the director's lead. The third precept suggests a more subtle and softer sound as the chant melody rises, a recommendation which makes total sense to a modern performer, but the deeper sound recommended for a descending melodic phrase is perhaps best understood as the use of a richer and more sustained tone. The fourth precept warns against the harmonizing of chant, which is viewed as technically flawed. Philomathes is no doubt here criticizing the widespread practice of the embellishment of a chant by an improvised counter melody, referred to variously by contemporary theorists as 'cantare supra librum' or *sortisatio*.[47] It is only recommended by

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[47] Gallus Dressler in his important manuscript treatise of 1563–64, *Præcepta musicæ poëticæ,* written at Magdeburg, gives the following definition of *sortisatio*: '(ut ipsa appellatio indicat) est subita et impulsa supra cantum aliquem per diversas voces extemporalis pronuntiatio. Hæc apud exteros usitatior est quam apud nos; et cum ex usu magis quam præceptis pendeat, et oriatur ex compositione minimeque vitiis careat, omissa hac, ad compositionem accedamus, nam scripto comprehendere et studiosis tradere non est usitatum' ('[as the name itself indicates] is a sudden and impulsive extempory performance by diverse voices over any melody. This is more usual among foreigners than among us. And since it depends on practical experience rather than precepts and both arises from composition and is by no means lacking in faults, let us approach composition, having laid aside this subject, for it is not usual to include it in a treatise or to hand it down to

Philomathes at the end of the tones (by which he is probably referring to the conclusion of the recitation formulas used for psalms, antiphons, and canticles), and is only to be added by experienced and knowledgeable singers. This comment leads him into further invective against bad practitioners of this art. Lastly, he recommends a lengthening of the penultimate and final notes of a chant, obviously in the interests of creating a strong sense of closure.

The second chapter, on figured song, is concerned with more complex musical problems, as the performance of polyphony was regarded during the sixteenth century as the preserve of the specialist. Consequently, it was restricted to the most talented singers, while plainchant was regarded as within the competence of most students, and therefore formed the most stable and widely performed musical element within the liturgy of the time.[48] Philomathes begins this chapter by stressing that it is accuracy of pitch within a choir which forms the basis of all good singing. He comments that even one voice whose pitch is uncertain can create unwanted dissonances and ruin a performance, irrespective of how elevated the text may be. He elaborates by noting that uncertainty of intonation in a chorister will alter the tuning of the whole choir, gradually lowering the pitch by forcing the other voices to adopt his intonation, with a progressive, downward spiral from the original pitch (47–55). This comment at the beginning of the second chapter is followed by another witty *comparatio*, based on Virgil's *Georgics*, III. 441, likening such a singer to a scabby sheep harming a whole flock and infecting all the farm animals 'si cum formosis pascitur agnis' (if it is pastured with lovely sheep; 57). A rhetorical question posits, 'Num vox bubonis voci bene quadrat alaude?' (Does the voice of an owl fit well with a lark? 58). Philomathes' humanist training is strongly in evident in the imagery and vocabulary of the next precept:

students'). An edition of this treatise with English translation was published by the University of Illinois Press in 2007, ed. by Robert Forgács. The first publication of the Latin text was by Bernhard Engelke in *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 49 (1914–15), 213–50, while an edition with French translation appeared in 2001, ed. by Olivier Trachier and Simone Chevalier (Paris: Minerve).

[48] Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1969), pp. 649–86; Edith Wéber, 'L'Enseignement de la musique dans les écoles humanistes et protestantes en Allemagne: Théorie, pratique, plurisdisciplinarité' in *L'Enseignement de la musique au moyen âge et à la Renaissance, Actes du colloque de Royaumont (1985)* (Paris: Editions de Royaumont, 1987), pp. 109–29; and Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1999), pp. 74–102.

> Harmonicas igitur quisquis moderare camenas,
> delige dumtaxat concentores, quibus est vox
> congrua, Melpomenesque accedere pulpita nemo
> audeat, absurda qui voce crepare videtur.
>
> (59–62)

(Therefore you, whoever you are, guiding the muses of harmony, choose at least choristers whose voices fit together and let no one who seems to clatter loudly with an out-of-key voice dare to approach Melpomene's platform.)

Offering a summary of his teaching, he invokes the commonplace that musicians are approved by their skill, singers by their voices, and that those who combine musical skill with a good voice are 'genio donante beatus' (blessed by a generous genius; 63–64).

The ideal type of voice for a choral director is next discussed and is described as a low voice, as Philomathes clearly believes that it is from the bass register that the harmony is more easily directed. Such a view, stressing the importance of the bass voice as the harmonic foundation, reflects an unusual viewpoint for the early sixteenth century, given the prominence assigned to the tenor as the primary voice in any polyphonic composition. However, Philomathes explains in a *comparatio*:

> Nam sicut strepitum melius sentimus ab imo,
> altorum quoque sic deliramenta sonorum
> percipimus melius, dum in pressa voce moramur.
>
> (67–69)

(for just as we hear better a confused noise from the depths, so too we perceive better the mistakes of high sounds while we stay in a low range.)

He proceeds to describe the ideal voice type for three other singers whose functions are not explained, with the latter two being perhaps his own invention: the succentor[49] should have a harsh but clear voice, the occentor an austere, correct, and pure voice which can support the other voices, while the excentor needs a high and bright voice. With regard to the treble line he comments that if boys sing the highest part, 'subtili tenuique sono modulentur eandem' (let

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[49] This term is still used in ecclesiastical choral foundations to refer to clergy whose main liturgical functions are musical and who intone prayers, litanies, and the opening phrases of chants. The name itself means subchanter, and indicates that the succentor is the assistant of the precentor, the clerical leader of the choir.

the same sing with subtle and refined sound; 75). Despite the provisional nature of this comment, no performance option other than boys on the treble line is considered. The following *comparatio* returns to the animal world, likening ill-matched voices to unevenly matched horses unable to pull a wagon straight (76–77), but concludes with the very significant point that the perfect blending of voices is essential in good singing:

> nec bene disparibus resonabit vocibus hymnus.
> Sint ergo parium concentores tibi vocum,
> quotquot habere sat est, modulantes unius instar.
>
> (77–79)

(nor will a hymn sound well with dissimilar voices. Let your choristers therefore be of equal voices, however many it is right to have, singing like one.)

The correct position of the choir is next considered, the occentores standing with the boys, the succentores with the excentores, as these groups are regarded as working in close association. A further comment on the hierarchy of the voice parts, with the upper part being subject both to the bass and the tenor, is no doubt aimed at achieving a proper balance of the parts. The upper part, which is normally heard more clearly due to its being at the top of the harmony, should not dominate, but should be less strong than both the bass and tenor, whose lower pitch could easily be drowned out by too strong a treble:

> Sicut acuta gravi vox voci subiicienda est,
> sic medie voci debet parere suprema
> et propriis formis cantando regantur in unum.
>
> (83–85)

(Just as a high voice must be subject to a low one, so the highest voice must obey the middle one and let them be directed into one by singing in their proper forms.)

Philomathes' final points in this chapter include a brief discussion of the way a piece should be begun (86–94). He teaches that the director, in a light voice, should sing a short prelude before the choir begins, indicating by this the intervals characteristic of the mode or tone in which the piece is composed, and then in a whisper, he should sing the opening phrase for each voice part. Having thus prepared the choir by refreshing the memory of each member of the choir and strongly indicating the starting pitch for each voice part, the performance should proceed without any undesirable dissonances created by singers beginning below or above the required pitch. Philomathes' pragmatism is shown by his advice should errors occur (95–105). In this case the director should abandon

the voice part he is singing, leaving it to be carried by others, and should join the voice part going astray, thereby restoring it to the correct notes. If this is not possible, a more drastic solution is suggested, creating an immediate deceptive conclusion in imitation of the written conclusion, with the other voices adapting themselves to his as well as they can. The piece can then be started anew. Philomathes' final comment is revealing of the social attitudes and aesthetic awareness of the time: disgrace will be avoided and even those listening carefully will not notice the mistake if it is handled sensitively.[50]

The third chapter, on the correct way of singing, advocates the use of a 'modesta voce' (restrained voice; 111), and returns to the theme of proper balance, stating that no resonant shout produced by one part should obscure another, but that each should be heard for its own sake (112–13). The final *correctio* resumes the animal imagery and humour of the previous satirical comments, with a concluding emphasis on the need for decorum in singing:

> More boum si quis vocem de gutture per vim
> eructet vel si trepido pede cespitet, ut vox
> horribilem reddat sonitum pulmone repulso,
> aut si discortis[51] labiis sannaverit ac si
> oscitet is, qui perdius et pernox vigilarit,
> displicet: in cantu est gestus servare decentes.
>
> (114–19)

(If anyone belches up his voice violently from the throat like cattle or if he stamps agitatedly with his foot, so that the voice produces a horrible sound when the chest has been thrust back, or if he has grinned with discordant lips, or if he yawns, like one who has been awake all day and all night, it is displeasing: in song one must observe becoming gestures.)

This *correctio* is followed by several general and important precepts on the correct manner of singing. Choristers who want to be called and become 'cantores nomine reque' (singers in name and reality; 120) are instructed in the necessity of developing lightness and agility: 'discite [...] modularier imo | gutture luscine volucris vel achantidos instar' (learn [...] to sing little notes at the base of

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[50] 'Si vero exiluisse tua de voce nequibis, | suppetias simul erranti nescis dare parti, | illico siste melos finem sumulando canoris | harmoniamque sibi fingat pars quelibet aptam, | qua modicum sustenata imbue denuo cantum. | Dedecus evades intentas decipiesque | auriculas; quo ni medio salvabis honorem, | Fronte verecunda sannam paterere pudendam' (98–105).

[51] *pro* distortis, discordatis? (Horyna, app. crit., p. 86.)

the throat like a nightingale or gold-finch; 120–22). An overvibrating tongue is condemned as ugly, as is overuse of the lips, which Philomathes likens, with a wonderful use of the onomatopoeic 'quacientibus', to a stork 'que pro voce sonum rostris quacientibus effert' (which brings forth a sound with clacking beak in place of a voice; 125).[52] Similarly condemned is defective pronunciation of words and letters: 'Labda etiam cismum nedum fugere poete, | nedum oratores, sed et ipse hilarodicus ordo' (For much as poets flee a fault in speaking, still more orators, so also the order of joyful singers; 126–27). With regard to the tenor, which traditionally had the longest and most sustained note values in a polyphonic composition when it was based on a *cantus firmus*,[53] Philomathes states that each prolonged note should be produced 'unico [...] tenoris hiatu | harmoniam viciat divisa valore notarum' (with a single opening of the mouth, it spoils the harmony when divided by the value of notes; 128–29).

The final precept deals with variety in vocal colouring and likens the colours possible in a good choir to those of a finely-tuned organ:

> Sicut in hidraula variamina crebra sonorum
> mirandum reddunt cantum nimiumque decorum,
> humanis itidem cannis mutatio vocum
> congrua si fieret, cantus iucundior esset.
>
> (130–33)

(Just as in the water organ, frequent variations of sounds produce a wondrous song and much grace, likewise if there is a harmonious exchange of voices by means of human reeds the singing will be more pleasant.)

The concluding commonplace 'Multa queunt precepta dari, sed cetera suple' (many precepts can be given, but fill in the rest; 134) indicates that Philomathes' engagement with performance practice is to be viewed as ongoing and open-ended, involving the active participation of the students he sets out to instruct in the choral conventions of the early sixteenth century.

Finally, it can be claimed quite justly that Philomathes' treatise is a work of exceptional cultural significance. Its moderation of tone, common sense, undoubted practicality, clarity of instruction, as well as its humour, all of which qualities are set forth in a learned but approachable style adorned with frequent classical allusions, provide a striking insight into the nature and functioning of

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[52] Horyna remarks on the bird and animal parallels, p. xxxiv.

[53] A pre-existent melody used as the basis of a polyphonic composition, which may be derived from plainsong or from any other musical source such as a secular song.

didactic literature during the early-modern period. In addition, it is a very clear example of the scholarly, humanist preoccupations of those studying and teaching at the University of Vienna in the early sixteenth century. It is surely not without significance that it follows by just over a decade the reorganization by Emperor Maximilian I of the musical personnel of the Imperial Chapel at Vienna in 1498. This reorganization is regarded as the foundation of the world famous Vienna Boys Choir (Wiener Sängerknaben), whose major duty at the time was to perform that very same sacred repertoire within the Imperial Chapel at the Hofburg Palace, which is the focus of attention of Philomathes' treatise. An excellent contemporary summary of the justification of the motivation that led Philomathes to compose the work and which goes some way in accounting for its success may serve as a fitting conclusion to this chapter. It was written by Michael Toxita for the 1543 edition of the treatise, published at Strasbourg by Jacob Fröhlich, and states:

> Quam vero hodie necessaria sit in templis, domi, atque militiae, nemo est qui ignoret [...]. Ita nihil fere creatum, quod musicae vel expers sit, vel ea non moveatur. Quare cum originem suam a Deo habeat, sitque omnium artium iucundissima, & homini liberaliter instituto dignissima, modisque mille prodesse mortalibus soleat, nec carere ullo modo ea possimus, merito in honore habenda, colenda, veneranda, amanda, magnique facienda est. (fols Aiii^v–Aiiij^r)

> (There is no one who does not know how necessary indeed it [music] is today in churches, the home, and employment [...]. Thus there may be scarcely any creature who is destitute of music or not moved by it. Wherefore, since it has its origin from God and is the most delightful of all the arts and most fitting for a man educated liberally and is accustomed to benefit mortals in a thousand ways and we are not able to be without it by any means, it is to be held in deserved honour, cultivated, respected, loved, and esteemed highly.)

Vindicating Vulcan: Renaissance Manuals of Mining and Metallurgy

Anthony Miller

T hree classic works of information and instruction about mining and metallurgy appeared in the mid-sixteenth century: Vannoccio Biringuccio's *Pirotechnia* (1540), Georgius Agricola's *De re metallica* (1556), and Benvenuto Cellini's jointly published *Trattato dell'orificeria* and *Trattato della scultura* (1568). The clustering of these dates indicates the relation of the three texts to what has been called the proto-industrial revolution of the sixteenth century, which saw significant advances in the technologies of mining and metallurgy.[1] The appearance of such didactic texts also signals a change in *mentalités*, from one in which craftsmen and guildsmen jealously guarded their secrets to one that accepted the benefits of disseminating and exchanging knowledge;[2] from one that tended to associate human ingenuity with blasphemous overreaching to one that admired the man of *virtù* (the mastery of humankind over physical nature and over our own human nature) and embraced the promise of progress that he held out.

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[1] The theory of proto-industrialism was propounded by John U. Nef in a famous series of publications, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (London: Routledge, 1932), 'The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540–1640', *Economic History Review*, ser. 1, 5 (1934), 3–24, and *The Conquest of the Material World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964). For a recent reconsideration, see Michael Zell, *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially chap. 8.

[2] On this topic in general, see Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

The three texts have frequently been scrutinized by historians of technology for the evidence they give concerning the detail of technological practices in their period. The present essay examines them rather in terms of *mentalités*: for the underlying but often unstated mix of social, ethical, and cultural assumptions with which they approach their subject.[3] From ancient times until at least the early-modern period, there existed a tension between the need for the products of mining and metallurgy (from tools and axles, to coins and weapons, and locks and keys), dread toward the underworld realm of the miner, and admiration or suspicion toward the magical-seeming arts of the smelter and founder. These attitudes produced the mythological figure of Vulcan, a physically deformed and often laughable outcast whose agency was nevertheless necessary for the exercise of power by gods and heroes. Distrust of mining and metallurgy is prominent in Ovid's influential and powerful version of the historical myth of the four ages, found in Book I of his *Metamorphoses* (ll. 89–150). In Ovid, the Golden Age had no need of laws or of sea travel, no need of weapons or other metallic accoutrements of war, and no need of agriculture, with its metallic hoes and ploughshares. The Iron Age brings the advent of sails and of mining for iron and gold; associated with these technologies are the vices of treachery and avarice and the scourge of war. Other Roman writers — Lucretius, Virgil, the elder Pliny — recognize these perils, but they also acknowledge the benefits and admire the human ingenuity associated with the discovery and use of metals.[4]

The Renaissance manuals all maintain this admiration for *virtù*, producing a heroic image of the miner in Biringuccio and Agricola and of the smith and sculptor in metals in Cellini. Biringuccio indeed finds in mining not evidence of a descent to an Iron Age but a means of reviving the Golden Age. Cellini accepts more readily the fact of living in an Iron Age and undertakes to conquer it, by exercising a *virtù* that rises above its limitations. Agricola's reassessment is perhaps more penetrating than these. Showing a higher admiration for human nature than Cellini, and less belief in an innately bountiful nature than Biringuccio, Agricola's understanding of the role of mining and metallurgy combines a recognition of the intense difficulty in meeting nature's challenges with admiration for a human nature that fulfils itself in doing so; all humanity

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[3] For recent work along similar lines, see Pamela O. Long, 'Of Mining, Smelting, and Printing: Agricola's *De re metallica*', *Technology and Culture*, 44 (2003), 97–101.

[4] The fullest treatment of these clashing historical models, which also reprints the salient texts, remains Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935).

is ennobled by these epic conquests. All three authors espouse a meliorist position, contrary to the assumption of decline that shapes the myth of the Golden and Iron Ages; all find in their subject a new arena for heroism, in enterprise, in understanding, in technological mastery.

There exists, of course, a large body of scholarly discussion on the interrelationship between literature and alchemy in the early-modern period. Alchemy will arise only incidentally in this chapter, and then because two of the writers discussed here are frankly dismissive of the practical ambitions of alchemy. One of the signs of industrial advance in the sixteenth century is this separation between new technologies and those based on alchemical principles. Alchemy still provided the only available chemical theory, but the inadequacy of that theory to metallurgical practice was by now evident. Biringuccio and Agricola do not necessarily reject the premises of alchemy (if only *faute de mieux*), but they do disbelieve in the possibility of making practical use of them.

Vannoccio Biringuccio, 'De la pirotechnia' (1540)

The first early-modern text, and the first printed book, to present a comprehensive and systematic treatment of mining and metallurgy is *De la pirotechnia*, a treatise in Italian by Vannoccio Biringuccio, written between 1530 and 1535 but published posthumously at Venice in 1540.[5] Biringuccio (1480–1537) worked in iron and silver mines at various places in Italy and held state appointments connected with metal-founding and armaments in his native Siena and at Rome. He travelled in Germany, already the leading centre of these technologies. *Pirotechnia* is an exposition of the arts of Vulcan, from mining and metallurgy to explosives and fireworks — and even to the psychological fires of Cupid.

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[5] Citations in this chapter are from this edition. Later editions: Venice, 1550, 1559 (twice); Bologna, 1678; French translations: Paris, 1556, 1572; Rouen 1627; Latin translations: Paris, 1572; Cologne, 1658. The appearance of the Latin translations illustrates the continuing utility of Latin in disseminating didactic writings beyond national borders, and perhaps the authority that Latin could give to writings that appeared in a vernacular language. Incomplete English translations appear in Richard Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde* (London, 1555) and Peter Whitehorn, *Certain Waies for the Ordering of Soldiers* (London, 1560). For a modern English translation, see *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, trans. by Cyril Stanley Smith and Martha Teach Gnudi (New York: American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 1942). In quotations from all primary texts, contractions are expanded and u/v regularized.

Biringuccio declines to enter explicitly into the 'disputa longa et inutile' over the merits and demerits of gold and its fellow metals (fol. 1ᵛ), but the entire enterprise of his book amounts to a vigorous implicit contribution to the debate. Biringuccio confidently rewrites the classical mythos of Golden Age and Iron Age: the world of mining and metals does not constitute a deterioration from a Golden Age but constitutes, optimistically, an extension or development of the Golden Age, and even a repudiation of the doctrine of a fallen nature.

Biringuccio's treatment of metals is based on the conviction that nature willingly bestows its riches on humanity. Just as he runs together enthusiastically the severe disciplines of the mine and the smelter with the frivolous displays of fireworks, so he acknowledges no tension between the overt and the covert gifts of nature. Ore deposits correspond to human veins or tree branches; they are no more forbidden than are these 'growing things upon earth' (sig. p4ʳ). Indeed humans are under an obligation to exploit them. The Ovidian charge that mining pillages nature is not only self-defeating but partakes of the very criminality that it falsely attributes to miners:

> [M]ancha a se medesimo, e mancha alla patria alle provintie dove nato sonno per gli utili e per commodita che ne consequirebbeno. Et manchano anchora alla natura, per che le cose che son da lei produtte, e che non son da que tali altrimenti stimate se in quel luocho nulla o altra cosa inutile e vile generato havesse si potrebbe anchor dire che manchano a tutti li viventi si presenti come futuri, per non giovare come siamo obligati alla universal generatione. (fol. 12ʳ)

> ([T]hose men wrong themselves, their fatherland, and the province where they were born in withholding the profitable and useful things that would reward their efforts. They also wrong Nature, for the things she has produced are as little esteemed by them as if she had generated nothing, or something only useless and vile; indeed one could say that they wrong all living beings, both present and future, since they do not avail themselves of the universal creation as we are bound to do. (Smith and Gnudi, 52))

Nature's providence and benignity are such that she willingly discloses herself to humanity in her opulence (fols 12ᵛ–13ʳ). Even in the supply of gold, where it is commonly assumed that Nature stints herself, she is actually more abundant than men have realized (fols 4ʳ⁻ᵛ). We continue to live in a literal Golden Age, without realizing the fact. Moreover, as in the mythic Golden Age, nature makes it easy to draw out her riches. She supplies an abundance of the trees in exactly those mountain areas where she also stores up mineral deposits, thus facilitating the production of the charcoal that will be used in smelting. (Biringuccio's optimism may derive from the belief, originating in pre-scientific chemistry, that metals grow and replenish themselves within the

earth.)[6] All of this means that the arts of Vulcan are entirely compatible with religion. Biringuccio is no more burdened by the orthodox Christian doctrine of the fall, with its opposition between fallen nature and transcendent grace, than he is of the classical opposition between Golden Age and Iron Age. Nature has implanted in man the desire for gold; the desire cannot therefore be regarded as sinful. It is customary and fitting that a mine be given a religious dedication (sigs p5[v]–p6[r]).

Above all, the arts of Vulcan offer man the opportunity for the exercise of *virtù*. Biringuccio endows the investigator of mines with the twin epic virtues of physical, or Achillean, courage and mental, or Odyssean, curiosity. Once embarked on his enterprise, the miner must assume the qualities of the warrior: 'con ogni sua forza seguitare, cacciando da se ogni vilta, e non temere strachezza di camino, con mettervi in ultimo anchora ogni suo potere con quella diligentia possibile, senza remorso' (sig. p8[r]; 'carrying it forward with all his strength, casting away every weakness and having no fear of exhaustion in his path, and at the end applying all his force with every possible care and without remorse': Smith and Gnudi, 24). He must likewise play the part of the *linceo*, the sharp-eyed investigator of nature: 'che ogni cosa che puo giovare bene intendere che si ben fusse una ombra se le deve sempre prestare lochio et lorrechia e nisuna disprezzare, come anchor temere tutte quelle cose che possino nuocere' (fol. 4[r]; 'to understand everything that may be useful; even if it were but a shadow, you must always give eye and ear to it and must despise nothing nor have fear of any of those things which may harm': Smith and Gnudi, 33). As befits such heroic qualities, working with metals is not merely equal in dignity to other professions or means of enrichment; it is superior to them. To demonstrate this superiority Biringuccio introduces a number of the topoi that will continue to appear throughout the early-modern period. Mining is superior to the agriculture that had been valorized by Virgil's didactic *Georgics*: the farmer can produce no more than one harvest each year, while mining produces a continuous harvest (fol. 12[r]). Mining is superior to the warfare that defined the status of the nobility, to the commerce that enriched the bourgeoisie, to the alchemy practised by Biringuccio's discredited rivals in the art of metallurgy. Above all, it is superior to seafaring, to the perils and uncertainties of which Biringuccio gives his fullest attention (fols 11[r]–12[r]). Biringuccio echoes Ovid's accusations

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[6] See Paracelsus's *Alchemical Catechism*; see also Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols (New York: Science History Publications, 1977), I, 47.

against seafaring as a mark of the Iron Age, pointing up the avarice and uncertain fortunes of the merchant whose well-being depends on travel by sea. Throughout his discussion, Biringuccio revives but radically rewrites the value system inherent in Ovid's historical model. Mining, which for Ovid was the central and defining activity of the Iron Age, now partakes of a Golden Age felicity, as 'questa via naturale giustissima e buona del cavare de la terra, quel piu frutto che si puo trovar […] ne pensano le ciechi e grossi ignoranti quanto virtuosi e laudabili sieno tali effetti' (fol. 11ᵛ; 'the natural, good, and just way of extracting from the earth as much fruit as can be found […] nor do […] blind and grossly ignorant men think how virtuous and laudable such works are': Smith and Gnudi, 51). The virtuosity of mining is epitomized in Biringuccio's description of the awesome mining chamber that he saw between Innsbruck and Halle, in the Duchy of Austria:

> The mine was such that, when I was there looking, I saw a wall of the hardest limestone forming a very large open space where more than two hundred men stood working at one time, both above and below, having no other light than that of lanterns. And wherever the ore showed itself they made various cuts, assiduously working in both night and day shifts, a thing that surely seemed to me great and marvellous. (Smith and Gnudi, 20)

The experience of this greatness leads Biringuccio to ponder the courageous, beneficent, and enriching activity of mining, together with the benevolence of nature that sustains it: 'la benignita de la natura, liberalissima a chi le cerca, tal cose permette, e largamente n'accommoda' (sig. p6ʳ; 'benign Nature, who is most generous to those who seek her, promises such things and fulfils her promises abundantly': Smith and Gnudi, 21). Biringuccio's admiring wonder before this scene reverses the horror with which Diodorus Siculus describes the same phenomena in the gold mines of Egypt and the silver mines of Iberia. For Diodorus the abolition of day and night is a sign not of assiduous industry but of abject slavery:

> [T]hose who have been condemned in this way — and they are a great multitude and are all bound in chains — work at their task unceasingly both by day and throughout the entire night, enjoying no respite and being carefully cut off from any means of escape […]. The slaves […] wear out their bodies both by day and by night in the diggings under the earth, dying in large numbers because of the exceptional hardships they endure.[7]

Pliny the Elder, who is more divided between his scientific curiosity and his Roman mistrust of underworld industry, was likewise more disturbed than awed

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[7] *Library*, 3. 12. 3.

by the spectacle of mountains being mined by the light of lamps, with the result that, in betrayal of nature, the miners do not see the light of day for months on end.[8]

Although he writes with an eye to classical precedent, Biringuccio does so less out of deference for the ancients than with the aim of establishing the superiority of moderns over ancients. Mining, he explains, is a field in which the moderns now surpass the ancients, thanks to their improvements in technology (sigs p6^{r-v}). When he urges the modern Italians to rise to the heroic industry needed to undertake mining, in contrast to their present avarice for quick and certain gains (fol. 10^v), Biringuccio challenges them to a mission that will rival the imperial mission of the ancient Romans.

Benvenuto Cellini, 'Trattato dell'orificeria' and 'Trattato della scultura' (1568)

The *Trattati* of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71) on goldsmithing and on sculpture were written in Italian between 1565 and 1567 and printed in 1568.[9] These treatises, which provide a measure of practical instruction but which also boast engagingly about Cellini's feats and renown, are especially revealing about the way in which didactic writing could be used to promote the dignity of the arts of metals, and the artist in metals, in early-modern Europe.[10] As a didactic writer, Cellini presents a paradox. His avowed aim in the *Trattati* is to educate the reader in the hitherto little understood arts of metals.[11] Such instruction is

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[8] *Naturalis historia*, 33. 70.

[9] *Due Trattati, uno intorno alle otto principali arti dell'oreficeria. L'altro in materia dell'arte della scultura* (Florence, 1568); next printed in 1731. There also exists a scribal manuscript of the *Trattati*, from which an academically inclined editor evidently prepared the 1568 text, a procedure that Cellini considered for the publication of his *Vita*. The present chapter quotes from the manuscript text as printed in: *I Trattati dell' Orificeria e della Scultura di Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. by Carlo Milanesi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1857). English translation: *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, trans. by C. R. Ashbee (London: Edward Arnold, 1898; repr. New York: Dover, 1967).

[10] Cellini's treatises deal with the smithing and casting of metals, processes higher on the technological chain than metallurgy strictly defined, but using many of the same processes and traditionally partaking of a similar social status.

[11] Cellini was also seeking to repair his relations with the Medici family and to remind them of his accomplishments and fame: pp. 3, 85–89.

possible and important: 'è bene imparare alle spese de altrui; le qual cose avvengono bene spesso' (177; ''tis a wise thing to profit in good time by the experience of others': Ashbee, 122), and no less a personage than François I of France profits from Cellini's tuition. Nevertheless, the impact of the *Trattati* is at least equally to demonstrate the extraordinary nature of Cellini's *virtù* or genius, a unique and innate quality that cannot be taught and that therefore undoes the function of a didactic writer. Great sculpture, like Cellini's, reveals itself as the labour of 'quelli che hanno buona maniera, cioè graziosa e ubbediente all' arte: e questi sono rari' (203; 'men both exquisite in judgment and humble in study. Such men are rare!': Ashbee, 140). Moreover, Cellini has little regard for the theory that by definition characterizes a treatise, affirming that 'fussi prima la pratica che la teorica di tutte le scienzie, e che alla pratica se le ponesse di poi regola' (42; 'practice always has come before theory in every craft, and that the rules of theory […] are always grafted on to practice afterwards': Ashbee, 25).

Accordingly, a great part of Cellini's texts is devoted to demonstrating his sheer *virtù*, as a unique master of all the branches of goldsmithing:

> [A]vendo la detta bella arte otto modi diversi di lavori, dei quali non s'è trovato forse mai, o si veramente tanto de rado, che e' non ce n'è alcuna notizia, che nessuno uomo sia stato tanto animoso de volere intraprendere di esercitarsi in più di uno, o insino in dua. (6)

> (Perhaps never before, or at least so rarely that it has never been recorded, has a man been found who was a specialist in more than one or at most two of the eight different branches of this goodly art. (Ashbee, 1))

Although he does not claim the distinction himself, Cellini happily quotes judges who paragon his work with the ancients, such as François I, who marvels, 'Ringraziato sia Iddio che alli dì nostri è nato anche degli uomini, i quali le opere loro ce piacciono molto più che quelle degli antichi' (98; 'Then God be praised that here in our own day there be yet men born who can turn out so much more beautiful things than the ancients': Ashbee, 60), and 'il nostro gran Michelagnolo' himself, who judges of a medal that 'io la veggo tanto bella, che io non credo mai che quegli orefici antichi facessero tanto bene' (78; 'it seems to me so beautiful that I not think ever a goldsmith of the ancient world fashioned aught to come up to it': Ashbee, 48).[12]

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[12] Cellini readily claims superiority for the ancients over the moderns, for example, in making coins, where 'we moderns may pride ourselves on being able to produce them with facility, and that, like the printing of books and many such-like arts, is a discovery of ours' (Ashbee, 67); see also Ashbee, pp. 70–71.

Cellini delights in recounting the display of this *virtù* before great men. In such episodes, Cellini characteristically begins as the object of scepticism or ridicule, but he vindicates himself and ends as the recipient of respect and praise, even from rivals. In this way, rivalry or jealousy becomes the origin of respect and friendship; the agonistic conditions associated with the Iron Age become the basis for social harmony. In one instance, Cellini displays to Pope Paul III Farnese an example of his jewellery work prodigious in its beauty and in the speed with which he produced it (55); not content with that, Cellini's produces a tint that outdoes the work of the master in this branch of goldsmithing, and then, indefatigably competitive, goes on to outdo himself: 'E quando io cognobbi per certo di aver vinto un così mirablile uomo, ancora io mi essi di nuovo con assai maggior disciplina a provermi se io potevo vincere me stesso' (61; 'And when I had made sure that I had beaten so admirable a man, what did I do but set to work anew with still greater energy to see if I could not beat even myself': Ashbee, 37). Cellini is next drawn into a dispute with one particular denigrator, Gaio, which he recounts with gusto for its vigorous invective on both sides, before all issues in triumph and reconciliation:

> [I]o corso giù; e datolo in mano a quel maestro Raffaello, egli fece quella dimostrazione de maraviglia che si usa de fare alle cose miracolose. Gli altri dua […] feciono altretanta di maraviglia […] e quel detto Gaio si sottomesse tanto, che egli mi chiese perdonanza. […] e benedettomi le mane, piacevolmente da me tutti a tre si partirno amicissimi. (64–65)

> (Then down I ran and put it into Master Raphaello's hand. He uttered an expression of astonishment like you do when you see a miracle. The two others […] likewise expressed amazement […] Gaio even so far let himself down as to begging my pardon. […] We shook hands amicably and parted the best of friends. (Ashbee, 39))

Cellini feels no discomfort at living and thriving in an Iron Age; indeed he embraces a society that turns on wealth and on competitiveness because it puts a high value on the rare and beautiful things of this world and enables the practice of expertise and wit in all its forms. Pride in the recognition of his *virtù* is matched by pleasure in the acquisition of wealth: 'la mi fece grandissimo honore, e di quei pittori e scultori se ne servirono a metterla in opera; e io ne fui ben pagato' (110; 'it brought me much honour with the sculptors and painters […]; some of them made use of the design, too, for other purposes, and I was well paid for it': Ashbee, 66). He welcomes opposition and conflict, citing Pope Clement VII Medici that '[e]gli è gran cosa la forza che ha la virtù! che quanto più l' è molestata dall' invidia, tanto più si mostra bella, e cresce a suo dispetto' (83; 'Great is the virtue of determination, the more she is troubled with envy the more beautiful does she become, and grows in despite thereof': Ashbee, 51). He

expects and admires sharp dealing, even in a dignitary like a Venetian ambassador, whose wiles in winning himself a valuable jewel are told with relish (69–71).

In Cellini's revision of the Iron Age myth, the artist in metals reverses the outcast place of Vulcan: through his *virtù* he wins wealth and an elevated social position, finding not only respect but also camaraderie with bishops, popes, and kings. His house in Paris is 'such as to be worthy of hosting any noble lord or gentleman. The Bishop of Paira, who was a friend of mine, did I thus entertain [...] during a long sojourn in Paris; and to many others too, in like manner, I gave abundant hospitality' (Ashbee, 54). When he displays a design before Pope Clement, 'he had scarce seen it when he turned to me and cried out: "You've hit it! that's how I want it done!" [...] Straightway he had me paid 500 golden scudi, and with most courteous words bade me God speed to my work' (Ashbee, 53). In France, Cellini treats on equal terms with François I himself: the king,

> with great kindness and affability began to show me the most beautiful trinkets and jewels, and briefly asked me my opinion on them. They had stood me in the middle of all of them; — there was the King, and the King of Navarre his brother-in-law, and the Queen of Navarre, and all the first flower of the nobility, and of those that came nearest to the crown; and before all of them his Majesty showed me many beautiful and priceless things, about which we talked for a long time to his great delight. (Ashbee, 12–13)

When the King wonders how a certain piece could have been made, Cellini takes on the role of didact, albeit with the proviso *ars longa*: 'I can tell you exactly how it is done, even so much so that you, being the man of rare ability that you are, shall know how just as well as the master himself that made it, knew, but the explanation of the methods that underlie its making will take rather a long time' (Ashbee, 13). The new pupil sagely acknowledges the primacy of performing over teaching: 'Quando quel mirabil re Francesco intese questo modo, ei disse che tutti quegli uomini che sapevano bene insegnare, gli erano forze che e' sapessino benissimo operare [...] e mi crebbe de tanta benivolenzia quanto mai immaginare si possa al mondo' (26; 'When admirable King Francis heard all this description of mine, he declared that they who knew so well how to explain, doubtless knew still better how to perform [...] And therewith he heaped great favours upon me, such as you can't possibly imagine': Ashbee, 14).

The most dramatic revelation of the stature of the artist-hero occurs in Cellini's account of the casting of his great statue of Perseus for the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence:[13] 'The statue was more than five cubits high and its pose was a difficult one, for in its left hand it held raised aloft the head of Medusa'

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[13] The episode is recounted with even higher drama in the *Vita*: *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. by George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), pp. 341–49.

(Ashbee, 122). This climax of Cellini's career draws an implicit correspondence between the heroic subject and the heroic sculptor, victorious too over formidable odds. Cellini's Medusa appears in the guise of his assistants, artillery foundrymen who lack his skills and carefulness. Here Cellini encounters another of the problems of the virtuoso teacher: the possibility that one's instruction will be disregarded, out of incompetence, indolence, or villainy.

When the stupendously intense expenditure of energy on his sculpture results in a no less intense fever, Cellini gives instruction to his assistants:

> Mi convenne far quasi ogni cosa di mia propria mano: per il che soprafatto dalla fatica, la qualità e organo del corpo mio, mi saltò addosso una tanta violente febbre, che io fui forzato, da poi che io l' avevo sopportata parecchi ore, dico che quella me gettò a letto. E avendo pure parecchi maestri di quei pratichi d' artigliere e di figure, io mostrai loro, innanzi che io me gettassi a letto, tutto il modo che io avevo cominciato, e benissimo si poteva intendere, perchè de già io avevo coperto più che mezza la mia figura, e tutte le maggior dificultà erano passate; solo si aveva a seguitare quell' ordine che si vedeva, il qual mostrava di essere molto facile, chè non vi conoscendo molte estreme dificultà, io volentieri, per non poter più resistere, me ne andai, sì come ho detto, a letto. (178)

> (As I had to do almost everything with my own hand, owing to the intense bodily fatigue to which I was subjected a violent fever seized upon me. I struggled against it for many hours, but in the end it floored me, and I was brought to bed. As I had those different masters of ordinance and statuary founders working for me, I explained to them before I laid me down, exactly the methods I had begun, and how these were now perfectly easy to understand, as more than half the figure was already covered, and the greater part of the difficulties surmounted. All that they had to do was to follow my instructions in detail, and that appeared easy enough, so, being utterly incapable of holding out any longer, I flung myself on my couch. (Ashbee, 122))

But the assistants are careless of their duty, so that the casting process threatens to fail. In a recovery or resurrection that corresponds to the rescue of the sculpture itself, Cellini saves his Perseus, exhibiting again that heroic *virtù* that transcends any possible instruction. The reader may imagine the difficulties that Cellini faces, but can merely admire his recovery from them:

> Or sappia, benigno lettore, che con il male che io avevo, e con la cattiva nuova, la qual m' importava tutto l' onor mio, io sentii uno de' maggiori dolori che mai uomo al mondo si possa immaginare. Ma non soprastetti a dar campo al dolore; subito ricorsi a quella natural virtù dell' animosità, la qual non s' impara per studio nessuno, ma bisogna che la sia naturale; e furioso con essa saltai del letto, e spaventato quella smisurata febbre con alcune mordace parole che io dissi a quei detti maestri. (180–81)

> (Now, gentle reader, picture to yourself my state, — I in all my ills and sickness — this new trouble thrust upon me — all my honour at stake — why I felt the keenest grief that ever man could imagine! But this was no time to give way to grief. Suddenly, as in a frenzy, my

old inborn daring came upon me; it's not a thing one can learn, this! it's in a man's nature! Furiously I leapt from my bed and literally frightened away that grievous fever with the biting words I shouted at those fellows. (Ashbee, 123))

The recovery of the sculpture takes place during a great storm, with wind and rain blowing into the furnace; the workshop itself catches fire; the cap of the furnace blows off. Out of this tremendous agon, in which the man of *virtù* prevails by his almost demonic energies, results yet again admiration and reconciliation: 'E fu tanto il dolore insieme con tanta allegrezza, che la fatica non si sentì, e la febbre si andò subito con Dio, e mangiai e bevei lietamente con tutta quella turba de quei cotali uomini, et ognuno restò maravigliato' (182; 'Spite of the pain such was my delight that I felt no more fatigue; the fever just went to the devil, and I sat down to eat and drink with a light heart, together with all the lot of them, and everyone marvelled thereat': Ashbee, 124).

Georgius Agricola, 'De re metallica' (1556)

The most technologically comprehensive and culturally weighty treatise on mining and metallurgy in the early-modern period is the Latin *De re metallica libri XII* of Georg Bauer, or Georgius Agricola (Basel, 1556).[14] As one of the most noteworthy examples of the Renaissance literature of instruction, it is fitting to treat this text as a climax, although it antedates Cellini's *Trattati*. Agricola was a physician who worked at Chemnitz, at the foot of the Erzgebirge, the mountains separating Saxony and Bohemia, and a mining centre from as early as the twelfth century.[15] The practical instructiveness of Agricola's treatise is attested by the survival of an annotated copy in the Public Library of Zacatecas, Mexico; Agricola's

[14] Later editions: Basel, 1561, 1621, 1657; German translations: Basel, 1557, 1621; Frankfurt, 1580; Italian translation: Basel, 1563. English translation: *De re metallica libri XII: Basle, 1556*, trans. by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (London: Mining Magazine, 1912; repr. New York: Dover, 1950). For a comprehensive study, see Hans Prescher, *Georgius Agricola, Persönlichkeit und Wirken für den Bergbau und des Hüttenwesen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffinndustrie, 1985). Earlier writings of Agricola on mining and mineralogy which were enlarged and incorporated into *De re metallica* are *Bermannus* (1530), *De natura fossilium* (1546), and *De veteribus et novis metallis* (1546). Agricola borrows a few parts of his text and a few of his illustrations from Biringuccio, whose work he acknowledges in his Preface. Biringuccio had himself borrowed a few details from Agricola's *Bermannus*.

[15] Helmut Wilsdorf, *Georg Agricola und seine Zeit* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1956); Martin Lynch, *Mining in World History* (London: Reaktion, 2002), p. 16.

illustrations of pumps for raising water from a great depth may have influenced mining technology in Zacatecas in the seventeenth century.[16] The completeness and accuracy of Agricola's illustrations have established *De re metallica* as a classic in the history of technology; it is also an outstanding production of Renaissance humanism.[17] The book's distinction in this respect is partly the consequence of its not deferring to the influential mythical history and ethical principles of Ovid. Agricola writes in full cognizance of ancient authorities, but, in accordance with a recognized aim of humanism, he also adapts and recasts those ancient authorities for modern conditions. Agricola revives the ancient debate on metals and on the wealth they engender, enthusiastically espousing a meliorist position. Agricola's humanism also gives Book I of *De re metallica* the form of a judicial oration in defence of mining and metallurgy, employing the usual topoi for such an oration — arguments from use, refutation of charges, comparison with rival employments. After this, the book opens out into a treatise that verges on epic in its claims for the universality, the historical impact, and the heroic stature of mining and metallurgy. Agricola's judicial arguments and their imaginative expansion toward epic are fortified by the presentation of *De re metallica*, printed in an impressive folio, written in a vigorous Renaissance Latin, and illustrated by abundant woodcuts.

Agricola's defence sets itself against the soft primitivism of Roman poets and moralists, summarized by Tibullus: 'Diuitis hoc uitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt | Faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes' (12; 'This is the fault of a rich man's gold; there were no wars when beech goblets were used at banquets: Hoover, 16 (see Tibullus, I. 10. 7–8)). Against the charge that the mining and use of metals in itself has caused a decline from Golden Age to Iron Age, Agricola argues that it is not metals, but human excess, that is at fault: 'ex his intelligimus non metalla esse culpanda, sed nostra uitia, iram dico, crudelitatem, discordiam, cupiditatem latè regnandi, auaritiam, libidinem' (13; 'From these examples we see that it is not metals that are to be condemned, but our vices, such as anger, cruelty,

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[16] P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700*, Cambridge Latin American Studies, 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 133–34.

[17] For use of Agricola's illustrations by modern historians, see, for example, Elisabeth Kessler-Slotta, 'Die Illustrationen in Agricolas *De re metallica*', *Der Anschnitt*, 46.2–3 (1994), 55–67; Paolo Macini and Ezio Mesini, 'Hydraulic Pumps of Agricola's *De Re Metallica* (1556)', *Journal of Hydraulic Engineering*, 130 (2004), 1051–54. For Agricola as a humanist scholar, see Owen Hannaway, 'Georgius Agricola as Humanist', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992), 553–60.

discord, passion for power, avarice, and lust': Hoover, 17). Nevertheless, humankind has a universal code of ethics, a seemingly natural inclination toward, or at any rate a respect for, the qualities traditionally associated with nobility. These attributes act as a control on the vices that Agricola has listed: 'Fames enim et cupiditas auri aliarumque rerum reddit homines caecos. Atque impia ista pecuniarum cupiditatas omnibus omni tempore et loco probro fuit et crimini' (12; 'For lust and eagerness after gold and other things make men blind, and this wicked greed for money, all men in all times and places have considered dishonourable and criminal. Moreover those who have been so addicted to avarice as to be its slaves have always been regarded as mean and sordid': Hoover, 16).[18]

Far from impeding the traditional paths to honour, argues Agricola, the use of metals contributes to noble aspiration. 'Nam effodit metalla, e quibus nummi et statuae aliaque fiunt, quae post literatum monimenta hominibus quodammodo aeternitatem, immortalitatemque donant' (15; 'It is, moreover, helpful to those whose ambition urges them toward immortal glory, because it yields metals from which are made coins, statues, and other monuments, which, next to literary records, give men in a sense immortality': Hoover, 19). This point is not however characteristic of the thrust of Agricola's argument in general. Rather than showing that metals lend support to the traditional means of winning honour, Agricola prefers to claim that they afford a new avenue to honour. Instead of being a degradation, working in metals is more honourable than soldiering or kingly rule, because it is less harmful to innocent people:

> cum quaestus maximi sint foeneratoris, bellatoris, mercatoris, agricolae, metallici: foenus autem sit odiosum, praeda crudeliter capta ex fortunis plebis, non culpa calamitosae, impia, quaestus metallici honestate ac decore praestet mercatoris lucro: non minus sit bonus quam agricolae, multo uberior. Quis non intelligit metallicam inprimis esse honestam? (18)

> (inasmuch as the chief callings are those of the moneylender, the soldier, the merchant, the farmer, and the miner, I say, inasmuch as usury is odious, while the spoil cruelly captured from the possessions of the people innocent of wrong is wicked in the sight of God and man, and inasmuch as the calling of the miner excels in honour and dignity that of the merchant trading for lucre, while it is not less noble though far more profitable than agriculture, who can fail to realize that mining is a calling of peculiar dignity? (Hoover, 24))

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[18] For Lucretius too the misuse of metals is the result, not the cause, of human unhappiness, although Lucretius is probably less sanguine than Agricola about the possibility of overcoming human greed.

As part of this ambitious enterprise of revaluing the forms of human activity, Agricola gives *De re metallica* some of the marks of a classical or Renaissance epic. For Agricola, mining is a universal art, containing and subsuming all other kinds of learning, as the epic claimed to do. It is also an art of great antiquity and of the highest dignity, since metals must be at least as old as agriculture,[19] and since they create greater wealth than agriculture (sig. a2ʳ). Metals, and at least some of the mines that produce them, are unmatched in their durability and in the stability of the wealth they create. They may thus already claim the immortality traditionally imparted by the epic poet (2–3). Agricola hopes to achieve that literary immortality for himself partly through his use of illustrations. These will make his book accessible to future generations, in contrast to the writings of the ancients, which are often inaccessible because of obscurity and unexplained words. The woodcut and printing technology that produces Agricola's book therefore combines with the mining and metallurgical technology that is his subject to rival and even outdo the epics of the ancients. His subject is also novel. Ancient writers on agriculture, like Varro and Columella, could follow many authorities; Agricola has only Pliny as a predecessor (sigs p2ʳ⁻ᵛ). Like the epic poet, he is undertaking 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme'.

The hero of Agricola's epic of instruction is the composite body of men who by their studiousness and ingenuity develop and practise the noble arts of mining and metallurgy. The opening pages of the treatise vindicate the art of metals against its detractors. 'Multi habent hanc opinionem, rem metallicam fortuitum quiddam esse, et sordidum opus, atque omnino eiusmodi negotium quod non tam artis indigeat quam laboris' (1; 'Many persons hold the opinion that the metal industries are fortuitous and that the occupation is one of sordid toil, and altogether a kind of business requiring not so much skill as labour': Hoover, 1). In fact, these arts branch out into others: first into geology, engineering, and chemistry; then into medicine, surveying, and law (1–2). Agricola's treatise has the public or national dimension required by epic. His mining community is a model society, with its carefully ordered delineations of property, laws, and customs. Dignified with Latinized titles that recall the gradations of the Roman state, the officeholders of Agricola's community suggest the advent of a new social order (as in Biringuccio, a contrast to the dystopic mines of Diodorus). Agricola notes that not only private persons but also 'kings, princes, and states' have made fortunes through mines and their produce (18). His book is dedicated

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[19] The Greek myth of the Cyclopes as metalworkers makes them antedate the rise of the Olympian gods: see Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 139–46.

to Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and his brother Augustus, and it proudly catalogues the towns of the duchy that have won fame through mining — Freiburg, Annaberg, Marienberg, Schneeberg, Geyer, Altenburg (sig. a3ᵛ). The political prophecies of epic, classically delivered in a gloomy underworld, here take as their subject the glittering wealth of the underworld itself. The Duke of Saxony is promised this wealth in a prophecy based not on mysterious authority but on the rational knowledge of Georgius Agricola himself: 'si quid ego sentio, maiores diuitiae nunc etiam in montosis uestrarum regionum locis sub terra latent, quam supra terram existant et appareant' (sig. a3ᵛ; 'if I understand anything, greater wealth now lies hidden beneath the ground in the mountainous parts of your territory than is visible and apparent above ground': Hoover, xxxi).

At every stage, the encyclopedic exhaustiveness of Agricola's treatise shades into epic magnitude. Instructive detail gives rise to what amount to epic catalogues: 'Seven methods of washing are in common use for the ores of many metals; for they are washed either in a simple buddle, or in a divided buddle, or in an ordinary strake, or in a large tank, or in a short strake, or in a canvas strake, or in a jigging sieve' (Hoover, 300); 'a miner, before he begins to mine the veins, must consider seven things, namely: the situation, the conditions, the water, the roads, the climate, the right of ownership, and the neighbours' (Hoover, 30); Book XII (much of it borrowed from Biringuccio) describes the production of salt, of soda, of potash, of saltpetre, of alum, of vitriol, of sulphur, of petroleum, of glass. The divisions of *De re metallica* attest to the wide range of activities and institutions that mining and metallurgy contain: Book IV describes mining law and organization, Book V the techniques for digging shafts and tunnels and the art of surveying, Book VI an array of tools and machines, including machines for haulage and ventilation, Book VII the tools and techniques of assaying, Book VIII the means of crushing and washing ores, Book IX the means of smelting, Book X the means of separating precious metals from base metals. The division of *De re metallica* into twelve books is the clearest statement of Agricola's epic ambition (sigs a3ʳ⁻ᵛ). Moreover, like the twelve books of the *Aeneid* with its six books of journeys and its six books of battles, *De re metallica* gives six books to mining and six books to the processes of refining (assaying, washing, and smelting).

While Agricola thus draws on the ancient prestige of epic, he also asserts that his subject is a new area of human *virtù* and that his style therefore introduces a new decorum. *De re metallica* is an epic of modernity, which emphasizes and praises human progress through the mastery of metals. Agricola frequently adverts to the ways in which the technology of his own day has made a decisive improvement on its predecessors. He distinguishes the 'ancient methods of

washing material which contains tin-stone' from 'two modern methods', of which the second is 'even more modern and more useful than the last', partly because of labour efficiencies: 'This method of washing is most advantageous, for four men can do the work of washing in two boxes, while the last method, if doubled, requires six men' (Hoover, 341, 344, 345). On the vital matter of pumping water from mines, Agricola takes the reader through three kinds of 'chain and dipper' pumps and three kinds of suction pumps before reaching 'The seventh kind of pump, invented ten years ago, which is the most ingenious, durable, and useful of all' (Hoover, 184). This pump also has the capacity to improve on nature itself: 'If the river does not supply enough water-power to turn the last-described pump, which happens because of the nature of the locality or occurs during the summer season when there are daily droughts, a machine is built with a wheel so low and light that the water of ever so little a stream can turn it' (Hoover, 187–88). The long technical descriptions of metallurgical equipment and processes in the later books are also by implication new matter for epic, albeit matter that vastly expands classical precedent, in the form of the episodes in Vulcan's smithy. By implication, too, the detail of technological processes is a useful matter for epic, replacing the detail of combats and wounds in ancient epic.

This new matter and new purpose is expressed in a new decorum.

Verum quo magis ars metallica abhorret ab omni sermonis elegantia, eo minus hi mei libri sunt politi, certe res, in quibus ars illa uersatur, interdum nominibus carent, uel quod nouae sint, uel quod, etiamsi ueteres, nominum, quibus uocabantur, memoria interierit: quare necessitate, cui uenia datur, coactus quasdam significaui pluribus uerbis coniuncitis, quasdam notaui nouis. (sig. a3ᵛ)

(Since the art of mining does not lend itself to elegant language, these books of mine are correspondingly lacking in refinement of style. The things dealt with in this art of metals sometimes lack names, either because they are new, or because, even if they are old, the record of the names by which they were formerly known has been lost. For this reason I have been forced by a necessity, for which I must be pardoned, to describe some of them by a number of words combined, and to distinguish others by new names. (Hoover, xxxi))

Although there is a gesture of apology in Agricola's declaration, there is also a pride in the modern inventions that necessitate his neologisms and the recognition that the language of the ancients is lacking, both because of the limits of ancient technology and because of failures of transmission. For Agricola, the ancients are a useful but limited source of authority. Agricola acknowledges them and borrows from them when serve his purpose, but more often reflects the ways in which modern technology advances or improves on them. The result

is a typically humanist relationship, an unstable compound of deference and competitiveness.

The basis of Agricola's originality lies in materialist and empiricist assumptions that are discernible in Cellini but to which Agricola gives a more intellectually cogent and systematic justification. Agricola counters Ovid's valorization of agriculture over the arts of metals by arguing that metals create greater wealth than agriculture. Agricola is unembarrassed in turn by valorizing wealth, which he does in hyperbolical terms:

> [O]mnium rerum, quibus magnae diuitiae bona et honesta ratione acquiruntur, nihil est arte metallica utilius: ex agris enim bene cultis (ut alias res omittam) fructus capimus uberrimos, sed uberiores ex fodinis. Certe una fodina saepe multo maiores utilitatis fructus nobis praebet, quam agri plurimi: quocirca ex omnium fere seculorum memoria cognoscimus, complures ex metallis diuites factos esse, et eadem multorum regum fortunas amplificasse [...]. Habeant igitur sibi agricolae uberes campos colantque colles fertiles frugum gratia: metallicis ualles tenebricosas relinquant, et montes steriles, ut ex ipsis eruant gemmas et metalla, non precia modo frugum, sed rerum omnium quae uenduntur. (sig. a2^r, p. 3)

> ([O]f all ways whereby great wealth is acquired by good and honest means, none is more advantageous than mining; for although from fields which are well tilled (not to mention other things) we derive rich yields, yet we obtain richer products from mines; in fact, one mine is often much more beneficial to us than many fields. For this reason we learn from the history of nearly all ages that very many men have been made rich by the mines, and fortunes of many kings have been much amplified thereby. [...] So let the farmers have for themselves the fruitful fields and cultivate the fertile hills for the sake of their produce; but let them leave to miners the gloomy valleys and sterile mountains, that they may draw forth from these, gems and metals which can buy, not only the crops, but all things that are sold. (Hoover, xxv–xxvi, 6)[20]

These comparisons amount to a bold revision of the Ovidian concept of a Golden Age. Like Cellini, Agricola imagines only an Iron Age existence, in which the only choice is between different forms of labour — here agriculture or mining. The supposed idylls of pastoral life are not even admitted to Agricola's consideration, because of their unproductive nature: 'Nam cum hi paucis istiusmodi artibus carere possint, earumque maximus sit numerus, nulla sine instrumentis quicquam efficit' (sig. a2^r; 'when an art is so poor that it lacks metals, it is not of much importance, for nothing is made without tools': Hoover, xxv). Ovid's descent from Golden Age pastoral to Iron Age georgic becomes an

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[20] As Hoover points out, Agricola's argument derives from a passage in Xenophon, *Ways and Means*, 1. 5.

ascent, which is primarily technological but incidentally ethical, since in the Iron Age it is possible to acquire wealth by 'good and honest means'. The possibility of a moderate quest for wealth recurs when Agricola expounds the system and benefits of shareholding in mines, another aspect of his embrace of modernity: 'Igitur non solum in caeteris rebus, sed etiam in emptione partium impendendi est modus quidam retinendus metallicis, ut ne nimia diuitiarum congerendarum libidine obcoecati, omnia profundant' (21; 'in the buying of shares, as in other matters, there should be a certain limit of expenditure which miners should set themselves, lest blinded by the desire for excessive wealth, they throw all their money away': Hoover, 29; see also 27–30, 90–94). The promise of wealth and the possibility of virtue are all provided by an earth whose physical character Agricola opposes to the traditional attributes of the Golden Age. The miner turns his back on the fruitful fields and fertile hills to inhabit the gloomy valleys and sterile mountains, which bring forth the marvels of a Golden Age of buying and selling.

Agricola's modernity is based above all on knowledge and investigation. The epic quality that he imparts to his treatise has already been noted. In his dedication to the Duke of Saxony, Agricola himself makes another comparison. His aim is to establish a complete corpus of knowledge, twelve books of *De re metallica* that will correspond to the twelve books of Columella's *De re rustica* (sig. a2ʳ). He literalizes the traditional metaphor in which mining stands for the quest for knowledge.[21] Agricola's mines demand and offer an encyclopedic variety and depth of knowledge. Not only does his book treat the varieties of mining and metallurgical lore, but these in turn depend on prior knowledge of philosophy, medicine, astronomy, surveying, arithmetic, architecture, drawing, and law (1–2). Agricola's new system of values entails a new system of arts, combining liberal arts and useful arts. As Cellini deemed the skills of the goldsmith a fitting study for kings, so Agricola deems it fitting for gentle persons to labour with their own hands on the works of mines and metals, as Thucydides once did, and as the Romans called Cincinnatus from the works of agriculture to the duties of dictator (18).

The searching curiosity of the treatise writer is a characteristic that he shares with the miner and the metallurgist themselves, as has been seen also in Biringuccio. When the assayer presides over his furnace, 'sæpius introspicere, accurateque considerare omnia necesse est' (199; 'it is necessary for him to look frequently within and carefully to consider everything: Hoover, 241). The miner

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[21] See, for example, Francis Bacon, *Valerius Terminus of the Interpretation of Nature*.

must pay keen attention to the veins that potentially contain metals, since these are 'res fossiles, quas terrae receptacula suo complexu coercent' (29; 'mineral substances which the earth keeps hidden within her own deep receptacles': Hoover, 43), where 'abstrusae et latentes arte inquiruntur' (25; 'lying deeply hidden and concealed they are found after close search': Hoover, 35). This is another area in which the characteristics of the miner and the metallurgist assume epic status. The scrutiny of the assayer must contend with 'uehemens ignis calor' (199), the fierce heat of the fire, always apt to injure his eyes. The miner's watchfulness and other feats are specifically compared to those of a soldier: 'Etenim nocturnis aeque ac diurnis uigiliis et operibus exercitata habet duriciam corporum immanem, facillimeque cum res postulat, labores et munera militiae sustinet' (18; 'trained to vigilance and work by night and day, he has great powers of endurance when occasion demands, and easily sustains the fatigues and duties of a soldier': Hoover, 24).

There are important commonalities between these three writers, in particular the ways in which they look back to earlier authority, including classical authority, and look forward to a new technological and cultural order. As befits writers of instructive treatises, Biringuccio, Cellini, and Agricola all hold out for their readers the promise of practical benfits, by giving examples of men who have flourished through mining and metallurgy. Biringuccio and Agricola stake their authority by explicitly disputing received authorities and the claims of alchemy. Agricola and Cellini boldly rewrite or reinterpret ancient myths in accordance with their new understanding of man's mastery of nature.

All trace the rise of noteworthy or heroic individuals through the practice of the arts of metals. Agricola relates how Emperor Maximilian I raised to the nobility one Conrad: 'Fuit uero ille, cum in metallis Snebergi operas daret, egentissimus: [...] Sed non multos post annos ex metallis Firsti, [...] diues factus nomen ex fortuna inuenit' (18; 'Conrad was really very poor when he served in the mines of Schneeberg, [...] but not many years after, he attained wealth from the mines of Fürst [...] and took his name from "Luck"': Hoover, 23–24). Biringuccio relates admiringly how the Italian inventor of military mining, Francesco di Giorgio Giorgi, remained in Naples 'con gran stipendio per le sue virtu' (fol. 158ʳ) when the city passed from French to Spanish rule in 1502; Giorgi's technological *virtù* transcends political loyalties. Cellini's exemplary hero, the man of prodigious *virtù*, is of course himself. In their rise to eminence through the arts of metals, all these men are represented as distinctively modern, a new kind of hero. All of the authors, indeed, and not Cellini only, share

something of this status. They themselves have travelled and have witnessed the technologies they describe. They are therefore the products of a widening world, members of a supranational community of technical artists or scholars.[22]

A corollary to the assertion of modernity and the emphasis on experience is a critique of scholastic authority and of alchemy. Biringuccio expresses at least outward respect for the *De mineralibus* of Albertus Magnus (fols 5ᵛ, 27ᵛ), although he cannot forebear discreetly questioning its claim that gold can be generated in the skull of a dead man: 'in verita e cosa da non senza difficulta credere, e certo a me pare incredibile [...] Et pure considerando chi 'l dice [...] lo puo l'homo passare' (fol. 3ᵛ; 'To tell the truth it is not easy to believe this, and certainly to me it seems incredible, yet considering who tells of it [...] we can receive it': Smith and Gnudi, 33). Agricola is more forthright: 'gold is not generated in the rivers and streams, as we have maintained against Albertus' (Hoover, 76).[23]

In the absence of alternative chemical principles, the theoretical foundation of alchemy remained an open question in the early-modern period, but metallurgical writers are alert to its practical shortcomings. Cellini is the least assertive in this area. Unwontedly, he feels no competition with alchemists: he is pragmatically willing to use their abilities and discoveries but is not notably interested in their claims, which he probably does not consider relevant to his art (29). Biringuccio mounts a famous and well-reasoned critique of alchemy, which he spices with ridicule. The art is a 'una volonta vana, et un pensiero immaginata' (fol. 5ᵛ; 'a vain wish and fanciful dream': Smith and Gnudi, 35); 'le speranze dele lor fabulose scritture sieno ombre di maschare composte da certi Romiti herbolari per darsi credito, over da altra gente otiosa' (fol. 7ᵛ; 'the hopes of their fantastic writings are but masked shadows, composed by certain itinerant herbalists in order to accredit themselves or else by other lazy people': Smith and Gnudi, 41). Even when alchemists receive the patronage of great princes, the result is a mock epic, rather than an epic, quest: 'quali per arrivare a tal porto han messo alle lor barche vele et industriosi remi, et con tramontane han navigato et tentato ogni possibel camino, et al fine sommersi credo nela impossibilita, non vi e mai ch'io sappia fino a hora alcuno arrivato' (fol. 5ʳ; 'These men in order to

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[22] For later examples, see Gabriel Plattes, *Discovery of Subterraneal Treasure* (1653), based on 'threescore yeares practice, and experience' (sig. b2ʳ), and Giovanni Fratta, *Pratica minerale* (Bologna, 1678), based on observation in Germany, Hungary, Moravia, and Croatia.

[23] Plattes recapitulates the criticism of Albertus (*Discovery*, pp. 34–35); for Fratta, Albertus's claim has degenerated to an error of the 'volgo ignorante' (*Pratica*, p. 92).

arrive at such a port have equipped their vessels with sails and hard-working oarsmen and have sailed with guiding stars, trying every possible course, and, finally submerged in the impossible (according to my belief) not one of them to my knowledge has yet come to port': Smith and Gnudi, 36). The element of mercury shows the attributes of the god Mercury by taking flight from their ministrations: 'quasi ridendo li suoi adversarii tutti sbeffati et scherniti lassa con le boccie et lor borse vacue' (fol. 23ᵛ; 'Almost laughing, it leaves all its adversaries mocked and scorned with their phials and filters empty': Smith and Gnudi, 80). In contrast to the delusions and hubris of alchemy Biringuccio turns to mining, 'anchor che esso maggior travaglio di corpo et di mente et maggiore spesa sia che quella et che in prima apparentia et con parole prometti mancho, et sia per osservar […] quella cosa che e con effetto che quella che si pensa che la sia' (fol. 7ʳ; 'even though mining is a harder task, both physical and mental, is more expensive, and promises less at first sight and in words than does alchemy, and it has as its scope the observation of […] what really exists rather than what one thinks exists': Smith and Gnudi, 40).[24]

Agricola too essays the mock-heroic in his catalogue of thirty-two alchemical writers, drily commenting,

> haec facere possint necne possint, non decerno: […] quia nullos ex hac arte quondam diuites esse factos scriptum legimus, nec nunc fieri uidemus, cum tot ubiuis gentium fuerint, et sint chymistae, omnesque omnes industriae neruos dies noctesque contendant, ut maximos auri et argenti aceruos construere possint, res in dubium uocatur. (sig. a3ʳ)

> (Whether they can do these things or not I cannot decide; but […] seeing that we do not read of any of them ever having become rich by this art, nor do we now see them growing rich, although so many nations everywhere have produced, and are producing, alchemists, and all of them are straining every nerve night and day to the end that they may heap a great quantity of gold and silver, I should say the matter is dubious. (Hoover, xxviii))

Whatever might be said for their theory and their predecessors, Agricola has no doubt that contemporary alchemists are charlatans and thieves (Hoover, xxvii–xxix).[25]

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[24] See Alfredo Perifano, 'L'Alchimie dans *De la pirotechnia* de Vannoccio Biringuccio,' *Revue des études italiennes*, 42 (1996), 189–202.

[25] In the next century, Plattes still regards the theory of alchemy as an open question, but raises an economic argument against its practical utility. Small quantities of gold may be produced by alchemy, but its production is bound to be unprofitable because equipment, fuel, and labour cost more than formerly, while gold buys less: 'I conceive it might be true, but that the times have made an alteration' (*Discovery*, p. 43).

Most strikingly, these foundational writers on mining and metallurgy recognize that along with their new matter they are introducing new genres and revising ancient myths. Like Agricola, Cellini disavows the graces of literary style (80);[26] nevertheless his writing displays the *virtù* that he exercises in other pursuits: in his first *Trattato*, he claims to have done 'what no one had done before, viz. undertook to write about those loveliest secrets and wondrous method of the great art of goldsmithing' (Ashbee, 1). Cellini takes pride in exploding the genre of 'secrets' that had largely ruled in technological writing. The audacity of his self-presentation is epitomized by his revision of the myth of Phaeton. Warned by experts about the difficulty of tinting jewels,

> [M]i venne in memoria quando Febo spaventava il suo figliuol Fetonte di non voler pigliar la impresa di guidar il carro del Sole; pure alla fine a me successe meglio che non fece a Fetonte, che vi ruppe il collo, dove io ne sortii con molto onore e utile. (50)

> (The tale of Phoebus came to my mind, and how at the outset he had sought to fright his son Phaeton from wishing to guide the chariot of the sun; but then, you see, when all was done, I was luckier than Phaeton, for I did not break my neck, but came out of it with much honour and profit to myself. (Ashbee, 30))

As he recasts the myth of the Iron Age, so also Cellini rewrites the cautionary moral against overreaching as a vindication of daring.

Agricola is the most thoroughgoing and arresting of these writers as he appropriates mythology for his metallurgical materiality and as he disputes the authority of the poets to stigmatize the material world. Agricola's self-sufficient community of miners has its own versions of traditional myths. If the hoof of Pegasus opened the spring Hippocrene and gave birth to poetry, then a horse named Ramelus uncovered the lead mines of Goslar with its hoof, imparting to the mountain the name Ramelsberg, the birthplace of German mining (25).[27]

In Agricola's *De veteribus et novis metallis*, this revisionary myth becomes the basis for the supremacy of the arts of metals over the arts of poetry: 'Whereas the perennial water spring of the poets would long ago have dried up, the vein even today exists, and supplies an abundant amount of excellent lead' (Hoover, 37, n. 19). Agricola attributes a historical and material basis to other fictional and allegorical narratives. The stories about Midas, Gyges, Croesus, and Geryon are all mythological constructions built on the personal wealth of these figures or the

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[26] The disavowal recurs in Mathurin Jousse, *La fidelle ouverture de l'art de serrurier* (La Flèche: Georges Griveau, 1627), p. 152.

[27] See Lynch, *Mining in World History*, p. 16.

wealth of the regions with which they are associated — Phrygia, Lydia, Spain (20). He borrows a speculation from Strabo about the material origin of the Golden Fleece: 'Colchi in fontium lacunis pelles animantium collocarunt: quas quia cum multa auri ramenta eis adhaesissent, abstulerunt, auratus Colchorum aries confictus est a poetis' (263; 'The Colchians placed the skins of animals in the pools of springs; and since many particles of gold had clung to them when they were removed, the poets invented the 'golden fleece' of the Colchians': Hoover, 330).[28] In discarding traditional aetiologies and allegories, Agricola of course introduces his own kind of allegory, based on a reductive materialism. This is however a novel and interesting writing position, one that boldly reverses the procedures of classical and Renaissance mythography, and that entails a challenge to the fictions and didactic authority of poets.

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[28] See Strabo, *Geographia*, XI. 2. 19.

ASTRONOMY AND PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATION IN CLASSICAL AND RENAISSANCE DIDACTIC POETRY

Emma Gee

'L'influence d'une œuvre littéraire se mesure à deux critères: les jugements qu'elle inspire, et la présence, dans les œuvres postérieures, de thèmes et de tours qui lui sont empruntés.'[1]

This chapter is concerned with two ancient didactic poets — Aratus, who wrote the *Phaenomena* in the third century BC, and Lucretius, who wrote the *De rerum natura* in the first century BC — and their reception in the Renaissance. Lucretius has long been recognized as a fundamental influence on neo-Latin didactic poetry;[2] Aratus, on the other hand, has been

[1] Jean Soubiran, *Cicéron: Aratea, Fragments Poétiques* (Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1972), p. 69.

[2] See the Chapter by Yasmin Haskell in the present volume, particularly n. 1. According to James R. Naiden, 'The Lucretian influence reaches its climax no doubt in Cardinal Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius*, a lengthy refutation of Lucretius by the aid of Descartes and other modern scientists'; see *The Sphera of George Buchanan (1506–1582): A Literary Opponent of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe* (Philadelphia: W. H. Allen, 1952), p. 6. Katarina Volk says of the *Anti-Lucretius* (published in 1747), 'Melchior de Polignac [...] could praise Lucretius as a sublime poet while vehemently combating his heretical doctrine'; see Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 71, n. 8. For further bibliography and insight about the place of Lucretius in the Renaissance, see Charlotte Goddard, 'Pontano's use of the Didactic Genre: Rhetoric, Irony and the Manipulation of Lucretius in *Urania*', *Renaissance Studies*, 5 (1991),

underemphasized. I will argue that the interplay between these two models, in certain neo-Latin didactic poems, is an important tool in articulating the dominance of a worldview which takes as its paradigm the stable, rational, and divinely governed cosmos, over a worldview in which atomic randomness prevails. Moreover, use of these two models to articulate a preferred vision of the universe is sanctioned by currents of philosophical debate already present in the classical context. By understanding the classical debate, we reach a greater appreciation of what the Renaissance poets were trying to achieve.

The Problem

First, let us describe the models in question, beginning with the *Phaenomena* of Aratus.[3] The *Phaenomena* is a work of 1141 hexameter verses, in Greek. It is in two parts, the first of which describes the celestial map (19–757), the second of which gives signs for predicting the weather (758–1141). These two parts are also referred to by separate titles, the 'Phainomena' proper, and the 'Diosemiai', or *Prognostica*, the 'Weather-signs'.[4] The whole poem is preceded by a hymnodic invocation of the providential Zeus of Stoic philosophy (1–18). The degree of influence of the Stoic system on the poem as a whole is debated; I would see Stoic influence as thoroughgoing.[5]

250–62; Yasmin Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars: Wonder, Myth and Science', *Renaissance Studies*, 12 (1998), 495–522; and M. D. Reeve, 'Lucretius in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Transmission and Scholarship', in *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, ed. by Philip Hardie and Stuart Gillespie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 205–13.

[3] The standard edition, with translation, is now Douglas Kidd, *Aratus, Phaenomena*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). All references to this text are from this edition and are cited parenthetically by line number. The work was opened up to modern critics by Walther Ludwig, 'Die *Phainomena* Arats als hellenistiche Dichtung', *Hermes*, 91 (1963), 425–28.

[4] The tradition of taking the two parts of Aratus's poem as partially independent seems to go back to at least the first century BC. For the related debate about the dates of composition of the two parts of Cicero's translation, see Soubiran, *Cicéron*, pp. 9–16.

[5] On the Stoicism of the poem, see Emma Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chap. 3, with bibliography; Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 227.

This text, with its contingent body of *scholia* (interpretative writings) and its tendency to spawn translations, exerted an influence out of all proportion to its own rather retiring tone and (for the modern reader) dry subject matter. The *Phaenomena* was translated into Latin many times from the first century BC onward; in the early Middle Ages it generated the partially independent prose *Aratus Latinus*,[6] and, in the Renaissance, it was a subject of study and translation for scholars such as Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), and Joachim Camerarius the Elder (1500–74).[7] The order, predictability, and above all accessibility of the heavens, as Aratus presents them, appealed as much to Renaissance thought as to Stoic readers in antiquity.[8]

Despite this, no one has yet closed the loop between ancient and Renaissance receptions of Aratus or answered the questions of how and why Aratus found his way into the humanist repertoire.[9] This chapter initiates this task, while at the same time presenting a more general study of the importance of classical didactic poetry for the Renaissance programme. It is primarily concerned with the place of Aratus in the literary landscape, an environment constructed from critical dialogue conducted within a scholarly circle, in both antiquity and the Renaissance. In both periods, such dialogue will be seen to move beyond the purely literary into the realm of the philosophical.

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[6] The only edition of the Aratus Latinus remains Ernst Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), pp. 175–306. See M. D. Reeve, 'Aratea', in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. by Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 18–24 (p. 23); Hubert Le Bourdellès, *L'Aratus Latinus: Étude sur la culture et la langue latines dans le nord de la France au VIIIᵉ siècle* (Lille: Université de Lille III, 1985); and Kidd, *Aratus*, pp. 52–55. The Aratus Latinus may have started life as a sort of 'crib' to the Greek text, with Latin glosses written above each word, which then took on a life of their own and became a separate text.

[7] The *Phaenomena* and *Prognostica* of Camerarius have had their only full exposition to date in Walther Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima* des Joachim Camerarius und die Tradition des Arat', in *Joachim Camerarius*, ed. by Rainer Kössling and Günther Wartenberg, Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie, n.s. 1 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2003), pp. 97–132. I am here most indebted to his excellent treatment of these texts.

[8] On neo-Stoicism in the Renaissance, see Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93 (2003), 852–70.

[9] The fullest study of the text of Aratus's *Phaenomena* is Jean Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1956); Martin's study concerns itself with antiquity. There is (to my knowledge) no specialized study of the reception of Aratus in a Renaissance text apart from Ludwig's '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', although the excellent introduction in Kidd's *Aratus* provides an overview of the tradition from antiquity to the early editions.

Aratus's poem acts as a powerful catalyst for negotiation and renegotiation about the cosmos. Order and design, cosmic and social, is epitomized in the stars, and in the *Phaenomena*, which represents them. Alessandro Schiesaro has made convincing claims for the poem in its own time as a parable for the role of Hellenistic kingship in underpinning the ordered universe.[10] I have argued elsewhere for its philosophical value as one of the models for Ovid's *Fasti*, a poem on the Roman calendar written in the first century AD.[11] In that work, Aratean allusion, and the vision of the 'Stoic' cosmos, orientates the reader in a didactic tradition in which the universe is above all stable and predictable, arguably a good icon for the Augustan stabilization of time, as well as imperial space, in the period after the Julian calendar reform. Cicero had already translated the *Phaenomena*, possibly in the 80s BC, and later quotes substantial parts of his translation in a directly Stoic context, the second book of his *De natura deorum*, at a time (*c*. 45 BC) where cosmic order was, arguably, all the more important because social order was breaking down. Between Cicero's composition of the *Aratea,* and his quotation of it in the *De natura deorum*, the philosophical poet Lucretius read it and borrowed expressions from it in his *De rerum natura*.

Lucretius's poem on the nature of the universe, in six books of Latin hexameter verse, expounds the cosmos from the point of view of Epicurean philosophy, in which causality was defined in terms of the movement of atoms. Epicurus (341–270 BC) was the founder of a philosophical system that saw the universe as infinite, and the cosmos as a product of the random collisions of atoms, a temporary entity which would one day dissolve back into its atomic constituents.[12] In this system, the gods are likewise atomic compounds, and, radically dissimilar from the Stoic providential deity, take no interest in human well-being. The soul is also composed of atoms, and is mortal in the sense that it too is dissoluble. Among the sources for Lucretius's *De rerum natura* are Epicurus's *Peri Physeos* (On Nature) and *Letter to Herodotos*.[13]

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[10] Alessandro Schiesaro, 'Aratus' Myth of Dike', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 37(1996), 9–26.

[11] Emma Gee, '*Parva figura poli*: Ovid's Vestalia and the *Phaenomena* of Aratus', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 43 (1997), 21–40.

[12] For some key texts of Epicurean cosmology, translated and with commentary, see Anthony Long and David Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987), I, 57–65, and II, 54–64, 'Cosmology without Teleology'.

[13] For a text and translation of Epicurus's works (excluding the fragments), see Cyril Bailey, *Epicurus* (New York: Limited Editions Club, 1947). The Greek text, including fragments, is

There is already a problem apparent in the relationship between our two didactic texts. I mentioned above that Lucretius may have used Cicero's Latin translation of Aratus's *Phaenomena* as a source for the *De rerum natura*; yet we see even at first glance that Lucretius, the poet of Epicurean physics, is using a poetic model with an opposing philosophical orientation, one that looked towards the rational, providential universe of Stoicism. We shall see below that this problem becomes crucial at the points where Lucretius praises Epicurus as the founder of his philosophy, especially since, far from trying to avoid the problem of conflict in philosophical orientation between his poem and his source, Lucretius actually appears to invite us to notice this conflict by employing intertextual markers. To describe Epicurus, Lucretius uses metaphors with which his Roman contemporaries would have been familiar in a context of a Stoic exposition of the stars. In a sort of philosophical gazumping, Lucretius appropriates the language of this alternative system in the metaphors with which he describes the founder of his own system. The force of the meta-poetic dialogue is to say 'my system is capable of comprehending and superseding that of the Stoics', as represented (in this case) by Aratus's Stoic poem and Cicero's Roman translation of it.

Renaissance Latin poets inherited this debate when they defined themselves in terms of Lucretius's hero Epicurus, and when they employed Lucretian diction in poems which, at the same time, took as their paradigm the rational, centripetal universe, which was inherently anti-Lucretian. As we shall see, it is the rational as opposed to the atomist paradigm which, in the end, wins out in didactic poetry, despite Lucretius's supremacy in the realm of expressive detail. It will become clear that to translate Aratus, or even to employ his form, in astronomical didactic poetry, was, for the humanists, to engage in scholarly debate, because the Aratean universe was also a philosophical position, essential to which was the idea of the stable and central place of the earth in a just universe.[14] One would not have written a didactic poem on the Universe — the idiom of Aratus — if one had wanted to expound any system other than the traditional geocentric one. Again

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found in *Epicurea*, ed. by Hermann Usener (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887). John Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) remains a good general study; on the influence of Epicurus on Lucretius, see Diskin Clay, *Lucretius and Epicurus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), particularly pp. 13–53.

[14] I leave aside the broader ideological issues in translating a Greek text, on which see Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chap. 1, 'Learning Greek is Heresy! Resisting Erasmus'. Erasmus's contentious edition of the New Testament was a *critical edition* of the text with a facing Latin translation.

and again in didactic verse of the Renaissance we find the Lucretian paradigm rejected, the Stoic view endorsed. The humanist recasting of the ancient philosophical debate, in which the Aratean model is allowed to win out, can be read as a sort of 'taming of Lucretius', bringing that most recalcitrant and at the same time influential of didactic models into line with the rational universe.

It was something of a battle, however, and putting at least some of this battle on the map will show, above all, that didactic poetry acted as a node of philosophical as well as literary debate from antiquity onward, and that there exists a long tradition of philosophical posturing which pitted the Lucretian universe against a synthesizing model of 'intelligent design' that married essential elements of the Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic world-picture.

Receptions of Aratus

In its own time, Aratus's *Phaenomena* met with the highest praise as a literary work of consummate polish, as seen in Callimachus, *Epigram* 27:[15]

> Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος· οὐ τὸν ἀοιδῶν
> ἔσχατον, ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον
> τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεύς ἀπεμάξατο· χαίρετε λεπταί
> ῥήσιες, Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.

(The song is from Hesiod, as is the form. To be sure, the poet of Soli did not copy the whole poem, but only the very sweetest of its words. Hail, charming utterances, token of Aratus's wakefulness.)

Callimachus, himself a paragon of Hellenistic elegance, describes Aratus's poem as the fruit of much (scholarly rather than astronomical?) wakefulness (ἀγρυπνίης, l. 4), elegant in its expression (λεπταί / ῥήσιες, l. 3–4).[16]

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[15] *Callimachus*, ed. by Rudolph Pfeiffer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), II, 88. All English translations are mine. For interpretations, see Alan Cameron, 'Callimachus on Aratus' Sleepless Nights', *Classical Review*, 86 (1972), 169–170, and Kidd, *Aratus*, p. 36. The Roman poet Cinna, a contemporary of Catullus, rendered Callimachus's epigram in Latin; on Cinna's poem, see Edward Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993; repr. 2003), pp. 221–23. Leonidas of Tarentum also wrote a critical epigram on the *Phaenomena*, *Anthologia Palatina*, 9. 25, of which the text can be found in *The Greek Anthology*, trans. by W. R. Paton, 5 vols (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1917), III, 14–15.

[16] Leonidas (see n. 15, above) also uses the expression *leptei phrontidi*, 'with subtle thought', perhaps, like Callimachus, appealing to the aesthetic principle of *leptotes*, 'slenderness, charm,

Roman critics of Aratus also emphasize the poem's literary value, sometimes to the downright exclusion of its technical agenda, as in Cicero's *De Oratore*: 'si constat inter doctos, hominem ignarum astrologiae, Aratum ornatissimis atque optimis versibus, de caelo stellisque dixisse [...]'[17] (if there is a consensus among learned men that Aratus, a man ignorant of astronomy, discoursed on the stars in supremely polished verses [...]).[18]

Ovid, another of Aratus's Roman interpreters, who both translated Aratus[19] and made use of the *Phaenomena* in his calendrical *Fasti*,[20] placed the Hellenistic poet on a level with his subject matter: 'cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit' (Aratus will always be with the sun and moon, *Amores*, I. 15. 16). Ovid plays on two ideas: whenever we look at the stars, we will be looking at them through our knowledge of Aratus's poem, which mapped them; and, secondly, Aratus himself belongs in the sky, like the sun and moon, becoming, for his poetic greatness, a permanent fixture in the cosmos.

The ancient critics were not merely writing rave reviews. To name Aratus is also to situate oneself as a scholar and wordsmith, and to add one's voice to the meta-text of learned discourse taking place around Aratus, which began in his own time. This critical tradition carries over into the Renaissance. Hartmann Schopper, for example, when he refers to Joachim Camerarius's 1535 translation of Aratus, alludes to Ovid's praise of Aratus, saying 'cum solis alti lumine | Camerarius laudabitur' (Camerarius will be praised along with the light of the lofty sun).[21] Camerarius is implicitly hailed as the neo-Aratus, in the same terms

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lightness', in Hellenistic poetry, also invoked by Callimachus at *Aetia*, fr. I. 23–24: 'Poet, feed the sacrificial victim to be as fat as possible, but the Muse to be slender/subtle.' On these lines and the Hellenistic programme, see (for example) Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) pp. 329–31, and Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation*, p. 70.

[17] *De Oratore*, I. 69. On the *De Oratore* and Pontano's *Urania*, see Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars', p. 504.

[18] It is worth remembering here that Cicero was (to our knowledge) the first Roman translator of Aratus. On his translation, see Emma Gee, 'Cicero's Astronomy', *Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 51 (2001), 520–36.

[19] His translation is not now extant; for the fragments, with commentary, see Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, pp. 308–09.

[20] On Ovid's *Fasti* as an Aratean work, see Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus*.

[21] Hartmann Schopper, *Opus poeticum de admirabili fallacia et astutia vulpeculae Reinikes libri quatuor* (Frankfurt a.M.: per Petrum Fabritium, 1567), fol. 283ʳ [recte 284ʳ]; see Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', pp. 100–01. Camerarius's translation was published in the following

as used by the Roman poet. As ever, we are conscious of the continuum between the scholarly discourse of antiquity and of humanism.

In another variation of Ovid's praise of Aratus in *Amores*, I. 15, Helius Eobanus Hessus playfully attributes Camerarius's knowledge of the heavens to his journeys there; it is as though he had recently tumbled down to earth to convey his heaven-acquired learning to his audience. Hessus likens Camerarius to great heroes — Atlas, Hercules, Prometheus, and Endymion[22] — the first two of whom carried the heavens, the latter two of whom brought back something from them (fire and the moon):

> si memoratur Atlas caelum sudasse ferendo,
>   si tulit Herculeus sydera fessa labor,
> si flammas rapuit Iovis alta ex arce Prometheus,
>   si lunam superis abstulit Endymion,
> te quoque posteritas credet, Ioachime, fuisse
>   coelestes solitum scandere saepe domos,
> qui tanquam astrifero sis nuper ab aethere lapsus
>   astra, gradus, orbes, lumina, signa doces,
> qui tam pulchra novae potuisti tradere luci
>   scripta palam nullo tempore visa prius.[23]

(If the story is told that Atlas sweated from carrying the heaven; if Herculean labour supported the tired stars; if Prometheus stole fire from the high citadel of Jove; if Endymion robbed the gods of the moon: posterity will believe that you, Joachim, were accustomed often to scale the celestial dwellings — you who, as though recently fallen from the starry ether, teach about the stars, their paths, their circuits, their magnitudes and constellations; you who have been able to bring to new light such beautiful writings never before seen in the open.)

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works: Joachim Camerarius, *In hoc libello cura et diligentia Ioachimi Camerarii Qu. perfecta haec insunt: Erratum, in quo circiter quadraginta loca autorum cum veterum, tum recentium notantur; Aeolia, in qua exponuntur nomina locaque ventorum Graeca et Latina; Phaenomena, quae est siderum et stellarum historiola; Prognostica, ubi supra trecenta et triginta indicia tempestatum memorantur* (Nuremberg: ap. Io. Petreium, 1535); Joachim Camerarius, *Ioachimi Camerarii Quaestoris Opuscula aliquot elegantissima: Erratum, sive* ὑπὲρ πταίσματος; *Aeolia, hoc est, de ventis; Phaenomena, siderum et stellarum historia; Prognostica; Planetae et Menses duplices; Disticha* (Basel: per Balthasarem Lasium, et Thomam Platterum, March 1536). I have seen the Basel edition, in microfiche (for which I thank Melbourne University Library).

[22] On the role of Endymion in Renaissance astronomical didactic, see Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars', pp. 508–14.

[23] Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Operum Farragines Duae* (Hall, 1539), p. 613, cited here from the Frankfurt a.M., 1564 edition, after Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', p. 127.

This laudatory epigram stands at the centre of a complex web of allusion. First, it stands in the critical tradition of praise of Aratus. Hessus lets the literary tradition do his work for him; he does not need to state explicitly that Camerarius is the neo-Aratus, and he, Hessus, the neo-Hellenistic critic writing in elegiacs, which is the metre of scholarly exchange as well as didactic discourse. Second, Hessus's epigram plays wittily on several Platonic ideas. In the central myth of Plato's *Phaedrus*, revelation is obtained by those who manage to break the 'glass ceiling' of the heavens and emerge on top (*Phaedrus*, 247b–c); even to souls who fall, having partially 'seen', there remains a partial recollection (*Phaedrus*, 248c). In the *Timaeus*, human souls leave their permanent abode in the stars temporarily to enter bodies (*Timaeus*, 42b). In the *Republic*, some souls return from heaven to the 'parting of the ways' and tell of their experiences there (*Republic*, 614d–e). Allusion to these ideas is in itself an appropriate comment on the philosophical endeavour of Camerarius.

Third, and most important for our purposes, Hessus's epigram stands in a long tradition of praise of didactic figureheads by according them a place in the heavens, as at Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 297–98, 'felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis | inque domos superas scandere cura fuit' (Happy souls, whose concern it was to know these things first, and to ascend to the heavenly dwellings [...]). Panoramic flight through the universe is also important for didactic poets' representation of their own activities, as in Manilius's *Astronomica*:

> [...] iuvat ire per ipsum
> aera et immenso spatiantem vivere caelo
> signaque et adversos stellarum noscere cursus.
> (I. 13–15)

(It is pleasing to go through the air itself, and to pass my life wandering through the immense heaven, and to understand the constellations and the contrary paths of the planets.)

Camerarius himself, in the proem to his *Phaenomena* (the first part of his Aratus translation), had made use of this theme, exhorting his dedicatee, Daniel Stilbar, 'et mecum hac coeli moenia scande via | et faciem astriferi studioso lumine mundi disce' (and with me, by this road, scale the walls of heaven, and learn by studious light the appearance of the starry sky).[24] Camerarius uses the same topos

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[24] Camerarius, *Opuscula aliquot elegantissima* (1536), fol. 25ʳ.

when he praises his predecessor in astronomical didactic poetry, Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503), at the beginning of his *Phaenomena*:[25]

> Italiae decus o, patria et dignissimus illa,
>> Virgilio prius est quae celebrata suo,
> qui longe sumptis supra tua secula pennis
>> aetheris in clari caerula templa volas,
> perque domos superum perque alta palatia coeli
>> non offensanti sub pede carpis iter.
> salve, erepte senex terris coeloque locate,
>> salve iterum, o Latii gloria prima soli!
> te, quamvis spacii seiuncti tramite tanti,
>> nos colimus meritis suspicimusque tuis,
> et legimus divina tui monumenta laboris
>> ac patriam excutimus te duce barbariem.

(O grace of Italy, which was formerly hymned by its son Virgil; you who, having taken up your wings, fly far above your own epoch into the blue zone of bright heaven, and pursue your journey through the dwellings of the gods and through the lofty palaces of heaven, not on faltering foot: hail, old man, snatched from the earth and placed in heaven; hail again, pre-eminent glory of the Italian land. We worship you, even though we are separated from you by a road of such great ambit; we look up to your virtues; we read the godlike monuments of your effort, and, with you as leader, banish the ignorance of our forefathers.)

Compare also the following lines, from the proem to Book II of George Buchanan's *Sphera* (first published in 1584):[26]

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[25] *Opuscula aliquot elegantissima* (1536), fols 27ʳ⁻ᵛ, also cited by Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', pp. 222–23. On Pontano, Camerarius, and Hessus, see also Ludwig, '*Pontani Amatores*: Joachim Camerarius und Eobanus Hessus in Nürnberg', in *Walther Ludwig: Miscella Neolatina*, ed. by Astrid Steiner-Weber, 3 vols (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), III, 194–226. On the *Urania*, see Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars', pp. 495–508.

[26] All quotations are taken from George Buchanan, *Poemata quae supersunt omnia, in tres partes divisa, multo quam ante hac emendatiora* (Edinburgh: ap. Ioannem Cairns, 1677); hereafter cited as Buchanan. On Buchanan generally, see Philip J. Ford, 'Buchanan (George)', in *Centuriae Latinae: cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. by Colette Nativel, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 314 (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 213–20; Ford, *George Buchanan: Prince of Poets* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1982); and Ian D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London: Duckworth, 1981). On the *Sphera* specifically, see McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 355–78; Ford, *George Buchanan*, pp. 101–02; Naiden, *The Sphera of George Buchanan*; and Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars'.

> iam mihi Timoleon animo maiora capaci
> concipe, nec terras semper mirare iacentes,
> excute degeneres circum mortalia curas
> et mecum ingentes caeli spatiare per oras.[27]

(Now, dear Timoleon, conceive greater things with your capacious intelligence, and don't be always agog at the earth spread out below; shake off cares about mortal things — they are unworthy of you — and roam with me through the vast expanses of heaven.)

We see in these passages that the theme of the heavenly journey, which is found in criticism of didactic poets from antiquity on, is also embedded in the didactic works themselves, and used by the poets to articulate their own poetic programme or task. This happens in antiquity too; and here we come to our second didactic model, Lucretius.

The Apotheosis of Epicurus

In the first book of the *De rerum natura*, Epicurus effects a metaphorical journey across the sky through his intellectual activity, and his victory makes man equal to the heavens (*De rerum natura*, I. 72–79):

> ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
> processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
> atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque,
> unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri,
> quid nequeat, finita potestas denique cuique
> quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens.
> quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
> obteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo.

(Therefore the lively power of his mind conquered all, and he journeyed far outside the fiery walls of the world and ranged across the whole immense space with his mind and intelligence, whence, as conqueror, he relays to us what can come to be and what cannot, by what principle the power of each thing is limited, and how the boundary inheres deeply. Because of this, religion in turn is trampled under foot, and victory makes us equal to the heaven.)

In the proem to *De rerum natura*, Book III, Epicurus is implicitly likened to the sun, bringing light to the world:

[27] Buchanan, p. 546.

> e tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
> qui primus potuisti inlustrans commoda vitae,
> te sequor, o Graiae gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
> ficta pedum pono pressis vestigia signis,
> non ita certandi cupidus quam propter amorem
> quod te imitari aveo; quid enim contendat hirundo
> cycnis, aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus haedi
> consimile in cursu possint et fortis equi vis?
>
> $(1-8)^{28}$

(You who first had the ability to bring forth bright light out of such great darkness, illuminating the good things in life, I follow you, grace of the Greeks, and in your firm tracks I now place the indented imprints of my feet, yearning to emulate you, not so much as one desirous of imitation, as on account of love. For how can the swallow contend with the swan, or the kid use its tremulous limbs in the same career as a strong powerful horse?)

The Renaissance poets are also working in this tradition. For example, compare Hessus's 'qui tam pulchra novae potuisti tradere luci | scripta palam nullo tempore visa prius', in the epigram quoted above (p. 480), with *De rerum natura*, Book III, lines 1–2. Camerarius himself, and Buchanan, in the passages from their didactic poems quoted above, articulate their own task as being like that of Epicurus; they place their dedicatee in the role of the aspiring initiate (or even perhaps that of Lucretius, as he follows the Master). Camerarius's encomium of Pontano in his Aratus translation also casts the Renaissance poet as Lucretius's Epicurus.[29] Lucretius's Epicurus influences Camerarius, as well as Ovid's Aratus.

The combination of the two traditions is crucial and gives rise to the problem adumbrated above, whereby conflicting philosophies complicate the relationship between poet and model. In the case of Lucretius, this complication is introduced by allusion to a particular model, and indeed a particular concept, with its roots in the Platonic and Stoic traditions; in the case of the humanist poets, by their use of the Lucretian model in a context where a Platonic or Stoic vision of the universe, more consonant with the Christian tradition, is given primacy. In order to understand the levels of complexity in these intertextual relationships, it is necessary to look at Lucretius in more detail, and then to see how the problem

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[28] And, more directly, in Book III, line 1044, *exortus ut aerius sol*. For solar imagery, see Monica Gale, *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 202–06.

[29] See Ludwig, '*Pontani amatores*', pp. 221–23, and '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', p. 111.

inherent in the ancient poet reappears in the Renaissance didactic writers discussed here.

First of all, Lucretius was himself capable of using and subsequently exploding a pre-existing philosophical paradigm, in his case that of the rational, divinely governed universe. For example, at *De rerum natura*, Book V, lines 76–77, he lulls the reader into expecting a Stoic version of Divine Providence: 'praeterea solis cursus lunaeque meatus | expediam qua vi flectat *natura gubernans*' (As well, I shall explain the course of the sun and the wanderings of the moon, by what power *governing nature* steers them). The notion of 'natura gubernans' finds widespread parallels in Stoicism.[30] It is also present in a particular poetic model discussed above, namely Cicero's translation of the Stoic poet Aratus (*Aratea*, 160–64):

> nam quas sideribus claris *natura polivit*
> *et vario pinxit distinguens lumine formas,*
> haec ille astrorum custos ratione notavit
> signaque dignavit caelestia nomine vero.[31]

(For that caretaker of the stars noted by [the power of] reason those forms which *Nature polished with shining stars, and painted, picking out their shapes with vari-coloured light*; and he graced the celestial signs with a true name.)

But, in Lucretius, this image is followed, in typical fashion, by lines which explode the illusion (*De rerum natura*, V. 78–81):

> ne forte haec inter caelum terramque reamur
> libera sponte sua cursus lustrare perennis
> morigera ad fruges augendas atque animantis,
> *neve aliqua divum volvi ratione putemus.*

([...] so that we should not by chance think that they run their yearly courses between heaven and earth freely and by their own volition, obligingly bent on increasing the corn and the flocks, or that they are revolved by any divine plan.)

In Lucretius, we are constrained *not* to think in the same way as Cicero's *astrorum custos*: in the Epicurean system, the stars do not pursue their courses by reason of divine Providence and cannot be interpreted by mankind as evidence thereof.

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[30] For the role of *natura* as governing the universe, as opposed to Lucretius's random atomic causality, see also Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II. 81 and II. 110; and *De Oratore*, III. 178. These passages are discussed in Gee, 'Cicero's Astronomy', pp. 530–31.

[31] Ed. by Soubiran, *Cicéron*, but adopting the variant *quas* for *quae* in line 160; my emphasis.

In the proem to *De rerum natura*, Book III, we shall see a similar sort of meta-textual jockeying for position. Perhaps the most striking thing about this passage, quoted in full above (p. 484), is the punchy clausula 'fortis equi vis' (*De rerum natura*, III. 8). This closes, with a resounding monosyllabic crescendo, a double comparison between Lucretius and his master Epicurus, as (respectively) swallow and swan, kid and horse. David Sedley notes that Lucretius as the swallow or kid is described in his own language, Epicurus as the swan or horse in Grecizing fashion, the phrase 'fortis equi vis' imitating the Greek epic periphrasis by which a hero is called not 'x' but 'the mighty strength of x' (for example, *Iliad*, XXIII. 720, κρατερὴ […] ἲς Ὀδυσῆος, 'the mighty strength of Odysseus', i.e. 'mighty Odysseus'). For Sedley, the combination of Latin and Greek idiom, the Greek being applied to Epicurus, the Latin to Lucretius, asks the question, 'How can a Roman philosopher compete with a Greek philosopher?'[32]

Katarina Volk notes that Lucretius draws on a complex of pre-existing metaphors for comparison between great and lesser poets.[33] In her view, the kid/horse metaphor associates Epicurus with a particular poetic model, the Roman epic poet Ennius.[34] She believes that 'fortis equi vis' in Book III, line 8, points to Ennius's *Annales*, 522–23:[35] 'sicut *fortis equus* spatio qui saepe supremo | vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit' (Just like a strong horse, which has often triumphed at Olympia in the last lap, now rests, overcome by old age). Just as Epicurus is Lucretius's philosophical model, so — the argument runs — Ennius is his poetic model, the *primus inventor* of *rerum natura* (see *De rerum natura*, I. 117–25). For Volk, 'Philosophy and poetry are no longer opposites, but the speaker has, purely by means of his diction, succeeded in surreptitiously approximating philosophy and poetry.'[36]

It is true that Lucretius may have borrowed two words from Ennius's racehorse simile in his characterization of Epicurus, but there is no precise parallel for 'fortis

[32] David Sedley, *Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 57–58.

[33] Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic,* pp. 108–09.

[34] Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic*, pp. 110–11.

[35] *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, ed. by Otto Skutsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[36] Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic*, p. 112. See also Sedley, *Lucretius*, p. 31: 'Here we should note Lucretius' concern with literary pedigree, and specifically with Ennius' pioneering role in the task which he is himself now engaged in, that of re-creating for Latin readers the poetic genres of the Greeks.'

equi vis' in what we have of Ennius. There is, however, a striking parallel in Cicero's *Aratea*, lines 53–61:

> iam vero clinata est ungula vemens
> *fortis Equi* propter pinnati corporis alam.
> ipse autem labens mu[l]tis Equus ille tenetur
> Piscibus; huic cervix dextra mulcetur Aquari.
> serius haec obitus terrai vissit *Equi vis*,
> quam gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans
> corpore semifero magno Capricornus in orbe;
> quem cum perpetuo vestivit lumine Titan,
> brumali flectens contorquet tempore currum.

(Next, the forceful hoof of the strong horse slopes near the wing of the pinioned figure. The Horse himself, gliding across the sky, is held by the silent[?] Fish, and his neck is stroked by Aquarius's right hand. The powerful horse reaches the horizon later than Capricorn, who breathes out icy cold from his strong breast, with his half-beast body in the great circle [of the Zodiac]; when at the winter solstice the Sun has clothed Capricorn with his eternal light, he wheels his chariot and changes direction.)

In *Aratea*, line 54, Cicero employs the possessive genitive 'fortis Equi' of the constellation Pegasus. In *Aratea*, line 57, he uses the epic construction 'Equi vis' ('the strength of the Horse | the strong Horse'). Lucretius's 'fortis equi vis' combines 'Equi vis' (*Aratea*, 57) with 'fortis Equi' (*Aratea*, 54). This combination makes for a dramatic climax to the line, and to the praise of Epicurus.

Recognition of Cicero's *Aratea* as model for Lucretius's third proem adds force to the Lucretian blow. Ostensibly, Lucretius's horse/kid comparison is between these animals *qua* animals only. But of course they are also both constellations, as the Ciceronian, and behind that the Aratean, model for Lucretius's third proem remind us. The constellation Cicero refers to by the name Equus is Pegasus, a large constellation. On the other hand, the Kids are small and faint (see Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 165–166). Reading with the help of these models, to which Lucretius alludes in *fortis equi vis*, Epicurus is to be seen as a prominent constellation, Lucretius a dim, small one. Lucretius's verb *imitari* in *De rerum natura*, Book III, line 6, is an intertextual marker which reminds us to look for models. It gives not only a narrative of Lucretius's relationship with his philosophical predecessor, but also signals imitation of poetic models, in this case, specifically astronomical ones.

In this context, 'vestigia' (*De rerum natura*, III. 4) — 'footprints, traces' — may also have a dual role, as a description of the process of emulation between Lucretius and his master, but also as another intertextual marker, alerting us to

look for 'traces' of Lucretius's poetic models. The astral nature of the models may be hinted at, since *vestigia* can also mean the 'path' of a heavenly body, as at Cicero, *Aratea*, lines 226–29, of the planets:

> nam quae per bis sex signorum labier orbem
> quinque solent stellae, simili ratione notari
> non possunt, quia quae faciunt *vestigia* cursu
> non eodem semper spatio protrita teruntur.

(For those five bodies which are accustomed to glide through the belt of twelve signs cannot be understood in the same way [as the fixed stars], because the *tracks* they make in their course do not always wear a beaten path in the same place.)

'Vestigia' at *De rerum natura*, Book III, line 4, is the path of the huge constellation of Epicurus across the heaven, which Lucretius, as the tiny constellation of the Kids, follows. Poetically, however, the 'vestigia' which he follows are those of Aratus and Cicero, whose poetry, it is most important to note, represents the universe as understood by an opposing philosophical school.

Given the models, the temptation for the reader would perhaps be to see Epicurus as deified for his achievements, in the form of a constellation. There is plenty of precedent for the astral deification of heroes or sages in Stoic and related traditions, not so much that of Aratus himself, but in his translators and interpreters.[37] The concept is more generally related to Stoic deification of heroes, seen, for example, in Cicero *De natura deorum*, Book II, line 62: 'suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis ut beneficiis excellentis viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent' (Human life and general practice have undertaken to raise outstanding men to the heavens for their good deeds, by reputation and good will). In the same tradition, man can metaphorically undergo an astral journey through intellect alone, as at *De natura deorum*, Book II, line 153:

quid vero? hominum ratio non in caelum usque penetravit? soli enim ex animantibus nos astrorum ortus, obitus, cursusque cognovimus, ab hominum genere finitus est dies, mensis, annus, defectiones solis et lunae cognitae praedictaeque in omne posterum tempus, quae, quantae, quando futurae sint.

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[37] See Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus*, pp. 164–67, on the apotheosis of heroes, particularly in the Stoic tradition. The concept seems to be a combination of two ideas, the celestial origin of souls (as in Plato, *Timaeus*, 41a8–42d2) and the euhemerist tradition of deifying great men for their achievements. The idea achieves full force in the Empire, when it became customary for poets to praise emperors in terms of their future catasterism (Virgil, *Georgics*, I. 32–35; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV. 868–70; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I. 45–59; Statius, *Thebaid*, I. 24–31).

(What then? Has human reason not penetrated as far as the sky? For we alone of living things know the risings, settings, and courses of the stars; by the race of men is a limit imposed on days, months, and years; eclipses of the sun and moon are understood and predicted for all time to come — which, how great, and when they occur.)

In fact, it is possible to argue in general that the motif of *Himmelswanderung* (as Ludwig calls it)[38] belongs primarily to the philosophical tradition of Platonism and Stoicism, starting with Plato's *Phaedrus*.

For this reason, perhaps, astral deification is a particular area of Epicurean anxiety. At *De natura deorum*, Book I, line 37, Cicero has his Epicurean speaker Velleius attack the Stoics precisely on the grounds, that they attribute 'divinity to the stars'; he savages Stoic representations of the gods as 'delirantium somnia' (hallucinations), not much better than the ravings of the poets (*De natura deorum*, I. 42); Epicurus is the only god (*De natura deorum*, I. 43). Lucretius is apparently walking a tightrope. Epicurus's status as an astral divinity — the sun, or a constellation — is, and must remain, metaphorical. The closest Epicurus comes to actual astral deification is at *De rerum natura*, Book III, lines 1042–44:

> ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine vitae,
> qui genus humanum ingenio superavit et omnis
> restinxit, stellas exortus ut aerius sol.

(Epicurus himself died when the light of life was through, even though he surpassed the human race in intelligence and outshone all, like the sun does the stars at its rising.)

Even here, his traversing of the heavens is metaphorical, 'like' (ut) the sun. This can be seen as a Lucretian appropriation of a key topos of (in particular) Stoicism. Lucretius at once hijacks this imagery, and keeps it on the figurative level. It is as though Epicurus colonizes the universe of the Stoics, replacing it with his own brand of materialist rationalism. By appropriating models situated within the opposing side, Lucretius attempts to win the philosophical debate for the Epicurean camp.

In fact, his victory only lasted until the *Aratea* was reclaimed by Cicero in the second book of the *De natura deorum* as a Stoic text, a metaphor for the divine providence of Nature. By 45 BC, Cicero may have been aware of Lucretius's use of his *Aratea* as a model; he claimed it back for the side of Divine Providence.[39]

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[38] Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', p. 128.

[39] This is not, I believe, to overstate Cicero's awareness of the existence of such a debate: see Sedley, *Lucretius*, p. 65: 'Cicero's correspondence with numerous contemporaries shows them, in general, to be remarkably attuned to live philosophical issues and inter-school debates.' In

Stoic and Epicurean in Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry

Now we begin to see the value of Aratus and Lucretius to the humanists, as lynchpins of a philosophical debate in which poetic models could stand for a particular vision of the universe, as against a different vision thereof. It was noted above that scholars have seen Lucretian influence on Camerarius's praise of Pontano (quoted above). However, I would argue that Camerarius's praise of Pontano comes across as predominantly Platonic or Stoic in orientation. In fact, Walther Ludwig himself notes that this passage combines two models,[40] one Epicurean, the other a poet philosophically orientated towards the opposing schools, namely Virgil, whose praise of Italy at *Georgics*, Book II, lines 136–76, also underlies Camerarius. Not only do these models have a differing philosophical orientation, but they are treated in different ways. While the Virgilian model is extremely prominent, and acknowledged two lines before the beginning of this quotation with an address to Pontano as 'civis [...] Maronis' (Virgil's fellow-citizen), the other model, Lucretius, is partially submerged, being alluded by verbal echo alone, to rather than acknowledged. Camerarius treats his two models differently, and in this treatment, the model with closer ties to the rational (Stoic) universe emerges closer to the surface.

We find, perhaps, a similar phenomenon in George Buchanan. To my mind, the lines from the proem to Buchanan's *Sphera*, Book II, quoted above in connection with Lucretius's praise of Epicurus, could equally well represent the moment in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (a *Platonic* text) where Scipio is exhorted to take a wider view of the universe (*De re publica*, VI. 12): 'haec ego admirans referebam tamen oculos ad terram identidem; tum Africanus, "sentio," inquit, "te sedem etiamnunc hominum ac domum contemplari; quae si tibi parva, ut est, ita videtur, haec caelestia semper spectato, illa humana condemnito"' (I was amazed at these things, but nevertheless I kept turning my eyes back to earth. Then Africanus said, 'I am aware that you are now looking at the dwelling and home of

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addition, it is possible that either Marcus Tullius Cicero, or possibly his brother Quintus, or indeed both, may have edited Lucretius's poem after the premature death of the poet, if Cicero's letter, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, 2.10(9).3 (54 BC) can be thus interpreted. See David R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem et M. Brutum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), no. 14, p. 66, with commentary; Sedley, *Lucretius*, pp. 1–2; Franz Bücheler, *Quinti Ciceronis Reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869), pp. 23–24. Jerome's *Chronicon* for either 96 or 94 BC states explicitly that Cicero 'emendavit' Lucretius: see Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 155.

[40] See n. 25, above.

men, which appears small to you, as indeed it is. Always look to heavenly matters and despise mortal affairs!'). This helps to explain the significance of Buchanan's phrase 'terras iacentes', which seems to present a panoramic view: in Cicero, Scipio and his interlocutor are already taking such a view. Both Cicero's Scipio and Buchanan's Timoleon, must now widen their vista to incorporate the universe as well as the earth.

Buchanan also throws together the Lucretian and the un-Lucretian in his description of the universe, using Lucretian language to invoke the opposing system, with its notion of divine governance according to fixed laws:

> [...] flammantia moenia mundi
> dum stupet, et vicibus remeantia tempora certis,
> auctorem agnoscat, tantam qui robore molem
> fulciat, aeternis legum moderetur habenis,
> consilio innumerosque bonus conformet ad usus.[41]

(As it [the mind] marvels at the fiery walls of the world, and at the seasons returning in constant rotation, it may recognize its maker, who supports such a huge mass with his strength, tempers it with the eternal reins of his laws, and in his goodness forms it with forethought for innumerable purposes.)

Buchanan's phrase 'flammantia moenia mundi' is lifted out of Lucretius's praise of Epicurus at *De rerum natura*, Book I, lines 72–79 (quoted above). But while the 'flammantia moenia mundi' may be Lucretian, the notion of the 'auctor' (in Platonic terms the Demiurge; or, in Aristotelian, the Prime Mover) is a drastically un-Epicurean concept. Indeed, Buchanan's universe is at times Aristotelian, at times overtly Stoic. We see the latter in the following description from *Sphera*, Book I:[42]

> et quanquam moles omni sibi parte cohaerens
> una sit, et nexis per mutua vincula membris
> conspiret, positasque semel rectore sub uno
> observet leges; non est tamen omnibus unum
> partibus ingenium.

(And although it is a single mass adhering to itself in every part, and, with its limbs connected by mutual bonds, it breathes as one and at the one time obeys laws put in place under a single ruler, there is not, nevertheless, a single character for all its parts.)

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[41] Buchanan, p. 527. On this passage, see also Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars', p. 519. It is interesting to note the relative frequency of Lucretian parallels in Buchanan in relation to parallels with other classical poets. Lucretian parallels are most frequent in the comparative list given by Naiden, *The Sphera of George Buchanan*, pp. 36–37.

[42] Buchanan, p. 528.

The concept evoked here seems to be that of *tonos*, the Stoic concept of cosmic adhesion through 'tension' between the different 'members' of the body of the universe. Within this cohesive whole there exists, for Buchanan, a division between what is above and what is below the moon; the poet then goes on to expound the four elements, which, while they are given the Lucretian description of 'genitalia corpora',[43] are not the atoms of Epicurean physics but the Empedoclean elements adopted by the Stoics. Likewise, at the end of *Sphera*, Book III, Buchanan gives the 'Divine Mind', once imputed to Epicurus, back to the *Stoic* Posidonius ('dia Posidonii mens').[44]

The fundamental ideas of Buchanan's 'epic' are divine providence, the Divine Mind, and the unchanging universe, all anti-Lucretian.[45] According to Yasmin Haskell: 'Disappointingly, if not surprisingly, we soon discover that Buchanan's brave posturing is just that; he constructs an all but orthodox model of the universe in a style more frequently Virgilian than Lucretian.'[46] But perhaps we should not be 'disappointed' by the 'orthodoxy' of Buchanan's universe: it might be seen as part of a wider programme that grew out of an ancient, as well as Renaissance, philosophical debate. The tensions found in the humanist astronomical poets between Lucretian diction and imagery and non-Epicurean ideas of the universe are present at a substrate level from that model onwards.

Furthermore, throughout his (unfinished) poem, Buchanan employs the divine-universe paradigm of Platonism and Stoicism to construct a world in opposition both to Epicurus and to the new astronomy. Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* was published in 1543. A connection between the atomist universe, and the theory of Copernicus, both condemned by Buchanan, is implicitly made in *Sphera*, Book II, where a refutation of Copernicus is immediately followed by a refutation of the atomists, including

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[43] See, for example, *De rerum natura*, I. 58; I. 167; II. 63–64.

[44] Buchanan, p. 579.

[45] The Aristotelian ancestry of Buchanan's universe in the *Sphera* has previously been emphasized, for example by McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 357. I believe that it is possible to make a good case for the Stoicism of some aspects of his worldview, particularly since we can see Buchanan engaging significantly with at least one explicitly Stoic source, perhaps at an earlier period. There exists in the Bodleian a copy of the 1539 edition of Cleomedes' *De motu circulari corporum caelestium* which carries the inscription 'emendatus hic libellus ad exemplar Geo. Buchanani Scoti doctiss.', meaning that the text has been corrected in the light of some emendations Buchanan made in his own copy (see McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 372). Cleomedes is a Stoic astronomer of uncertain date whose work reflects that of the Stoic Posidonius.

[46] Haskell, 'Renaissance Latin Didactic Poetry on the Stars', p. 517.

the Epicureans. Buchanan begins this double refutation by commenting on the continuity of error:

> nec tamen (haec ratio quamvis monstrarit aperte)
> cessat adhuc coecis inscitia mersa tenebris,
> oblatrare palam, coelum damnare quiete
> ausa, pigram coeleri motu convertere terram.[47]

> (Not even yet (though reason has clearly demonstrated these things) has ignorance, mired in blind shadows, ceased to bark openly, daring to condemn the heaven to rest, and to twirl the reluctant earth in rapid motion.)

This is taken to refer to Copernicus's principle of the moving earth, which, with the words 'nec tamen [...] cessat adhuc', is placed in kinship with previous lapses of rationality. It soon becomes apparent that such lapses of rationality include the theories of the atomists and Epicureans (named, unlike Copernicus himself) that the stars and the sun are born and die on a daily basis, being reconstituted through atomic activity. Buchanan's argument that they are in error rests on the assertion that order cannot spring from chance: 'nam fortuito quae parturit ortu | casus, in iis numquam manet invariabilis ordo'[48] (For in those things which happenstance begets by Chance birth there never remains invariable order).

The ancient debate, as we have seen it emerge through Lucretius's own use of antithetical sources in his characterization of Epicurus, adds both force and piquancy to Buchanan's philosophical posturing. We understand that, far from being the brilliant apparition who dispelled the darkness of ignorance, as he is in Lucretius, Epicurus is actually the darkness of error, which persists even to this day in the form of the new astronomy.[49] Buchanan re-enacts the reclaiming of the Aratean universe for the Platonic/Stoic side, in the context of a new threat.

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[47] Buchanan, p. 550.

[48] Buchanan, p. 552 (*recte* 551).

[49] Buchanan's poem attacks the fundamental premise of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium,* and parts of Brahe's *De nova stella* (1572). The notion of the static earth is reinstated at *Sphera*, I. 312–37. On the relationship between *Sphera*, Book V, and Brahe's *De nova stella*, see Naiden, *The Sphera of George Buchanan*: 'The first breach in the conventional system of the universe was offered by the new star of 1572, and the effect of this phenomenon in throwing into confusion the adherents of the traditional system must have been apparent to Tycho and to Buchanan alike' (pp. 58–59). Naiden's assertion becomes clearer with the aid of Aratus himself, who argued the unchanging nature of the universe at *Phaenomena*, 259–60: 'No

Conclusion: The Value of Aratus

Between them, Camerarius and Buchanan exemplify an interesting phenomenon in the reception of Aratus: the endurance of the paradigm of the Aratean (Stoic, geocentric) universe. We can readily explain the value of Aratus to Camerarius. Camerarius's approval of the Stoic paradigm is implied in his translation of Aratus, and in his role as the neo-Aratus, seen both in his self-characterization (in the proem to his *Phaenomena*, quoted above) and in his characterization in the critical tradition exemplified by Hessus.

Aratus was an important way for Camerarius to define himself as both a Hellenist and a Ciceronian. To translate Aratus is, in a way, to *be* Cicero. It should be recalled that, in the ancient debate, it was Cicero who reclaimed his representation of the universe of Aratus, the *Aratea*, from its Epicurean context in Lucretius, and repositioned it as a Stoic exemplar in Book II of his *De natura deorum*. Like Cicero, Camerarius both translates Aratus and writes philosophical prose. In the *Norica sive de ostentis libri duo* of 1532, a philosophical dialogue modelled on Cicero's *De divinatione*,[50] Camerarius's friends and contemporaries converse, in the way Cicero's do in his philosophical dialogues, on a given theme, in this case signs and portents. Camerarius cites his own work — as Cicero did in his dialogues — that work being in this case Camerarius's earlier hexameter translation of Aratus's 'Diosemiai':

> signa tibi quoque certa dabunt ventorum hiemisque
> unda tumens pelagi sonitusque in littore rauci
> rupibus inque altis, cum caelum luce serenum est,
> et tremefacta iugi nemorosa in vertice sylva.[51]

(The swelling water of the sea, and harsh sounds on the shore and on the high cliffs, when the heaven is serene with light, will also give you indubitable signs of winds and of winter, as will the woods set in motion on the high ridge-top.)

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star has been lost from the sky unnoticed since our oral tradition began.' Presumably if stars cannot be lost, neither can they be gained. Buchanan himself states that the sky cannot decay, nor can new stars appear: 'nec procul a vera, reor, is ratione recedet, | qui neget, aut gigni naturae viribus astra | posse vel effectum senio tabescere coelum' (Buchanan, p. 562; Whoever says that neither can stars be born by the power of nature, nor the heaven waste away, afflicted with old age, is in my opinion close to right thinking).

[50] On the *Norica* and the *De divinatione*, see Ludwig, '*Pontani amatores*', pp. 204–12.

[51] Joachim Camerarius, *Norica sive de ostentis libri duo cum praefatione Phil. Melan.* (Wittenberg: [n. pub.], 1532), fol. D2ʳ, cited by Ludwig, '*Pontani amatores*', p. 207.

This is parallel to Cicero's citation of his *Prognostica* at *De divinatione*, Book I, line 13:

> atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros
> inflatum mare cum subito penitusque tumescit,
> saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore
> tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces,
> aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis
> ortus adaugescit, scopulorum saepe repulsus.[52]

(And also the swollen sea augurs coming winds, when it grows rough suddenly and deep down, and when rocks, pale and foamy with white liquid salt, strive to echo anguished sounds back to Neptune, or when frequent shrieking, which arose on the high mountain top, grows greater, often thrown back from the encircling cliffs.)

Both in the *Norica* and in his Aratus translation, Camerarius looks to ancient models, aligning himself ideologically with Cicero and philosophically with Aratus.

For Camerarius, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, the only serious challenge to the rational universe lay in Epicureanism.[53] In choosing the universe of Aratus, Camerarius's agenda must have been to remain true to Cicero, and, perhaps, to Christianity.[54] In Buchanan, the Aratean universe apparently became representative of something further: adherence to the astronomical status quo in the face of the new theories. It is not merely in Buchanan's polemical passages that we see this, but in the form he chooses: hexameter astronomical didactic poetry. The extent of Aratus's influence, as I have shown, was so great that

[52] *Prognostica*, fr. 3. 1–6, ed. by Soubiran, *Cicéron*.

[53] 'Wissenschaft war für Camerarius noch fast ausschließlich antike Wissenschaft': Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', p. 123.

[54] Ludwig, '*Opuscula aliquot elegantissima*', pp. 131–32, sees the primary significance of Camerarius's Aratus translation as lying in its exposition of the rational universe, ultimately proof of the Creator. Ludwig cites as a parallel the *Carmen in meteora Plinii*, a elegiac poem on Book II of the *Naturalis Historia* by another pupil of Melanchthon, Melchior Acontius, beginning 'esse deum rerum auctorem pulcherrima mundi, | si tamen attendis, machina tota monet' (The whole surpassingly beautiful structure of the universe, if only you pay attention to it, testifies that God is its author): *Laurentii Bonincontri Miniatensis Rerum Naturalium et Divinarum sive De Rebus Coelestibus libri tres. Adiecimus quoque in studiosorum gratiam Eclipsium Solis et Lunae annis iam aliquot visarum usque ad postremum huius anni MDXXXX. Descriptiones per Philippum Melanchthonem et alios*, ed. by Philipp Melanchthon (Basel: R. Winter, 1540), fols O2ᵛ–O3ᵛ. This is the divinely governed universe: geocentric, stable, revealed, even while it recalls the diction of Lucretius, who uses *moles et machina mundi* to describe a state of cosmic dissolution at *De rerum natura*, V. 96. Here again we may see the Lucretian paradigm being effectively 'cancelled out'.

this form was ever after associated with him.[55] I would see Buchanan's pointed critique of certain theories as consonant with the poetic form he adopts, since a view of the universe as rational and divinely governed is implicit in the Aratean tradition.

The long-established form of astronomical didactic poetry did not wane in the period between 1535 and 1584, but gathered power. These astronomical didactic writers are not just the successors of Epicurus, but his victorious opponents, employing the imagery attached to him in Lucretius for their own ends. Perhaps it is going too far to see an analogy between Lucretius and Copernicus, but something like it is certainly entailed in the fact that a polemicist like Buchanan can use the astronomical didactic form associated with Aratus and his translators (including the pre-Copernican Camerarius) as a vehicle to protest against the 'radical' theories of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. 'Epicurus' loses — for the moment.

[55] Naiden, *The Sphera of George Buchanan*, p. 45, mentions Aratus and his commentators among the influences on Buchanan. However, Aratus was not Buchanan's only, or even primary, astronomical source. Among others were Ptolemy (*Suntaxis* or *Almagest*) and Aristotle (*De Caelo*). The Aratean source comes into its own, however, in the 'geography of the universe' at the beginning of *Sphera*, Book III. Buchanan was probably close to Aratus's text; his associate Daniel Rogers, who was possibly involved in printing a fragment of the *Sphera* in 1584 (see McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 362–65), owned a copy of the *Phaenomena* (Bodleian, Savile T. 10).

Sleeping with the Enemy: Tommaso Ceva's Use and Abuse of Lucretius in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* (Milan, 1704)

Yasmin Haskell

The judicious reading, and by extension, imitation of Lucretius was semi-officially sanctioned for Jesuits by Antonio Possevino, SJ, in his *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* [...] (Rome, 1593–Cologne, 1607).[1] It might be expected that the Jesuits, who produced hundreds of didactic poems in the early-modern period, would have jumped at the opportunity to exploit Lucretius as a vehicle for their philosophical, scientific, even theological teachings. As it happens, it was only in the mid-eighteenth century that a group of poets associated with the Roman College of the Society of Jesus began to write long, scientific didactics that may reasonably be characterized as Lucretian. The problem with Lucretius was not, I suspect, his philosophy. There was, after all, a venerable neo-Latin tradition of anti-Lucretian Lucretian verse, from Aonio Paleario's *De*

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[1] In his *De rerum natura* (On the Nature of Things), Titus Lucretius Carus (99?–55? BCE) championed the physics of Hellenistic philosopher, Epicurus, in six books of hexameter verse. The Epicurean system was particularly unpalatable to Christians — it excluded divine creation, Providence, and the immortality of the soul — and Lucretius was condemned to obscurity through the Middle Ages. Rediscovered in 1418 by humanist manuscript-hunter Poggio Bracciolini, Lucretius's natural-philosophical epic inspired generations of didactic poets, scientists, and freethinkers from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment and beyond. For a recent survey of his influence, see *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, ed. by Philip Hardie and Stuart Gillespie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). There is a convenient Loeb Classical Library text and translation of the *De rerum natura* by W. H. D. Rouse, revised with introduction and notes by Martin Ferguson Smith (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

animorum immortalitate (1535) to the *Anti-Lucretius sive de Deo et Natura*
(Paris, 1747) of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac.[2] The Roman Lucretians took a
different direction, following the lead of another Jesuit-trained non-Jesuit,
Benedict Stay (1714–1801), who established his reputation in Italy with an overtly
Lucretian poem on the physics of Descartes, *Philosophiae libri sex* (revised
edition, Rome, 1747).[3] Generally speaking, though, Jesuit poets preferred Virgil
as a model, even for scientific poetry. Virgil offered better opportunities for
contrastive imitation, and the option of palliating technical doctrine with
decorative or allegorical myths.

An anxiety of Lucretian influence at the *aesthetic* level seems to have
afflicted as Lucretian a poet as Giuseppe Maria Mazzolari, professor of rhetoric
in the Roman College, author of a six-book Latin poem on the science of
electricity (*Electrica*, Rome, 1767).[4] Even so, Mazzolari pays tribute in that
work to two modern Lucretiuses: his contemporary, Stay — Mazzolari quips
that he could be a reincarnation of the 'sweet-talking' ('suaviloqui') Lucretius
if the Pythagorean theory of metempsychosis were not so absurd — and
Tommaso Ceva (1648–1737), who is hailed as 'the greatest interpreter of
Nature, and a noble high priest of poetry, who was even able to season the
austere flavour of Lucretius with the honey of the Muses' (Maximus interpres
Naturae, idemque Poesis | Nobilis Antistes, qui vel condire Lucreti | Austerum
potuit pimplaeo melle).[5]

Professor of mathematics and rhetoric at the Jesuit College of Brera for over
forty years, Ceva's greatest claim to poetic fame was a rather syrupy epic in nine

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[2] Interestingly, Polignac's work is not alluded to by the Jesuit Lucretians of eighteenth-century
Italy, who evince both a greater respect for the international genius of Newton and a somewhat
parochial attachment to their in-house poetic traditions.

[3] Poets of this 'Roman school' sang the praises of progress, of the brilliant age of scientific
discoveries in which they were living, of science as a virtuous activity — almost an *ascesis* — for
clever young men. They professed a difficult poetry of 'truth', for the most part eschewing
mythological embellishment. They were to a large extent preaching to the converted in the elite
intellectual environment of the Collegio Romano: among their number was the Jesuits' prize
physicist of the eighteenth century, Roger Boscovich. See Yasmin Annabel Haskell, *Loyola's Bees:
Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: The British Academy and Oxford
University Press, 2003), especially chap. 4, with bibliography.

[4] See Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, pp. 235–37.

[5] *Electrica*, p. 109. Note the inconsistency in Mazzolari's use of the topos of the honeyed cup,
betraying his ambivalent attitude to Lucretian style: Stay is sweet-talking, *like* Lucretius; Ceva
manages to season with the Muses' honey the *austere* flavour of Lucretius.

books on the boyhood of Christ, *Iesus puer* (Milan, 1690), modelled on the Renaissance Christian poems of Vida and Sannazaro. It is, however, to Ceva's *Philosophia novo-antiqua* (New-Ancient Philosophy; Milan, 1704) that Mazzolari alludes — a much more testing, and sometimes testy, piece of work.[6] The title conveys Ceva's aspiration to plot a 'middle path' between ancient and modern philosophy, and in particular to use his own 'new' reflections, drawn from the 'springs of Mathematics', to support the most important part of the 'old' Aristotelian philosophy.[7] For all its spirit of reconciliation, however, Ceva's poem became the focus of a heated polemic in Tuscany between rival religious and philosophical camps.[8] No one, so far as I am aware, has ever paid any attention to the merits of Ceva's poem as a poem, much less as a *didactic* poem.

[6] The poem is printed in a collection of Ceva's *Carmina* which also contains the fourth edition of the *Iesus puer* and the second of the *Sylvae* (see n. 10, below). Translations are my own.

[7] See p. iv of the (unnumbered) dedication to Annibale Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI. The theme of the middle path is reprised at several points in the poem, for example in the second book: 'Do you want to put on old rags again [sc. Aristotelian 'form']? I don't want that, but rather some sort of blended middle of the ancient and the modern, so that you may be able to proceed safely' (Desuetos iterumne velis inducere pannos? | Non istud volo; Sed mistum ex prisco atque recenti | Nescioquid medium, quo tuto incedere possis; p. 24). At the beginning of the sixth book, Ceva observes that 'the mind of man is unable to keep to the middle path' (Nescia mens hominum medio consistere) and then takes a sudden and surprising tilt against Pythagoras, for his erroneous theory of harmony, and Plato, for his 'ideas' (pp. 95–96). This proem foreshadows the book's concern with epistemology, the origins of error and the proliferation of opinions, and the necessity of listening to both sides of the argument (as the poet illustrates by arguing for and against the material nature of light, pp. 106–09).

[8] See, most recently, Luisa Simonutti, 'Guido Grandi, scienziato e polemista, e la sua controversia con Tommaso Ceva', *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa: Classe di lettere e Filosofia*, ser. 3, 19 (1989), 1001–26; Guido Canziani, 'Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', in *Per una storia critica della scienza*, ed. by Marco Beretta, Felice Mondella, and Maria Teresa Monti, Quaderni di Acme, 26 (Bologna: Cisalpino, 1996), pp. 139–64. The battle was well underway by the time Camaldulese, Guido Grandi, professor of mathematics at the university of Pisa, published a pseudonymous counterblast to the *Philosophia* (also in verse): *Q. Lucii Alphei Diacrisis, in secundam editionem Philosophiae novo-antiquae R. P. Thomae Cevae cum notis Iani Valerii Pansii* ([Rome]: Augustoduni, 1724). Simonutti suggests that Grandi's real target was the conservative intellectual and political culture of the Jesuits rather than Ceva himself (pp. 1018–19). Grandi never revealed his true identity to Ceva, who remained his trusting friend and correspondent. Indeed, Ceva included Grandi in a roll call of daring modern mathematicians in the first book of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* (p. 18).

An Undercover Anti-Lucretius?

The dedication is not altogether auspicious; the author seems to have none of Lucretius's nerve. Ceva's verses ('would that they were much more elegant') are to be understood as an answer to the 'most sweet but virulent poetry of Lucretius', assuming that his 'poetic powers' can 'measure up to the boldness of [his] design'. He has decided to publish his 'little work', 'neither polished nor complete', so that any errors encountered might be imputed to 'shortness of time' (pp. iv and v). Guido Canziani has suggested that a comparison between Lucretius and Ceva is unthinkable and would be very much to the Jesuit's disadvantage.[9] I intend in this chapter to challenge that assumption to some extent, although I confess it was one I used to share. In the note to the reader that follows the dedication, Ceva apologizes that his poem has only as much 'power to persuade as the metre will permit', and that 'the stronger arguments cannot be expressed except by geometric figures and numbers' (p. ix). To smooth the path of the reader into the poem he has determined to supply a prose paraphrase of his opening argument (a deduction from the accelerated motion of bodies that God has the power to reduce all matter to nothing). These prefatory remarks might already deter many modern readers, at least those not well versed in seventeenth-century mechanics, but we should bear in mind that Ceva was a man of letters every bit as much as a mathematician: his literary and didactic ambitions for the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* should not be underestimated.[10] What looks at first like an admission of defeat could just as well be construed as a *captatio benevolentiae*, a genuine accommodation to the needs of nonexpert readers who must be initiated into a difficult subject.[11] The stakes are high, since the correct interpretation of Nature has repercussions for religious faith. Ceva has a serious

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[9] 'Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', p. 144: 'Naturalmente qualunque confronto tra la poesia di Lucrezio e quella di Ceva è improponibile, tanto mortificanti sarebbero le conclusioni che ne deriverebbero per il gesuita; ma non è questione che qui ci interessi.'

[10] Ceva's collection of miscellaneous Latin verse (*Sylvae*, Milan, 1699), for example, included poems about the study of the Latin language, imitation of the classics, and translation. See G. Gronda's article in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 67 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–), XXIV (1980), 325–28, which reveals that Ceva's main interest for twentieth-century scholars was his literary criticism, as found in the second edition of his biography of count Lemene, *Memorie d'alcune virtù del signor conte Francesco de Lemene* (Milan: Domenico Bellagatta, 1718).

[11] The poem's didactic qualities are discussed below in the final section of the present chapter.

mission to instruct educated smatterers about the possibilities and limits of human enquiry, especially in a climate in which novelty, foreign books, and above all the pernicious poem of Lucretius, are perversely prized.[12]

The six-book format of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* immediately puts us in mind of the *De rerum natura.* Ceva's poem was apparently to have run to another two books (on proofs for the incorporeality of the soul and the existence of God), but whether or not he actually intended to write them is a moot point.[13] The extant books largely revolve around topical subjects in cosmology, meteorology, and mechanics — so far, so Lucretian — arguing against ancient atomism, Copernicanism, and the physical systems of Gassendi and Descartes.[14] In fact, the poem is less reactionary than this bald synopsis might imply, but Ceva's science is not the primary concern of this chapter.[15] The books are labelled 'dissertationes',

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[12] This was precisely the period in which Alessandro Marchetti's Italian translation of Lucretius was circulating in manuscript. It was considered too hot to print until 1717. See Mario Saccenti, *Lucrezio in Toscana: Studio su Alessandro Marchetti*, Biblioteca di 'Lettere italiane', 5 (Florence: Olschki, 1966); Cosmo Alexander Gordon, *A Bibliography of Lucretius* (London: Hart-Davis, 1962), pp. 194–200.

[13] The description of a 'plague' (*pestis*) of philosophical error in the sixth proem could be read as a clue that Ceva meant to close with this book, since the *De rerum natura* ends with the plague of Athens.

[14] A broadly Lucretian structure may be traced through the first three books: first principles in Book I; the treatment of motion and the constitution of bodies in Book II; and the focus, in the polemic against atomism in Book III, on its implications for the nature of the human mind and destiny of the soul. After this, Ceva loses the Lucretian plot. Book IV bypasses *De rerum natura*, Book IV (on sensation and sex), and treats topics more in line with Lucretius's fifth and sixth books (such as the position of the earth in space; why the moon does not fall; the winds). In his fifth and sixth books, Ceva rejects the Cartesian theory of animal automatism while maintaining that our reason distinguishes us from the beasts; he asserts the immortality of the human soul, establishes the foundations, varieties, and limits of our knowledge, and enjoins 'blind' faith and adherence to Catholic authority.

[15] See Canziani, 'Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', passim, and the bibliography at pp. 142–43, n. 6. Ceva is in many respects a continuator of Galileo, and he praises Descartes warmly for his mathematical achievements (p. 30). He is careful not to seem naively to endorse the outmoded 'forms' of Aristotle, rejects the *horror vacui*, and dismisses the convoluted commentaries of the Greeks and Arabs (pp. 21–23, 31, 35–36, 76, 93). He opposes the serenity of mathematical enquiry to the disputatiousness of the schools, to 'halls echoing with clamorous arguments' (Non illa sonoras | Altercando implet clamosis litibus aulas; p. 83); see also p. 93. At the end of the second book he argues that the ancient and modern philosophies are, by themselves, equally ruinous: the best of the old should be enriched with the best of the new — that is, the latest scientific discoveries, from the circulation of the blood to dioptrics (pp. 36–37).

perhaps to convey a sense of oral delivery, even a course of lectures (each dissertation is prefaced by a summary 'argumentum' in prose). The novelty of the format was appreciated by the reviewer of the poem for the Jesuit *Mémoires de Trévoux*, who also noted Ceva's 'Horatian manner' when interrogating a defender of Gassendi in the first book.[16] It is this ubiquitous presence of the *speaking* poet — plucky, sometimes pugnacious — that first impresses the reader of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*.[17] The ostensible model of Lucretius — the orderly, elevated, almost architectural, Lucretius — seems very much in the background. And indeed he is, but I shall try to show that Ceva allows us to sense Lucretius's shadow throughout the work.

The spectre of Lucretius comes to the fore in the third book, of which the reviewer for the *Mémoires de Trévoux* writes that it treats 'in abbreviated form that which we hope to see at greater length, one day, in the *Anti-Lucretius* of [...] Cardinal de Polignac'.[18] It is in the third book that Ceva deals explicitly with the philosophy of ancient atomism, but, even here, he does not wear the poetry of Lucretius on his sleeve. Perhaps more than anywhere else in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*, Ceva avails himself in this book of the resources of Roman satire: parody, fable, earthy humour, sarcasm, hectoring dialogue, and *ad hominem* attacks. He is quite conscious of his satirical temper. Towards the end of the book he admits that he has led his 'Muse, who set out along the shore over the rocks *on foot*, down a long and sterile path'[19] — an unmistakable reference to Horace's self-deprecatingly 'pedestrian' Muse (*Satires*, II. 6. 17). Indeed, the whole book is couched as something of a digression, an aberration. Ceva emerges from it in the proem to the fourth book, reflecting on how he had been tossed at sea and washed up in stinking sedge, so that he can now hardly orient himself for the onward journey: 'so much did that most vile and idle rascal ('nebulo teterrimus') mix oceans, lands, and heaven' (p. 58).

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[16] *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1728), 503–24 (pp. 504, 506).

[17] I would like to qualify here my former, overly blunt, characterization of the poet's Lucretian persona as 'dyspeptic' (Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, p. 224). I still hold, however, that 'Ceva's earthy, satirical style is, in fact, as reminiscent of Horace as it is of Lucretius' (*Loyola's Bees*, p. 224, n. 128), an impression shared by some of the participants at the Lucretius colloquium held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in July 2005. See also nn. 19 and 20, below.

[18] *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1728), 514.

[19] 'Longo adeo ac sterili Musam deducere calle | Egressam in littus *cursu* per saxa *pedestri*' (p. 52; my emphasis).

The rascal is Epicurus, who, with Lucretius, is taken to task in person in the third book. While the devilish duo is not named for several pages, Ceva had already begun to prepare the way for them allegorically at the end of his second book. There he had written of the coming of Night, who 'indicates with her hand that there should be tranquil silence for the Muses' (p. 37). He had called on the stars, whose rapid motions he will discuss the following morning, to 'keep watch in the darkness on my calm sleep, lest black *simulacra* assail our peaceful spirits' (Vos adeo in tenebris placido advigilate sopori, | Ne simulacra animos percellant atra quietos). Ceva alludes here to the filmy images (*simulacra*) of Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, IV, passim), which detach from real objects and reconstitute as illusory forms, including the ghosts and monsters that terrify us in our sleep.[20] It is no accident, then, that the third book of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* opens with a new dawn (pp. 38–39).

A paraphrase of the third proem will reveal the subtlety of its indebtedness to the *De rerum natura*.[21] Aurora imparts her rosy glow to buildings, books, and paintings of the gods ('Iamque aurora vitris e coelo pervigil aurum | Quadrigae aetheriae roseis splendoribus infert; | [...] atque omnia inaurat'). The poet salutes the God who has provided the heavenly gifts of sunlight and fresh air ('Summe Pater, cuius coelesti munere solem | Hunc hodie aspicio, atque auram respiro, diemque | Ingredior, te pronus humi, te, Numen, [...] adoro'). He is pleased to return to the tasks of the day, renewing the labours of yesterday, and, like a bird seeking food for her nestlings, flits over the hills and ridges of Pindus seeking material for his work ('Non secus ac volucris, tecti sub fornice nidos | Quae parat, ore legens, crebro per rura volatu, | Materiem solers operi'). Urania, with her golden compasses, square, and stellar globe, welcomes him ('cui circinus aureus, | Aureaque in manibus norma, & globus astrifer aureis | Distinctus stellis'), teaches him the laws and movements of the heavens, and indicates new bodies in the sky, unknown to the ancients ('priscis incognita').

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[20] The theory of the *simulacra* is sent up in Book III, where Ceva refers to them mockingly as 'skin', 'little membranes', 'trimmed pages', 'spoils', and 'gold leaf' issuing from the exteriors of buildings, which somehow maintain the proper distinctions between doors, windows, etc. as they enter our eyes (pp. 51–52).

[21] Some of the other proems also quietly engage with their Lucretian counterparts. In the fifth, for example, Ceva counters Lucretius's apotheosis of Epicurus, his comparison of Epicurus's philosophical gifts to us with those of corn and wine by Ceres and Liber (*De rerum natura*, V. 14–15), with a declaration of our essential condition of ignorance, followed by a question: Why did God create crops, gold and other useful things? So that we might worship him.

What's so Lucretian about that? Most obviously, the imagery of light dispelling darkness. But note that Ceva returns to *daytime* tasks, whereas Lucretius had been inspired to write his poem *at night* ('noctes vigilare serenas'; *De rerum natura*, I. 142). The implication is that Lucretius's philosophy is itself benighted. Note, too, how Ceva puns, in good Lucretian fashion, on 'aurora', 'aurum', 'aura', 'inaurat' — gold and air — redolent of the breeze- and light-filled proem to *De rerum natura*, Book I. In line 9 of his proem, Ceva's invocation of the 'highest father' with a reiterated 'te [...] te' recalls Lucretius's invocation of Venus (*De rerum natura*, I. 6), but, even more tellingly, the 'tu pater [...] tu' with which Lucretius hails Epicurus in line 9 of the proem to *De rerum natura*, Book III. Ceva's emphasis on gold also points to the *aurea dicta* of Epicurus, the pages from which his diligent students will sip nectar, like bees ('floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant, | omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta, | aurea, perpetua semper dignissima vita'; 11–13; consider here also Ceva's image of the flitting bird). The immortality ('perpetua [...] vita') of Epicurus's golden sayings finds its parallel in the golden kit with which Ceva equips Urania, who, with perpetual light ('perenni [...] luce'), illuminates the law-abiding heavens. Lucretius in the proem to *De rerum natura*, III, is an initiate into the Epicurean mysteries and experiences a 'certain divine pleasure and shuddering' (quaedam diuina uoluptas [...] | Atque horror) as he looks down, as it were *through* the earth, on the cosmic goings-on, dizzyingly exposed in the void below his feet (26–30). Ceva, in contrast, draws comfort ('solatia menti') from contemplating the well-ordered heavens — even those new parts which have been revealed by the telescope.

At this point, we are dropped abruptly into something very like an Horatian *sermo*. Ceva contrasts his lot with that of an unnamed rival: 'you who laugh at these things [sc. the consolations of natural philosophy], lazily dragging out your long leisure under a rich roof' (qui luxu divite segnis | Otia longa trahis tecto; p. 39). The wealthy man rejoices in his chariot drawn by six white horses from Holland, his beautiful objects, and, above all, his tranquil country villa. From a lookout by a fountain of the Muses he can survey his stream, gardens, fishponds, and parklands. Ceva does not envy him, however, because he is plagued by anxious care for his possessions, for example 'lest his crystal vessels' be shattered and 'fly apart' (cristallina septa [...] | Dissiliant; p. 39), or the 'iron bands around his wine jar burst asunder' (Dissiluisse orbem ferratum dolii; p. 40), spilling all the new wine onto the ground. Already in the references to leisure and luxury, if not the garden and the fountain of the Muses, I suspect allegorical references to Epicurus and Lucretius. Might not Ceva mean us to understand by those 'crystal vessels' the crystalline spheres of the traditional cosmos — after all the 'walls of

the world' had famously parted in the proem of *De rerum natura*, Book III — and by the wasted wine, the soul which leaks out of the shattered jar of the body in *De rerum natura*, Book III, lines 434–44?

Ceva's rival is a keen hunter, who charges around the countryside *avius*, 'off the beaten track', with a great throng of followers and dogs — probably a reminiscence of Lucretius's 'avia Pieridum' (I. 926) but also of I. 402–09, where Memmius is exhorted to 'hunt' after the truth. This noisy, violent, and futile chase after the elusive hare is contrasted with Ceva's fortuitous discovery, in the depths of the woods, of a solitary mushroom, which has been waiting for him, standing on one foot, offering itself to be picked and taken home like some latter-day golden bough.[22] Ceva seems to be juxtaposing the chaotic and clamorous Epicurean philosophy, now so much in vogue ('magna [...] turba comitante', p. 40), with the stable, sensible, *comprehensible*, Aristotelian one. But the Jesuit checks himself for his hubris:

> But why do I madly follow these trifles and vanities? For you are not happy, and neither am I, unless Pleasure comes to both of us from above. He is most fortunate whom the secret science of divine things, descending from heaven, keeps far removed from mortal cares, untroubled by the transience of the age, into whom the approach of dark death does not strike any terror.[23]

The primary purpose of Lucretius's third book, it will be remembered, was to dispel our fear of death and afterlife punishments, an evil whose moral consequences in this life are avarice, cruelty ... even *ennui*. To illustrate how ignorance of the nature of things causes existential restlessness, Lucretius, towards the end of *De rerum natura*, Book III (1053–75), gave the example of the bored man who charges back and forth between townhouse and country villa with his swift Gallic ponies. Ceva's satirical interlude seems to anticipate and turn Lucretius's parable on its head: to be *truly* free of the fear of death we need to be infused with saintliness and wisdom from above. This reinforces the message

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[22] As pointed out to me by Joseph Farrell at the 2005 Oxford colloquium on Lucretius, the phrase 'qui stans pede in uno' is from Horace, *Satires*, I. 4. 10 (referring to Lucilius). The reminiscence seems to be without significance, but it does confirm Ceva's Horatian instincts.

[23] 'Sed quid ego has nugas & inania persequor amens? | Nec tu etenim felix, nec ego, nisi utrique uoluptas | Venerit ex alto. Fortunatissimus ille, | Quem diuinarum secreta scientia rerum | E coelo ueniens procul a mortalibus arcet | Seiunctum curis, securum labilis aeui, | Cui nullum aduentans mors incutit atra timorem' (p. 41). The passage most obviously recalls *Georgics*, II. 490–94, where Virgil compares the philosophical happiness of (an implied) Lucretius with that of simple countryfolk, but George Kazantzidis has suggested to me that 'sed quid ego has nugas & inania persequor' also evokes Horace's self-subversive satirical voice.

ubiquitous in Ceva's poem that there are limits to the knowledge available to the human mind. Natural philosophy can never bring absolute 'pleasure', the *ataraxia* of the Epicureans. The Lucretian project, which purports to teach us, once and for all, the true nature of things, is doomed from the outset.[24]

A more technical section follows, in which the Jesuit geometer attempts to prove that the constant motion of the fixed stars cannot have existed from eternity but requires a prime mover. It is only after this is established that he names his enemy: 'But Lucretius says that this happens by a certain random and blind chance which creates and rules everything' (At quadam sorte, & caeco, Lucretius inquit, | Contigit id casu, qui conficit, & regit omnia; p. 44). Ceva cannot conceal his anger, and describes the Epicurean error as a verminous tumour in need of lancing, Epicurus as a multiheaded giant rising up against heaven (compare *De rerum natura*, I. 62–71), and Lucretius as a polluter of Helicon and corrupter of youth. The chief tenet of their wicked philosophy is that nothing exists apart from matter, and never existed, and never will exist. Even the soul and the mind are material, and Ceva imagines the goddess of corpses, Libitina, dashing that mind (namely, of Epicurus and Lucretius) into atoms, whence it mingles with 'other seeds' and is carried abroad by blind fate (pp. 44–45). The implication is that their doctrine has become a pestilent air which infects the minds of others. We shall see that the whiff of disease and death returns, significantly, towards the end of the book, recalling personified Nature's diatribe on the theme of 'death is nothing to us' at the close of *De rerum natura*, III.

For now, however, insult gives way to mock-philosophical interrogation. Ceva demands of Lucretius whether his songs — which his mind once dictated to him, feverish from the love-potion of Jeromian legend[25] — are something, made of

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[24] Ceva's refusal to write an *enlightening* poem is arguably his most anti-Lucretian gesture. In marked contrast to the *De rerum natura*, shadows in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* are not always to be dispelled — on the contrary, they must sometimes be embraced as evidence of the divine. The scene is dramatically set in the first book, when Ceva is asked to reveal the mysteries of gravitational attraction: 'Breeze, I commit this word to you, bear it up high, if you can, to the Gods, and place it before the Deity, witness to a mind buried in confusing night: I DO NOT KNOW! [...] Nor is it shameful not to know' (Aura, tibi hanc vocem committo, hanc defer in altum, | Si potes, ad Superos, & coram numine siste, | Ingenii testem confusa in nocte iacentis. | *Nescio*. [...] Nec pudet ignorare'; pp. 17–18). See also pp. 1–2, 12, 34–35, 78–81. In the final book we are told that the human mind can interfere with our instincts (such as for sleep) and even hinder our capacity for happiness: the carefree, homeless fool lives a long and blessed life (p. 103).

[25] In a notorious and influential biographical sketch, Jerome wrote that Lucretius had been driven mad by a philtre and that his poem was written during 'the intermissions of his insanity' (per

something, or rather utterly nothing. 'No way are they nothing', Lucretius protests, and Ceva agrees: 'They are very sweet, and drop by drop instil their honey-flavoured poison into our minds.' But *what* are they? Herewith the Jesuit rolls out a delightful *reductio ad absurdum*, well and truly worthy of his model.[26] Are the poems equivalent to the ink in which they are written? No, says Lucretius. Are they then the letters visible on the page? No, because they remain the same, regardless of the diverse fonts in which they are printed.[27] Well, are his songs equivalent to words which are spoken ('uoces prolatae')? Lucretius starts to lose *his* temper and asserts that they are the work of his mind. To this Ceva retorts that if Lucretius's mind is composed of round particles, as he claims, then he must concede that his songs, too, are composed of certain shapes, for they are something, and nothing exists apart from matter.... The Jesuit professor continues, wearing his geometer's hat but with tongue pressed firmly in cheek: from what 'polyhedra' are they constituted? After all, Lucretius is obliged to explain all things in terms of 'little pieces, motion, and shapes', like a mosaic floor, 'and when you have encrusted your mind with those little tiles there will be a hundred others to explain and extricate yourself from'.[28] How, for example, are Lucretius's songs transmitted into readers' minds? Ceva advances a mock-Lucretian explanation: perhaps they bore through the eyes first, and then enter the brain through little holes? The thought is dismissed as unworthy of human reason, on a par with belief in Circe's power to transform men into beasts. Ceva is more inclined to believe that those who entertain it are suffering the effects of the 'disease of the windy spleen' (namely 'hypochondria', which was considered a real illness at the time, giving rise to both physical and mental problems, including delusions).[29]

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intervalla insaniae); see the Loeb Classical Library edition of *De rerum natura* (see n. 1, above), p. x, citing Jerome's *Chronica* for the year 94 BC.

[26] Compare Lucretius scoffing at the suggestion that atoms might feel: no doubt they can also laugh, cry, and philosophize.... (*De rerum natura*, II. 976–84).

[27] Lucretius's defensiveness on this point is in humorous contrast to his argument in *De rerum natura* that all things are composed from different combinations of the same elements, just as different words are formed by different combinations of letters (see, for example, I. 196–97).

[28] 'Omnia sunt tibi frustillis, motu, atque figuris | Committenda, velut sectis asarota lapillis. | Atque ubi tesserulis mentem incrustaveris istis, | Centum alia enodanda tibi, extricandaque restant' (p. 46). See also n. 46, below.

[29] See Yasmin Haskell, 'Poetry or Pathology? Jesuit Hypochondria in Early Modern Naples', *Early Science and Medicine*, 12 (2007), 187–213.

As his own bile rises, Ceva pulls back, lest he seem merely to mock, rather than to engage his opponent in a fair fight (p. 46). A page of close philosophical questioning ensues, but it is not long before the poet is drawn into a bout of more satirical pugilism. Lucretius patronizingly inquires whether the poet is able to scan the famous verse: 'From nothing, nothing can arise and nothing can return to nothing, therefore nothing new can ever exist.'[30] Ceva counters with some country philosophy: 'There was once a rustic whose wife was always complaining because he never brought her anything new. Landing a left hook square in her teeth he said: "Here, have this! It is fresh and new!" That's what he said. But do you think that there was no pain arising out of the broken jaw bone? Do you perhaps want to weave, this, too out of those sharp particles which subsequently flew over to the sound of a boxing on the ears?'[31] Ceva's commonsensical deflation of Lucretius's philosophical proposition anticipates the section in which he exposes the lack of sophistication of some of the more bizarre beliefs of Epicurus, such as that the young earth grew wombs (see *De rerum natura*, V. 807–17).[32] But while he doubtless aims to expose the Epicurean system as utterly ridiculous, and claims that it was thoroughly discredited already in antiquity (by Cicero: pp. 44, 47), the Jesuit poet is not boxing an entirely straw man. After all, there are those ('amazing to tell') who go about professing admiration for the *De rerum natura* today, with 'half-open mouths'. They enjoy the respect of the mob, which mutters: 'There goes that great supporter of Lucretius, who doesn't mind that his reason is composed of round atoms. He is certainly deep in contemplation. Don't you see how he walks along in silence? He is turning something big over in his mind. He does not think like we think.'[33] Such comments are music to the ears of these self-satisfied freethinkers, and Ceva

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[30] 'Ex nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reuerti, | Proinde noui nihil unquam existere posse'; the quotation is from Persius, *Satires*, I. 3. 83.

[31] 'Hoc, inquit, habeto: recens est, | Atque nouum. Sic ille. An tu nil rere dolorem | Confracti maxillaris de uulnere natum? | Hunc quoque particulis uin' texere forsan acutis, | Ad sonitum colaphi quae protinus aduolitarint?' (p. 48).

[32] Ceva snorts that Plautus would have hesitated to put such nonsense into the mouth of a slave and mocks the Epicurean estimate of the size of the sun as no bigger than it appears to the eye (*De rerum natura*, V. 564–65): 'the same size, no doubt, as ploughman Mopsus and reaper Corydon reckon it.' Ceva extrapolates, drolly, that the stars no doubt go round in heaven because they are rushing to their food, like lean horses to hay (p. 50).

[33] 'Hic est | Lucreti ille ingens fautor, cui texta rotundis | Ex atomis ratio haud omnino displicet. Olli | Acrior obtutus certe est: viden' ut taciturnus | Incedit? magnum est aliquid, quod pectore versat: | Non hic cum vulgo sapit' (p. 51).

allows us to smile at the spectacle of their pretentiousness. However, it is from here that 'little clouds and shadows are scattered over the immortal soul, the supreme Lord, and man's free will' (Hinc animae tandem immortali, ipsique superno | Rectori, hinc hominum arbitrio nubeculae & umbrae | Interdum adspersae; pp. 51–52). This is especially the case when women get in on the act, at nocturnal parties, or around a winter's fire.[34] A little knowledge, then, is a dangerous thing, and the poem of Lucretius, in the wrong hands, can lead to arrogance and atheism.

The finale of the third book, although ostensibly a piece of fun — night is approaching, and the poet pauses for some rest and recreation before continuing his journey in the fourth — has a deadly serious point. Ceva lures a pompous, personified Epicurus to a friendly drink and debate. Epicurus is first asked to explain a 'marvellous portent' (mirificum monstrum; p. 52): a wild fig tree has borne a citron. The old sage is suspicious, but Ceva exhorts him not to be amazed ('nec te mirari decet haec'; p. 53) since Epicurus's own 'marvellous' physics occurred to him just as suddenly as the appearance of this strange fruit. The reference to wonder is a snide one and shows that Ceva is well aware of Lucretius's relentless campaign against wonder in the *De rerum natura*, and his determination to replace superstition with liberating knowledge of nature.[35] At length, and after clearing his throat of some obstructing nectar (!), Epicurus produces a 'scientific' explanation for the botanical oddity which is at once amusing and unnerving. Ceva had informed his interlocutor that the garden containing the tree had been devastated by hail and that a heap of citrons had begun to putrify on the ground, 'like a pile of cadavers wasted by plague, which corpse-bearers cart into graveyards' (Accumulata velut grassante cadavere peste, | Quae vespillones in coemeteria vectant; p. 53). Epicurus infers that the atoms of the fruit have blown on the wind and bonded to the fig tree, as when a 'bubo comes up, with its black swelling, on those afflicted by plague, constituted by I know not what hooked atoms, which lay hold of the souls and tear them out of the ailing body' (Ceu

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[34] Here Ceva furnishes a wicked vignette of the learned nymphs, whose 'little mixed-up voices extol to the skies the many things they have heard as one, with unanimous shout. At home, meanwhile, the spindles grieve deeply, their daily portion of wool and linen almost completely forgotten, because diligent Minerva does not preside, as she once did, over the wool-working art' (Hinc plures voculae in unum, | Permistae res auditas ad sydera tollunt | Unanimi clamore; domi moerentibus alte | Interea fusis, lanae linique diurni | Iam ferme oblitis, quod non operosa Minerva | Adsit lanifico studio, velut ante solebat; p. 52).

[35] See Gian Biagio Conte, *Generi e lettori: Lucrezio, l'elegia d'amore, l'enciclopedia di Plinio* (Milan: Mondadori, 1991), pp. 30–31.

tactis lue cum bubo subnascitur atro | Tubere, nescio queis atomis compostus aduncis, | Quae prensant animas, aegroque e corpore vellunt; p. 54).

The allegorical significance of the horticultural setting and the unnatural fruit is clear enough: all that grows in the garden of Epicurus are monstrosities of thought; his philosophy is lethal. Things go from bad to worse when Epicurus denies the existence of the virtues, divine providence, life after death, and posthumous punishments. Having patiently endured his blasphemous lecture for some four pages the Jesuit explodes: 'Shut up! Pour your foul latrine out somewhere else, detestable pig!' (Claude os. | Verte alio hanc foedam, sus execrande, latrinam; p. 57). The coarse and comic put-down is a measure of the violence of Ceva's feelings towards ancient materialism, but, as we shall see, it also bespeaks an impatience with (what he takes to be) that philosophy's modern spin-offs. It should first be pointed out that the Jesuit mathematician is usually careful to adopt a charitable, if not respectful, tone when disputing the ideas of his contemporaries, Descartes and Gassendi; they stand in need of gentle correction rather than outright condemnation.[36] The example of Epicurus, however, stands as an implicit warning to those who allow their natural-philosophical imaginations to run away with them.[37]

In fact, Ceva contrives to associate Descartes and Gassendi with the reviled ancient materialist in subtly Lucretian ways. Pleased with his far-fetched account of the prodigious citron, Epicurus exults in his ability to solve natural-philosophical conundrums, no matter how apparently intractable: in fact, nothing *displeases* him more than the order of Nature.[38] The Jesuit humours

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[36] Ceva affects a reluctance to fight these philosophers hand-to-hand. In the first book he invents a fictional sparring partner: 'But allow me to fashion a certain other opponent, from the public square, with whom I may fight more freely; for it is not fitting that this noble pair of boxers [sc. Descartes and Gassendi] descend into the arena with the mob' (Ast alium liceat mihi fingere quendam | Hostem de trivio, quo cum certamen inire liberius possim; nec enim decet hoc pugilum par | Nobile cum vulgo in mediam descendere arenam; p. 5).

[37] The point is made directly to the reader in the fifth book: 'It is helpful to have pointed out these things lest contemplation of the nature of things [sc. natural philosophy] on occasion carry your mind, desirous of fame and loving novelty, off the track, onto the rocks, through uneven and unfrequented places' (Haec monuisse iuvat ne contemplatio rerum | Naturae, cupidam famae & novitatis amantem | Transversam in scopulos per iniqua & devia mentem | Pertrahat interdum; p. 83).

[38] 'Quae non (quantumvis enormia) solvere possim? | Nil adeo mihi iucundum quam cum absona quaedam | Audio portenta. Hic tantus mi displicet ordo | Naturae, & rerum series tam consona' (p. 54).

him and inquires how he is able to explain all these 'unusual and rare things'. Epicurus is flattered by Ceva's curiosity about the 'mysteries of his sect' (mysteria sectae) and advises the neophyte simply to have recourse to hardware analogies. Everything can be explained in terms of forks, hooks, handles, and saws — except, that is, when dealing with scholastic philosophers, who can only affirm, deny, or split ambiguous propositions, no doubt because 'their minds are constructed from square particles'.[39] The construction metaphors suggest that Ceva is glancing at *De rerum natura*, Book IV, lines 513–21, where Lucretius uses an analogy from house-building to establish the Epicurean criterion of truth, sense perception.[40] Earlier in his third book, Ceva had sneeringly noted the penchant of Epicurus and his followers for 'rich' examples.[41] Lucretius's use of analogies in the macroscopic world for atomic events is well known; it is both an argumentative strategy and a source of some of the most famous poetry in the *De rerum natura*. While Ceva himself offers abundant examples in the course of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*, he is wary of the dangers of excessively 'creative' thinking, and of confusing metaphor with reality. This is the heart of his critique of Descartes's physics.

When Epicurus then advises Ceva to turn up his nose at those who demand an atomic explanation for justice, wisdom, piety, and such, and to dismiss these things as mere 'off-cuts and little bits of void, and certain bodiless bubbles of emptiness and nothingness interspersed through the minds of men, like foam on

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[39] '[Q]ui non sinat ullas, | Gutture praecluso, voces depromere quam tres, | Quarum una affirmet, neget altera, tertia vero | Separet ambiguum sensum. Haec faciunt, quibus est mens | Particulis quadris contexta' (p. 55).

[40] As Smith points out in a note to the Loeb edition of *De rerum natura*, Lucretius's use of the term *regula*, a mason's or carpenter's 'rule', alludes to the *kanon*, Epicurus's lost work on epistemology (p. 316).

[41] 'I shall strive to prove it by means of rich examples, for Epicurus and those from his sucking flock rejoice in these' (Pinguibus exemplis [namque his Epicurus, & huius | De grege subrumi gaudent] id promere nitar; p. 48). The Latin adjective, *pinguis*, possesses a range of connotations from 'fat' and 'plump', through 'thick' and 'luxuriant', to 'gross' and 'stupid'. Ceva almost certainly means to play on the various meanings: the examples used by Epicurus/Lucretius are 'rich' in the sense that they are vivid, 'thick' in the sense that they are frequent, 'gross' in the sense that they are taken from everyday life (and thus fit for dullards). In fact Ceva employs 'rich' examples for his own purposes throughout the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*. In the first book, when attempting a geometric argument, he admits: 'I am unable to do it unless I use everyday things taken from the public square, which I can make equal/smooth out by singing' (Nec valeo nisi desumptis popularibus uti | E trivio rebus, quas possim aequare canendo; p. 14).

water' (Sunt etenim segmenta & frustula inanis, | Et quaedam vacui ac nihili sine corpore bullae | Interspersae animis hominum, spumae instar aquai; p. 56), the reader is surely meant to recall a passage in the second book, where Descartes's system of nature is impugned. After producing his brilliant *Geometry*, Descartes puts out to sea again but is engulfed by a sudden storm; for his safe return to shore he promises a votive tablet/written composition (*tabella*) to the gods of the ocean, but unfortunately it is marred by the turbulence (namely the Cartesian *tourbillons*) in which it was conceived. In this new work (that is, the *Principia philosophiae*), Descartes intones sublimely ('arduus ore sonas') that the 'void' is an immense space that we imagine for ourselves, and from it, by a process of 'constant rubbing […] certain little disks are born, certain fragments and cuttings and deciduous shavings, and from these, as if from the elements, the stars are formed, and the lands, and the birds and the beasts' (attritu assiduo (prolixa est fabula) natos | Orbiculos quosdam, ramenta, & segmina quaedam, | Deciduamque scobem; atque ex his, velut ex elementis, | Sydera conflata, & terras, volucresque ferasque; p. 30).[42] The parallel between the *segmenta* and *frustula inanis* of Epicurus and the Cartesian *ramenta* and *segmina* is striking — if philosophically unfair.[43]

While Ceva concedes absolute liberty to the French philosopher to invent a new system of nature,[44] he insists that any such system should be verisimilitudinous

[42] Ceva charges Descartes's physics with being a poetic fiction, or *fabula*. This idea chimes with the satirical-didactic *Mundus Cartesii* (World of Descartes) by French Jesuit, Pierre le Coëdic (from the same period as Ceva's poem but not published until 1749). Le Coëdic's delusional Descartes discourses in grand, Lucretian manner about a world that even he understands is the product of his fantasy. At one point he indulges in the outrageous conceit that he has compelled God, through prayer, to create it: 'It is not to be thought that these genital seeds flowed together by chance, at the same time, to create such a universe. Here where there is now air, the globe of the earth, the seas, clouds, shining paths, radiant stars, the heavens, and the assembled machine which is similar to your world, the squalid house of shadows, of eternal horror, a cave once revealed vast recesses. *But as soon as I had prayed to the omnipotent power, whom I had extolled with praises so many times, to create this small world, there was no delay*' (my emphasis); translation from Latin the text printed in François Oudin's *Poemata didascalica*, 3 vols (Paris: Aug. Delalain [*sic*], 1813), I, 54. See also Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, pp. 167–75. Further comparison of the treatments of Descartes by Ceva and Le Coëdic might be instructive.

[43] Descartes, of course, *denied* the existence of indivisible atoms and posited an infinite *plenum* rather than a void.

[44] Employing here the same instrumentalist doublethink that allows our Jesuit to countenance heliocentricity as a mathematical hypothesis (pp. 31–32); see also Canziani, 'Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', pp. 145–47.

('modo congruat undique vero, | Naturaeque imitetur opus, passimque receptis | Sensibus a Mundi exortu respondeat'; p. 32). The point is almost a literary-critical one, with Descartes cast in the role of poet, like Lucretius. We are told that Descartes's physics violates everything we know and observe about nature; it is fanciful and perverse (by implication, like Epicurus's). Moreover, those who produce such philosophical fictions are self-deluding: 'for it is easy for anyone to coin systems, if we want to call "little night-terrors" whatever grotesque monsters then come to light, namely, inborn errors, coeval with our souls' (Nam facile est cuivis systemata cudere, si, quae | Exinde in solem veniunt immania monstra, | Terriculorum instar nocturnorum esse velimus, | Errores nempe ingenitos, animisque coaevos; p. 32).[45] The motif of boys trembling in the darkness is, of course, recurrent in the *De rerum natura* as a metaphor for fear induced by erroneous beliefs (see for example I. 146–48, and II. 55–61).

Ceva can imply a continuity between the physics of Epicurus and that of Pierre Gassendi with much more justice.[46] He does so with a wonderfully light, Lucretian touch in the first book, where he is debating a defender of the modern atomist. Ceva asks us to imagine a foreign peddler who entertains an assembled

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[45] Ceva accuses Descartes of retreating like a bear into a cave, for laughing off just criticisms of his philosophy as the products of envy (p. 30). A similar theme is found in Le Coëdic's poem. On the other hand, Ceva suggests that Descartes may not have believed in the literal truth of his physics. He tells the reader who is 'enveloped in the vortices and carried into Descartes's inner realms' to concede, with the humility piously displayed by Descartes himself, that Nature is not actually ordered in this way by God (pp. 28–29). And a little later: 'The author himself didn't believe it, and is accustomed to laugh at the exertions of his world' (non auctor credidit ipse, | Assuetus ridere sui molimina mundi; p. 35). See also below, p. 518, for Cartesian philosophical jokers.

[46] Canziani highlights a revealing passage from the preface to the 1726 edition, in which Ceva attempts to absolve Gassendi from the stain of atomism, only wishing that the Christian philosopher had not wasted his considerable talents in the attempt to 'clean up' such an unworthy science: 'Occorre in primo luogo sapere che c'è una grande differenza tra i dogmi di Epicuro e la fisica di Gassendi, il quale sia con solide ragioni sia con pietà cristiana non solo ha egregiamente confutato gli errori più gravi di questa filosofia, ma ha per giunta completamente ripulito la filosofia di quell'autore da qualsiasi macchia di empietà […]. Sarebbe tuttavia desiderabile che quel celeberrimo autore avesse lasciato giacere nei suoi recessi la dottrina degli atomi, ormai da tempo cancellata dalla memoria e quasi sepolta nell'oblio, giacché con la forza di erudizione e di ingegno e con l'eleganza di stile di cui godeva in massimo grado avrebbe coltivato o trovato una scienza più solida e utile' (p. 3); Canziani, 'Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', p. 141.

crowd with accounts of 'wonders' from his faraway land. There, when rocks are thrown upwards they occasionally fly off in different directions; some stop in the middle of their course, while others rise spontaneously from the ground. While the crowd greets these tall tales with laughter, (the supporter of) Gassendi is forced to admit that there is 'no marvel in them' (At tibi mirum | Ex istis nihil acciderit). He cannot, in fact, dismiss anything the peddler 'babbles about' or 'swears to have seen with his own eyes', because 'the atoms will come to your aid, great for undoing all knots immediately and intrepidly — for what, in the end, are you not able to undo?' (Et quaevis blataverit ille, oculisque | Visa sibi iuret; solvendis illico nodis | Intrepide cunctis (nam quid non denique solvas?) | Praesto aderunt atomi; p. 6). I am not concerned here with the details of the argument which Ceva subsequently develops, but with that aside, easily missed, about the Gassendian's talent for solving puzzles, for demystifying (unnatural) nature. It primes the reader for the similar boast made by Epicurus in Book III: the Christian rehabilitator of Epicurus is effectively tarred with the same brush of overweening intellectual hubris.[47]

I do not pretend to have unpacked all the allusions to Lucretius in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua*, but the examples given will have illustrated that it is a much more sophisticated anti-Lucretian poem than Ceva is usually given credit for. Like the *De rerum natura*, it is a poem of both literary and scientific ambitions. Indeed, Ceva outdoes Lucretius in versifying some of his own material.[48] The prefatory *excusatio* on the difficulty of putting geometry into Latin verse is reprised at several points in the poem, in terms often reminiscent of Lucretius's programmatic: 'Nor am I unaware of how difficult it is to explain the obscure discoveries of the Greeks in Latin verses' (Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura

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[47] In Book V Ceva compares the keen competition for the honour of solving a verbal riddle—a flavour here of the Jesuit classroom—for which none of the proposed solutions seems quite right, with the futile attempt to give a complete account of the natural world: 'in like manner do not vainly hope to unravel the admirable fabric of Nature through study; if, with effort, if you manage to undo one knot, you will immediately see a hundred others arise which are joined to it' (Haud secus admirabile textum | Naturae frustra meditando evolvere speres, | Cui si quem studio nodum extricaveris, inde | Centum alios nasci subnexos illico cernes; p. 80). An almost identical phrase was used to taunt Lucretius in Book III; see also n. 28, above.

[48] As reiterated in the 'sphragis' to Ceva's first book. As Canziani points out, Ceva's work on physics, *De natura gravium* (Milan, 1699), anticipates some of the mechanical themes in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* ('Descartes e Gassendi nella *Philosophia Novo-antiqua* di Tommaso Ceva', pp. 142–43).

reperta | difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse; I. 136–37).[49] In retrospect, these efforts become a badge of honour — they are appreciated as such by the *Trévoux* reviewer — and point the way to the more self-consciously 'sublime' verse mathematics of the later Jesuit didactic tradition.[50] But the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* is Lucretian in a much more covert way than the eighteenth-century *Philosophia* of Benedict Stay or, for that matter, Polignac's *Anti-Lucretius* — precisely, I suggest, because Lucretius was such a desirable and, for the less educated, forbidden, fruit in Ceva's Italy.

This inevitably leads to the question of the audience(s) for which Ceva's *Philosophia novo-antiqua* was written. The Latin scientific poetry produced in Rome from the middle of the eighteenth century was theoretically destined for the *respublica litterarum* at large; yet, as the reign of Latin as the international scientific language waned, its readership may have shrunk in practice to a dedicated coterie of Jesuit professors and their friends. Ceva's poem does not seem to be addressed to an exclusively Jesuit audience, and it certainly found readers — both friendly and hostile — beyond the Society. At a minimum we can say that the Jesuit writes for an audience that was Latinate and male, Catholic and Italian.[51] In the final section of this chapter I shall try to refine that picture of Ceva's target reader, and consider the character and merits of the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* as a didactic poem.

[49] For Ceva's reflections on the difficulty of doing mathematics in verse, see, for example, pp. 14, 42, 60, and 66.

[50] The *Trévoux* reviewer sets the tone for later evaluations of the poems of Benedict Stay (see Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, pp. 211–12, and n. 108). He writes: 'Lucretius, it is true, has treated in poetry the philosophy of Epicurus, but I don't believe that any other modern writer has previously dared to seek the flowers of Parnassus among the brambles of Mathematics.' It is a wonder that Ceva has 'been able to render sensible in verse a thing so difficult [...] that he has not been afraid to scare his Muse with the mysteries of geometry, which might perhaps have terrified that of Lucretius' (*Mémoires de Trévoux* (1728), 504, 508).

[51] A long diatribe in the fourth book censures Protestant England and Holland for embracing the Copernican theory solely because it contradicts Catholic teaching. Ceva bemoans the fact that Italy now fawns on foreign books when she was once mistress of the world. Why do brilliant Italian minds languish unpublished? Why does Italy only applaud those books which have met with approval beyond the Alps? He exhorts her to remember her literary heroes, Cicero and Virgil, and to contemplate the great monuments of ancient Rome, which are still before her eyes. She complains of lack of patrons but she has need of no other Maecenas than Pope Clement (pp. 61–63).

On His Holiness's Secret Service: Ceva's Mission as Didactic Poet

We have seen the bullying poet in action in the third book: the language of disputation and indeed combat is pervasive in the poem.[52] The reader, who merges seamlessly with the philosophical adversary of the moment, is cornered, puts his head in a noose, has a knife to his throat, is forced to concede....[53] But Ceva is not always so rough with us. For one thing, the poem is punctuated by direct and sometimes delightful appeals to the gentle reader's experience. We read only three pages before we encounter the first, an exhortation to refresh ourselves with a pinch of snuff (p. 4). Later in the first book the Jesuit celebrates the virtues of chocolate to clear the mind and pacify bellicose spirits (pp. 22–23).[54] At the end of the fourth book he has the remainder of the poem beg the reader — but only if he has followed the Muse thus far and read every page — to press on to the finish; if, however, he is disinclined to 'suffer the pains of our Pindus any further', the Muse gives him thanks for the labour he has already expended, blesses him, and bids him farewell. A similar tease awaits us at the end of the fifth book, where Ceva exhorts us to go away and attend to our business in town and at home: our minds must be free from distractions before proceeding with the poem.

Ceva is clearly a clever motivational psychologist. He disarms the reader with good-humoured reflections on his own sometimes digressive journey as didactic poet.[55] Recalling his Muse after the satirical interlude near the beginning of

[52] As is also the language of incontrovertible mathematical proof. The use of 'QED'-type conclusions betrays Ceva's geometer's training (and is un-Lucretian). See for example: 'Therefore that constant motion of the stars did not exist from eternity: which is what had to be decided' (Astrorum non ergo aequabilis ille | Motus ab aeterno fuit: ut fuerat statuendum; p. 43).

[53] Consider the rather violent experiment Ceva enjoins on the doubting reader at p. 74. He is told to flex a hazel rod and then release it against his face, where the resulting bruise will prove, by analogy, that simple air pressure can be responsible for extraordinary natural phenomena!

[54] The consumption and praise of chocolate was something of a Jesuit obsession. See Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, pp. 83–101, on the chocolate poem of Ceva's Neapolitan confratello, Tommaso Strozzi.

[55] See, for example, p. 58, where his boat is blown off course; p. 63: he is like a piece of paper caught by the wind; p. 100: he is daunted by large waves; p. 105: he feels the strings [of his lyre] slackening through assiduous plucking; p. 106: he resumes his boat-trip after a rest on the beach. The boat metaphor is taken from Virgil, but an implicit intellectual journey for reader and poet underlies Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. See Monica Gale, *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 124.

Book III, he observes that 'it is pleasant to interleave something [agreeable] with these admittedly austere perplexities, so that the mind may then rise up, refreshed and happy, more keen for the fight' (Iuvat interponere tricis | Scilicet austeris aliquid, quo laetior inde | Acrius ad pugnam mens instaurata resurgat; p. 41). That agreeable something may come in the form of satirical dialogue, as we have seen in the third book. In a brilliant episode in the fifth book, Ceva winds up a Cartesian interlocutor — much as he had earlier wound up Lucretius — by pressing the denier of animal souls to prove that he himself has one (pp. 88–89). Then there are the fables and anecdotes (a version of the 'Emperor's New Clothes', used as a parable for the physics of Descartes, pp. 33–34; the apparently purposeful behaviour of a certain Molossan hound, which is, nevertheless, devoid of rationality, pp. 103–05), and the ubiquitous appeals to 'common sense': can the different effects of an innocuous sleeping powder and a deadly poison really be reduced to the difference between round and square particles? (pp. 26–28); does Descartes really think that God is a miller, singing away to himself at night as he grinds and winnows the grain of the universe? (pp. 30–31). These episodes and examples are not merely decorative, of course, but are carefully deployed to support Ceva's arguments.

Ceva's examples are certainly every bit as 'rich' as those of Lucretius (see above, p. 511 and n. 40). It is interesting to note that they are often drawn from the world of the visual and performing arts, from painting (both popular and highbrow) to spurting garden satyrs, from street entertainers to sacred oratory.[56] A recurring formula, unparalleled in Lucretius, is the injunction 'finge tibi' (imagine for yourself) to introduce a thought experiment. In itself this represents an interesting development in neo-Latin didactic, a response to the exacting demands of versifying the new science, but it also underscores a central theme in Ceva's poem: that we are all, to a greater or lesser extent, *inventors* of Nature.[57]

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[56] A poignant example of the way philosophical error can spread like a 'disease' ('lues [...] atque epidemicus error') is the celebrity sacred orator who falls out of favour with his once adoring public; eventually he finds himself delivering sermons to the pictures and statues in the empty church, and to a few poor souls who are forced to take shelter from the wind and rain (p. 97). There is a distinctly theatrical element in Ceva's description of a church congregation spilling out into the piazza after a service and making its way home, dispersing into the void like Lucretius's atoms (pp. 48–49). In Book V, we are told that God wants us to be admiring spectators in the 'theatre' of his universe (p. 79).

[57] There is a note of disapproval in Ceva's reference to Descartes and Gassendi '*inventing* another order and origin for the universe' (aliam seriem atque exordia rerum | *Commenti*; p. 5, my emphasis).

At the same time we are all, to a greater or lesser extent, vulnerable to deception; and worse, to *self*-deception.

In an intriguing episode in the fifth book, which merits more attention than I can devote to it here, Ceva exposes a modern 'secret society' of philosophical jokers (in fact, Cartesians). By pretending to endorse funny and absurd things along with true scientific discoveries, this sect aims to separate the credulous from the wise and to inscribe the former in an 'album of fools'. Their (alleged) strategy backfires in the case of the implausible imposture of animal automatism. Ceva points out that it would be easier to convince the common man that black is white than that animals have no souls. But while the man on the street is protected from such lunacy by his innate common sense, and the learned man by his good judgement, Ceva identifies a third class of men who are in danger of being duped. This 'middle class' is attracted by 'a certain glory in the appearance of cleverness whenever something unusual is published, and it wants to know it for itself, eager as it is for new things, possessing neither a completely solid mind, nor a completely empty one, neither sufficiently endowed with intelligence, nor entirely devoid of it'.[58]

The whole passage may be seen as a variation on a *fabella* in the second book, where a painter undertakes to decorate a dilapidated hall with a marvellous fresco that only true connoisseurs will appreciate. With the collusion of his fellow painters the con artist (in every sense) exhibits nothing more than the bare wall. His 'masterpiece' is greeted with knowing sniggers by some viewers, but others, including the commissioning patron, seem to behold something great and wonderful there, discerning various shapes in the blotchy and cracked plaster. Ceva observes that those most likely to be taken in by the invented world of Descartes are men who, when young, were 'injured by the thorny brambles of ancient philosophy' and are now unfavourably disposed towards it. Here and elsewhere in the *Philosophia novo-antiqua* an unflattering portrait emerges of the none-too-bright sciolist which is, in fact, a barely disguised *caveat lector*.

Very occasionally Ceva permits his reader the luxury of feeling superior to the common man. We smile at the simple villagers who gawk at a painting of a

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[58] 'Ingenii specie gloria quaedam | Allicit ut quidquid rari celebratur, & ipsa | Id sentire velit, rerum studiosa novarum, | Nec mentis penitus solidae, nec prorsus inanis, | Nec satis ingenio pollens, nec praedita nullo' (p. 88). Christopher Allen points out to me, *per litteras*, that Pascal makes a similar point when he speaks of the '"demi-habiles", or "half-clever" people who think they have seen through religion — again as opposed to the common people, who do not presume to think about such things, and the learned, who know better'.

monkey leading mice in dance, a parable for the 'rustic mind of man' which cannot appreciate the artistry of the cosmos because it does not understand it (p. 80). But he also allows the common man (and woman) to convict us of foolishness — at least those of us who sympathize with Gassendi and Descartes. The fictional defender of Gassendi is asked to concede that if two bodies of equal weight are placed on either side of a scales they will be evenly balanced: 'But if you stubbornly deny it, the citizen body of the entire world will hiss you off stage with just anger; and the kitchen-gardener, the butcher, the barber, the three-year-old boy, every ignorant woman, and all the learned and unlearned from the assembly and ranks of humanity, will force you, raving, to retire.'[59] The three-year-old, and later five-year-old, boy is here produced to support the claims of Mistress Nature — in effect to expose the Emperor's New Clothes. In an interesting passage in the final book the reader is shown how to prove to a boy, by means of pen, paper, and geometric elenchus, how the evidence of the senses can be confuted by reason (pp. 98–99).[60] We are cast momentarily in the role of pedagogue, participating vicariously in the didactic enterprise of the poem — although it soon becomes apparent that the lesson is actually meant for us: 'Nor do these things deceive juvenile minds alone, but similar illusions deceive you too' (Nec tantum ingenia haec fallunt puerilia: Verum | Te quoque deludunt similes praestigiae; p. 100).

Thus the target reader of Ceva's poem is a well-born gentleman with an appreciation for classical poetry — he has been educated, ideally, in the humanist schools of the Jesuits — but he is by no means an advanced student of philosophy or mathematics. Indeed, Ceva the mathematician warns us explicitly in the fourth book not to make fools of ourselves by taking on the experts, even in the noble cause of refuting Copernicanism: 'But beware lest you, ignorant of astronomical matters, unstained by and devoid of Mathematics, brandish with great effort an ear of wheat instead of a spear, and fiercely enter battle in a laughable contest' (Sed cave ne rerum ignarus coelestium, & insons | Immunisque Matheseos, ingenio petulanti, | Pro iaculo vibres magno conamine aristam; | Ridiculoque ferox certamine congrediaris; p. 64). Rather than madly rushing against the enemy, we should simply affirm the revealed word of God: 'against all his weapons the very voice of the Creator should suffice for you, who has clearly decreed that the

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[59] 'Aut si | Praefracte id renuas, terrarum quantus in orbe est | Indigenum census iusta te exsibilet ira; | Teque olitor, lanio, tonsorque, puerque triennis, | Foemina quaeque rudis, docti indoctique furentem | Ex hominum coetu numeroque facessere cogant' (p. 5).

[60] Contra Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, IV. 478–85.

earth is stable and does not move' (*Tibi sat contra omnia tela | Vox ipsa artificis, stabilem immotamque diserte | Tellurem statuens*; p. 64). If Ceva has succeeded in convincing his reader to know his own limits, perhaps even to throw away his Lucretius ... mission accomplished!

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